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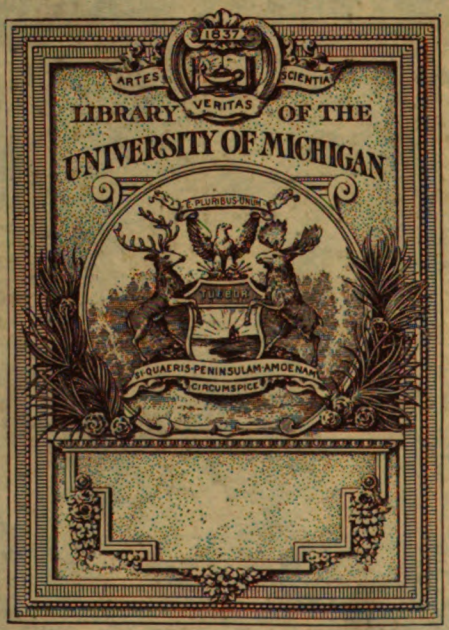

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THE

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THE

CHURCH QUARTERLY REVIEW.

Nº LXXIX. *APRIL* 1895.

ART. I.—DIVORCE.

1. *Divorce and Re-marriage:* Historical Evidence. By HOLLINGWORTH TULLY KINGDON, D.D. Cantab., Bishop-Coadjutor of Fredericton. (Montreal and Fredericton: no date.)
2. *Divorce.* Report as received by the Lower House of the Convocation of York. (Helmsley, York, and London: no date.)
3. *The History of Marriage, Jewish and Christian, in relation to Divorce and certain Prohibited Degrees.* By HERBERT MORTIMER LUCKOCK, D.D., Dean of Lichfield. (London, 1894.)
4. *Holy Matrimony:* A Treatise on the Divine Laws of Marriage. By OSCAR D. WATKINS, M.A., a Senior Chaplain on her Majesty's Bengal Establishment. (London, 1895.)
5. *Marriage and Divorce in the United States: as they are and as they ought to be.* By D. CONVERS, S.S.J.E., Assistant at St. Clement's Church, Philadelphia. (Philadelphia, 1889.)
6. *Notes upon some Points in Origen's Commentary on St. Matthew*, xix. 3–11. By H. W. REYNOLDS. (Cambridge, 1894.)
7. *Origen and the York Report on Divorce; being Notes upon some Points in Origen's Commentary on St. Matthew*, xix. 3–11. By the Rev. H. W. REYNOLDS, Christ's College, Cambridge; Vicar of Christ Church, Bolton. (Cambridge, 1895.) (Revised edition of No. 6.)
8. *A Brief Examination of the York Report on Divorce.* By the Rev. H. W. REYNOLDS, Christ's College, Cambridge; Vicar of Christ Church, Bolton. (Cambridge, 1895.)

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9. *Marriage of Innocent Divorcees.* By the Right Hon. LORD GRIMTHORPE. *The Nineteenth Century*, February. (London, 1895.)

THE above list is a sufficient sign that the present is an appropriate opportunity for the examination of the painful but highly important question of Divorce. The subject is one which, in the existing state of law in England and foreign countries, thoughtful men who have interest and care for individual and social purity can never put very far out of mind, and just now it has been pushed into special prominence by the publication of the 'Report' which has been 'received by the Lower House of the Convocation of York' and the controversy which has ensued.

I. In such an inquiry as we have in view, mindful of words written in 1857 by the revered John Keble,[1] we naturally begin by asking what is the present law of the Church in England. For those who regard the branch of the Catholic Church in this country as a spiritual body, possessing as part of her inheritance powers of legislation which her members are bound to respect, there can be no doubt as to the answer. Such doubt might arise if she were the creation of the State, or if the decisions of the Crown or of Parliament in spiritual matters had any binding force upon her without her own legislative enactment, or if marriage were a special case which, 'though of an ecclesiastical nature,' should be outside the control of the Church herself.[2] But for those who are prepared to affirm that the control of Christian marriage, as based upon theological truth and necessarily connected with morals, was committed by Christ to His Church, and that the administration of it is part of the responsibility of the Church in any country, the answer

[1] Keble, *An Argument for not proceeding immediately to repeal the laws which treat the nuptial bond as indissoluble*, p. 1.

[2] This is Lord Grimthorpe's view. He says: 'I had better state here, what everybody knows who ever read a law-book or looks into Phillimore's *Ecclesiastical Law* (1958-9), that one of the greatest Lord Chancellors and Chief Justices, Lord Hardwicke, and other great judges have declared "there are some things of an ecclesiastical nature which no canon can touch," and marriage was one of them' (p. 327). We do not dispute the general truth of this statement of the opinion of 'Lord Hardwicke and other great judges;' but, as a matter of fact, *nobody* who 'looks into Phillimore's *Ecclesiastical Law* (1958-9)' will find it there. It is instructive to compare Lord Grimthorpe's view of 'the great Act 25 Henry VIII., "for the submission of the clergy,"' with Dixon, *History of the Church of England from the Abolition of the Roman Jurisdiction*, vol. i. pp. 106-111, 189-194; Perry, *History of the English Church*, vol. ii. pp. 78, 82-3, 87-8.

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is clear. That the Marriage Service in the Book of Common Prayer does not contemplate the possibility of the bond of marriage terminating as long as both the persons who are married live may perhaps have been pressed too strongly by some writers. If the Prayer Book stood by itself, it might perhaps be argued that the solemn words of the Service are ignoring a contingency which, among Christians, ought never to occur. Such an interpretation would indeed be difficult to reconcile with the marked emphasis on the phrases 'for better for worse,' 'till death us do part,' and on the declaration of the Priest, 'Those whom God hath joined together let no man put asunder;' but, as we have said, we think it might possibly be tenable if we had no light on the meaning of the Prayer Book from any other source.

Further light removes any possible ground of doubt. The canons of 1603, besides their other uses, may on this point be rightly taken as showing what the Prayer Book means. They decisively teach that in no case of a marriage valid from the first does the bond of marriage cease to exist while both the parties live, and that in no such case may either of them contract a fresh 'marriage' in the lifetime of the other. The words of Canon 107 are:

'In all sentences pronounced only for divorce and separation *a thoro et mensa*, there shall be a caution and restraint inserted in the act of the said sentence, That the parties so separated shall live chastely and continently; neither shall they, during each other's life, contract marriage with any other person. And, for the better observation of this last clause, the said sentence of divorce shall not be pronounced until the party or parties requiring the same have given good and sufficient caution and security into the court, that they will not any way break or transgress the said restraint or prohibition.'

In an enigmatical sentence in his article in *The Nineteenth Century* (p. 328) Lord Grimthorpe appears to imply that the phrase in this canon, 'sentences pronounced only for divorce and separation *a thoro et mensa*,' denotes that the obligation not to contract a fresh 'marriage' was not meant to apply in the case of the 'complete or irrevocable divorce' known as *a vinculo*. A reference to Canon 106 shows that such an interpretation cannot be maintained, that the distinction of Canon 107 is between a 'divorce *a thoro et mensa*' and a declaration 'for annulling of pretended matrimony,' and that no 'divorce *a vinculo*' is regarded as possible.

On a practical point of this kind the traditional opinions of English Divines are valuable indications of the meaning of

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the Prayer Book. If further proof were needed that a second 'marriage' of either party of a valid marriage in the lifetime of the other is regarded as being under any circumstances impossible, it might be found in a consensus of writers. While it may be regretted that more pains were not taken in the chapter in the Report of the York Committee on 'the mind of the Church of England' (pp. 82–90), and that there was not a much more careful treatment of several writers, notably Bishop Jeremy Taylor,[1] the argument of the chapter will bear investigation and hold good. On the other hand, not one of the three famous instances of great English divines consenting to divorce *a vinculo* and subsequent 'marriage' can be rightly used in an opposite direction. It is true that Bishop Andrewes was one of seven members of the commission of 1613 who voted in favour of the dissolution of the marriage of the Earl and Countess of Essex. But, in the first place, this was a 'decree of nullity' of a marriage said to have been always void because of 'latens et incurabile impedimentum,' not the dissolution of a valid marriage.[2] And, secondly, Bishop Andrewes himself in his careful investigation of the question declares that there cannot be a second marriage after sentence of divorce in the lifetime of the other party.[3] It is true, also, that Archbishop Laud, when he was thirty-two years old, 'married' the divorced wife of Lord Rich to the Earl of Devon. But the Archbishop deeply repented of what his patron the Earl of Devon had persuaded him to do. He put down in his diary on the day of

[1] Mr. Reynolds (*Brief Examination*, pp. 10–11) is right in saying that the passage quoted in the Report from *The Marriage Ring* refers to the union between Christ and the Church. Only inferences from it, therefore, not the words themselves, apply to marriage. We cannot, however, agree with Mr. Reynolds that Bishop Taylor is really 'misrepresented' in the Report. The words 'dissolved and broken,' 'an eternal separation of society and friendship,' in the passage he quotes from part ii. of *The Marriage Ring*, do not appear to mean more than such a separation as does not allow of a fresh 'marriage,' and this view of them is supported by a consideration of the whole lengthy discussion whether a wife may continue to live with a husband of whose adultery she knows in *Ductor Dubitantium*, Book I. chap. v. rule 8, §§ 6–18. In this discussion some sentences in §§ 13 and 15 must be considered in connexion with the theory of marriage underlying the whole treatment.

[2] Ottley, *Lancelot Andrewes*, pp. 72–5. Dean Church wrote of the 'surprise and disappointment' it is 'to find Andrewes one of the majority in pronouncing for a divorce in the shameful Essex case.' See *Masters in English Theology*, p. 69.

[3] Andrewes, *A Discourse against Second Marriage after sentence of divorce with a former match, the party then living.* (*Library of Anglo-Catholic Theology*, Andrewes' Minor Works, p. 106)

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the 'marriage' the words, 'My cross about the Earl of Devon's marriage.'[1] He composed a prayer for the forgiveness of the sin which he had committed in celebrating it, in which the following passage occurs:

'Behold I have become a reproach to thy Name by serving my ambition and the sins of others. Moreover, though I did it by the persuasion of other men, yet my conscience upbraided me. . . . Let not this marriage be a divorce of my soul from thy love.' How much better had it been if, mindful of this day,[2] I had suffered martyrdom with the first of thy martyrs!'[3]

Yearly he kept the anniversary of the day as a 'fast, in penitential remembrance of his error.'[4] It is true, again, that in 1670 Bishop Cosin both spoke and voted in favour of the bill to dissolve the marriage of Lord Rosse. But when his own record of his speech is examined, it is found that the only reply which he has to the argument that the bill, if passed, would be contrary to the Church of England, is that if it obtains 'the assent of the king, lords, and commons,' it becomes one of 'the laws of this kingdom,' and that 'the Church of England is within the kingdom of England.'[5] Moreover, Cosin himself wrote down among 'impediments of marriage' 'sentence of divorce from a party yet living.'[6]

[1] See Le Bas, *Life of Archbishop Laud*, p. 11.

[2] December 26 (St. Stephen's Day), 1605.

[3] Laud, 'Private Devotions' in the *Library of Anglo-Catholic Theology*, Laud's Works, vol. iii. p. 81: 'Scandalum ecce factus sum Nomini Tuo, dum ambitioni meæ et aliorum peccatis servio. Quin et hoc, licet aliorum suasu, oblatrante tamen conscientia perpetravi. . . . Nec hoc conjugium sit animæ meæ divortium a sinu Tuo. O quanto satius fuisset, si vel hujus diei satis memor, martyrium cum proto-martyre Tuo potius perpessus essem!'

[4] See Le Bas, *Life of Archbishop Laud*, p. 11. In this case the divorce had taken place because of the adultery of Lady Rich with the Earl of Devon. There is no reason to suppose that Laud would not have regarded the subsequent 'marriage' as a sin if the adultery had been on the part of Lord Rich. There are some interesting comments on Laud's action in Mr. Hutton's recently published work: 'Pity for the unhappy woman, . . . the knowledge that there had been what might serve as a pre-contract *in foro conscientiæ*, as Heylin says, though not *in foro judicii*, and the support of some divines of eminence, these may well have moved him. He was a young man, and his bitterest critics, if they cannot forgive him, may well remember that he could never forgive himself. . . . Among the State Papers of James I. lies the "Censure of the Earl of Devonshire's tract touching marriage and divorce, by William Laud." . . . "The authority of the canon law—true," he comments, "to putting away his wife; but neither silent nor unexpressed to marry again."' Hutton, *William Laud*, pp. 8-9.

[5] See *Library of Anglo-Catholic Theology*, Cosin's Works, vol. iv. p. 501.

[6] *Ibid.* vol. v. p. 522, note [u].

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It has sometimes been suggested that the *Reformatio Legum Ecclesiasticarum* represents the mind of the Church of England, and therefore indicates the lawfulness of the 'marriage' of a divorced person. Such an argument is not worth serious consideration. When this work was published in 1571 it was ignored by the Church. A resolution brought forward in the House of Commons to give it legal sanction was not passed. Common consent let the book die a natural death. So temperate a writer as Canon Perry has said of it:

'Had it been accepted by the Church, it would have served more than anything else to sever the reformed Church of England from the Church of the past. It contained many most objectionable laws.'[1]

The existing law of the Church of England, then, as stated in the Prayer Book in the natural sense of the words of the Marriage Service, as indicated in the canons of 1603, and as illustrated by the traditional teaching of representative divines, is that the bond of Christian marriage is indissoluble, and that if married persons are separated, even for adultery, neither party may contract a fresh 'marriage' in the lifetime of the other.

II. The Church in England was no new body in the sixteenth century. She inherited, with her episcopal succession and her valid sacraments, the faith and laws of the Catholic Church. In considering what law of marriage it was that she thus received, it will be convenient to confine our attention, in the first instance, to the laws on the subject which existed in England itself. There is a brief statement of part of the evidence in the Report of the York Committee (pp. 46–7), a fuller treatment in Dean Luckock's *History of Marriage* (pp. 164–176), and a very careful and useful discussion in Mr. Watkins' *Holy Matrimony* (pp. 394–426). The materials for investigating the question are within easy reach of students in the invaluable collections in Haddan and Stubbs' *Councils and Ecclesiastical Documents* and Johnson's *Laws and Canons of the Church of England.*

Three British Bishops assented to the decrees of the Council of Arles in the year 314,[2] but, in the absence of any

[1] Perry, *History of the English Church*, vol. ii. p. 297. There is force in the remark: 'The chief value of the Apocryphal document, the *Reformatio Legum Ecclesiasticarum*, is that it distinctly shows what the Church deliberately refused to adopt in the sixteenth century: nay more, what Parliament also refused to consider in 1571.' See Kingdon, *Divorce and Re-marriage*, p. 90.

[2] See the list in Hardouin, *Concilia*, i. 267. The names of the British Bishops are given also in Haddan and Stubbs, *Councils and Ecclesiastical Documents*, i. 7.

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evidence as to their relation to Church opinion in Britain, it may be well to put aside for the present any consideration of the meaning of the famous canon which they must then have affirmed. The canons of Adamnan, Abbot of Iona from 679 to 704,[1] and the synod the heading of which bears the names of Patrick, Auxilius, and Isserninus,[2] but which is perhaps best assigned to a time a little later than 700,[3] interesting as they are as marking belief in two out of the great streams which combined to make up English Christianity, are less expressly connected with the history of our own branch of the Church than the evidence we are about to consider. And the contention that since St. Augustine did not seek advice from St. Gregory the Great on the question of divorce, while he did ask for decisions on other questions about marriage,[4] the rule of the British Church was therefore the same as that existing elsewhere in the West, is an argument of a type which can only be used with much confidence when there is a very full knowledge of surrounding circumstances.

The 'Laws of the Northumbrian Priests,'[5] the 'Penitential of Archbishop Dunstan,'[6] the canons of the Council of

[1] The sixteenth canon lays down that the husband of an unfaithful wife 'is not to take another while she is alive' ('De meretrice conjuge sic idem interpretatus est, quia meretrix erit decusso proprii mariti jugo et secundi mariti inito vel tertii, cujus maritus illa vivente alteram non suscipiet, quia nescimus illam auctoritatem, quam legimus in quæstionibus Romanorum, utrum idoneis an falsis testibus ornatam fuisse'). This highly interesting canon is quoted by Mr. Watkins (p. 398) from Wasserschleben, *Bussordnungen der abendländischen Kirche*, p. 117.

[2] This synod merely treats of the general obligation of the marriage tie. The nineteenth canon says: 'A Christian woman, who has accepted a man in honourable marriage, and has afterwards departed from her first husband and joined herself in adultery: she who has done this is to be excommunicated' ('Mulier Christiana, quæ acciperit virum honestis nuptiis, et postmodum discesserit a primo, et junxerit se adulterio: quæ hæc fecit, excommonis sit'). See Haddan and Stubbs, ii. 329.

[3] 'The first years of the eighth century are the earliest possible date that can be assigned to the collection as a whole.' Haddan and Stubbs, ii. 331.

[4] St. Greg. Magn. *Ep.* xi. 64; cf. xiv. 16, 17.

[5] Section 54 says: 'If any man dismiss his lawful wife while she is living and marry another, let him want God's mercy unless he make satisfaction for it; but let every one retain his lawful wife so long as she lives, unless they both choose to be separated by the Bishop's consent and are willing to preserve their chastity for the future.' See Johnson, *English Canons*, part i. p. 381 (Baron's edition).

[6] Section 27 says: 'He that relinquisheth his wife and taketh another woman breaketh wedlock. Let none of those rights which belong to Christians be allowed him either during life or at his death, nor let him be buried with Christian men.' See Johnson, *ibid.* p. 433.

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Eanham,[1] the Ecclesiatical Laws of King Cnut,[2] do not expressly mention cases where a divorce has taken place because of adultery, but it is difficult to suppose that no exception would have been made to their emphatic declarations of the sin of the 'marriage' of a divorced person if it had been held that under any circumstances such an act could take place. A like consideration applies to the interesting document entitled 'Judicium Clementis.'[3]

We are on still firmer ground when we reach the Council of Hertford of 673 and the testimony of the Venerable Bede. The tenth canon of the Council reads:

'Let no man commit incest; let no man leave his own wife except, as the holy Gospel teaches, for the cause of fornication. But if any have expelled his own wife, united to him in lawful wedlock, if he will to be rightly a Christian, he must not be joined to any other, but must so abide or be reconciled to his own wife.'[4]

[1] Section 8 contains the following: 'Never let it be that a Christian marry . . . one that is divorced. Nor let him who desires to observe God's law aright and to guard himself against hell-fire have more wives than one; but continue with her only so long as she lives.' See Johnson, *ibid.* pp. 484–5.

[2] Section 7 contains the following: 'We enjoin and charge and command, in God's name, that no Christian man do ever take a wife of his own kin within the sixth degree of relation . . . nor a divorced woman. . . . Let no man have more than one wife, and let her be a wedded wife, and let him remain with her only, so long as she lives, if he will rightly observe God's will and secure his soul against hell flames.' See Johnson, *ibid.* p. 506.

[3] Section 14: 'If any man send away his lawful wife and marry another, he is to be excommunicated by Christians, even if the first wife consent' ('Si quis uxorem legitimam dimittit et aliam ducit, excommunicetur a Christianis, etiamsi illa prior uxor consentiat'). Section 15: 'It is not lawful for separation to take place in the case of a lawful marriage unless there is the consent of both, so that they may remain unmarried' ('Non licet legitimo conjugio separari, nisi amborum consensus fuerit, ut innupti maneant'). See Haddan and Stubbs, iii. 227. The writer of these canons is thought by some to have been Willibrord, *ibid.* 226. The nineteenth section allows the husband of a wife who has been taken captive to marry another woman.

[4] 'Pro conjugiis, ut nulli liceat nisi legitimum habere connubium. Nullus incestum faciat: nullus conjugem propriam, nisi, ut sanctum evangelium docet, fornicationis causa relinquat. Quod si quisquam propriam expulerit conjugem legitimo sibi matrimonio conjunctam, si Christianus esse recte voluerit, nulli alteri copuletur; sed ita permaneat, aut propriæ reconcilietur conjugi.' See Hardouin, *Concilia*, iii. 1017–8: Haddan and Stubbs, iii. 120–1. The history and canons of the Council are given in Bede, *Hist. Eccl.* iv. 5. We are unable to accept the interpretation suggested by Dr. Pusey that the latter half of the canon means: 'But if any do leave his own wife except for the cause of fornication, at least let him not take another;' see his note O on Tertullian in the Oxford *Library of the Fathers*, p. 446. This interpreta-

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This Council, then, at which 'all the Bishops of the Anglo-Saxon Church then living, except Wini, the simoniacal Bishop of London, were present either in person or by deputy,'[1] while considering cases of offences against the marriage law, expressly declared the indissoluble character of the marriage bond. The Venerable Bede, with no less clearness, testified to the impossibility of the contraction of a second 'marriage' as long as both parties of the first marriage remained alive.

'What God has joined together by making one flesh of man and woman, this man cannot divide, only perchance God alone. Man divides when because of the desire for a second wife he sends away the first. God who also made the union divides when from consent for the sake of serving God because the time is short we so have wives as if we had none. . . . There is then only one carnal cause, fornication: one that is spiritual, the fear of God so that a wife be sent away as many are recorded to have done for the sake of religion. But there is no cause written in the law of God by which, while she lives who has been left, another may be married.'[2]

It may be asked whether there is no evidence on the other side. And we cannot say that we think the presenters of the Report of the York Committee have dealt fairly, either with the Convocation to which it was addressed or to any who may read it in its published form, in their silence about the 'Penitential of Archbishop Theodore,' the 'Excerptions' and 'Dialogue of Egbert,' the 'Laws of Howel the Good,' and the 'second synod of St. Patrick.' There are good reasons for thinking, as we hope to be able to show, that the tenth canon of the Council of Hertford and the words of Bede rightly represent the law of the Church in England, but a statement which aims at justice ought, at least, to give the opportunity for a full and careful consideration of the documents we have mentioned last.

tion would imply that a person who was disobeying the first part of the canon could 'be rightly a Christian'

[1] Haddan and Stubbs, iii. 121, note [b].

[2] Bede, *In Marc. Evang.* cap. x.: 'Quæ Deus conjunxit, unam faciendo carnem viri et feminæ, hæc homo non potest separare, nisi forsitan solus Deus. Homo separat, quando propter desiderium secundæ uxoris primam dimittit. Deus separat qui et conjunxerat, quando ex consensu propter servitutem Dei, eo quod tempus in arcto sit, sic habemus uxores quasi non habentes . . . In Matthæo scriptum plenius est "Quicunque dimiserit uxorem suam nisi ob fornicationem et aliam duxerit, mœchatur." Una ergo solummodo causa est carnalis, fornicatio; una spiritalis, timor Dei, ut uxor dimittatur, sicut multi religionis causa fecisse leguntur. Nulla autem causa est Dei lege præscripta, ut vivente ea quæ relicta est, alia ducatur.' This comment is based upon St. Jerome, *In Matt. Evang.* (xix. 6).

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The 'Penitential of Archbishop Theodore' is referred to by Bishop Kingdon (pp. 84–5) and Dean Luckock (pp. 165–6), and treated with great care and ability by Mr. Watkins (pp. 413–9). One of the provisions of the second book is as follows:

'If a man's wife have committed fornication, it is lawful for him to put her away and take another: that is, if a man have put away his wife because of fornication, if she is his first wife, it is lawful for him to take another wife; she, moreover, if she is willing to do penance for her sins, may take another husband after five years.'[1]

The history of the Penitential is obscure, and on the grounds that the canon we have quoted is out of harmony with the assertion of the general principle of the indissolubility of marriage in the first book,[2] and that Theodore presided at the Council of Hertford which, as we have seen, declared that one who wished 'to be rightly a Christian' 'must not be joined to any other' in the lifetime of his wife, Dean Luckock (pp. 166–7) is of opinion that the 'gravest suspicions' may be entertained about its genuineness. It is perhaps a better supported view that the canon is really Theodore's, and that it is due to the influence exercised upon him by laxity in the East. This theory is advocated with skill and knowledge by Mr. Watkins (pp. 417–8), and it is supported by the conclusions expressed about the Penitential in the elaborate discussion in Haddan and Stubbs' great work.[3] Whatever may be

[1] *Pœnit. Theod.* II. xii. 5: 'Si cujus uxor fornicata fuerit, licet dimittere eam et aliam accipere; hoc est, si vir dimiserit uxorem suam propter fornicationem, si prima fuerit, licitum est ut aliam accipiat uxorem; illa vero, si voluerit pœnitere peccata sua, post V. annos alium virum accipiat.' See Haddan and Stubbs, iii. 199.

[2] *Pœnit. Theod.* I. xiv. 8: 'He who has put away his wife and united himself to another must do penance for seven years with tribulation or for fifteen years with lighter discipline' ('Qui dimiserit uxorem suam, alteri conjungens se, VII. annos cum tribulatione pœniteat, vel XV. levius'). See Haddan and Stubbs, iii. 188.

[3] 'It claims for itself the character of an original treatise . . . it contains, with very significant exceptions, and those easily accounted for, every penitential sentence ascribed in the most ancient and independent collections to Theodore; and it contains them in a systematic form and arrangement, which confirm its claim to originality. But though drawn up under the eye and published with the authority of Theodore, it is not, in the modern view, a direct work of the great Archbishop. According to the preface, it is a collection of answers given by him to persons questioning him . . . most of them received by a priest named Eoda, "of blessed memory," from Theodore himself, and edited by a person who gives himself the title of "Discipulus Umbrensium." . . . Theodore's answers had been illustrated by Eoda. . . . by a comparison with a similar *libellus* of Scottish origin. . . . There is nothing to make it improbable that it was drawn up with the sanction of Theodore himself, or under

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the exact truth as to the history of the Penitential, it is a significant fact that any laxity there may have been in Theodore of Tarsus himself failed to affect the decisions of the representative Council of Hertford of which he was the president. If his opinion really was that a man who had divorced his wife 'because of fornication' might take another woman, and that the divorced wife might take another man, the force of the canon of the Council of Hertford as an argument that the teaching of the Church in England at that time included the assertion of the indissoluble character of the marriage bond is greatly increased. As Mr. Watkins justly observes, the expression of the stricter view

'in the acts of the Council may be taken as evidence that the Church of England at that time was not in the least prepared to forego her traditions in the matter, even in deference to the convictions of the greatest archbishop who had, up to that time, filled the primatial chair' (p. 414).

The 'Excerptions of Egbert,' who was Archbishop of York in the eighth century, while not altogether consistent, afford testimony in support of the indissolubility of marriage, and can only have been claimed on the opposite side through want of care. In the course of Canon 119 it is said:

'Augustine says, "If a woman commit fornication she is to be dismissed; but another is not to be married while she is alive." Wherever, then, there is fornication, and a just suspicion of fornication, the wife may be freely dismissed.'

The next three canons are:

'120. The African canon. According to the Evangelical discipline, neither let a wife, dismissed from her husband, take another man, the former living; nor a husband another woman; but let them so remain, or be reconciled.

'121. Augustin says: "If a woman commit fornication she is to be relinquished, but another must not be taken so long as she lives."

'122. A canon says: "If a woman depart from her husband with a contempt of him, refusing to return and be reconciled to him, he may take another wife after five or seven years with the Bishop's consent, if he cannot contain. But let him do penance for three years, or even so long as he lives, because he is convicted of adultery by the sentence of our Lord."'[1]

his eye; rather it may be said that the verses found at the end of the treatise, in which Theodore commends himself to the prayers of Bishop Haeddi, make it certain that this was the case.' Haddan and Stubbs, iii. 173: see the whole discussion on pp. 173-6.

[1] See Johnson, *English Canons*, part i. p. 209. Parts, at any rate, of this collection must be later than the time of Egbert. Johnson says of

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It is unnecessary to comment at length on the extraordinary character of the last canon, which says that a union is to be allowed with the Bishop's consent, for which penance is to be done and which is adulterous. The other three expressly declare that marriage is indissoluble.

The thirteenth question in the 'Dialogue of Egbert' deals with a difficult point arising subsequently to a valid marriage. A positive decision is avoided, and the statement made that 'sentence is not to be given in doubtful matters.'[1]

The 'Laws of Howel the Good' were probably composed early in the tenth century. They were agreed to by an assembly of clergy and laity held in the year 928 at Whitland in South Wales. King Howel had already been to Rome, accompanied by three Bishops, in order to obtain advice with a view to the improvement of Welsh law, and a

them: 'The following canons are called the Excerptions of Ecgbriht; and I see no room for doubt of his being the first founder of this work; and though great alterations have been made in it, yet they seem to have been made not long after the age of Ecgbriht. In truth, this collection looks like a code of canons for the province of York, which the successors of Ecgbriht, or others, augmented, curtailed, and transposed at discretion' (*ibid.* p. 181). A different opinion has been expressed by Haddan and Stubbs (iii. 415): 'Possibly Egbert had the reputation of having compiled *some* set of canons or other, and so they' (*i.e.* the transcribers of the MSS. of the Excerptions) 'guessed at these being his. Anyhow, as they stand, they are *not* his. There is nothing original in them; and certainly not sufficient evidence to make it probable that they are even based upon anything which he compiled.'

[1] See Haddan and Stubbs, iii. 409: 'XIII. *Interrogatio.* Quod si ex convenientia amborum legitimum dissolvitur conjugium, propter infirmitatem viri vel uxoris, si liceat sano incontinenti secundum inire conubium, infirmo consensum præbente, et promittente sese continentiam in perpetuo servaturum: Vestra Sanctitas quid de hoc judicat? *Responsio.* Nemo contra Evangelium, nemo contra Apostolum sine vindicta facit, idcirco consensum minime præbemus adulteris; onera tamen, quæ sine periculo portari non possunt, nemini inponimus, ea vero, quæ Dei sunt mandata, confidenter indicimus. Quem autem infirmitas implendi præpedit, uno profecto multum reservamus judicio Dei. Igitur ne forte videamur silentio fovere adulteros, aut diabolus qui decipit adulteros de adulteris exultet, ulterius audi: 'Quod Deus conjunxit, homo non separet.' Et item: 'Qui potest capere, capiat.' Sepe namque temporum permutatione, necessitas legem frangit. Quid enim fecit David, quando esuriit? et tamen sine peccato est. Ergo in ambiguis non est ferenda sententia. Sed consilia necesse est periclitari pro salute aliorum, hac conditione interposita, ut ei qui se continentiæ devovit nullo modo concedatur secundas inire nuptias, vivente priore.' 'This work . . . is generally received as genuine, the single doubt thrown upon it by the fact of its variations from the *Excerptiones Egberti* disappearing, as closer examination shows the latter work not to be Egbert's at all' (Haddan and Stubbs, iii. 403). Mr. Watkins (pp. 419–420) has an able comment on this 'Responsio.'

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subsequent visit in connexion with the laws agreed upon at the assembly confirms the impression that he was in earnest in this work. The form in which we know the laws is not earlier than the thirteenth century and may have been largely altered. As they stand in it, they allow the 'marriage' of a husband or of a wife who has been separated. Such a fact is to be noted, but the general laxity of the regulations is so greatly out of harmony with the principles of Christian legislation that it may be doubted whether they denote anything else than weak concessions of the Church and the State in Wales in the face of immorality which they felt themselves unable to suppress.[1]

The canons known as those of the 'second synod of St. Patrick,' which are probably of somewhat later date, allow a man who has put away his wife 'for the cause of fornication' to 'marry a second wife as if after the death of the former.'[2]

[1] An account of the making of the 'Laws of Howel the Good,' and the ecclesiastical portions of the laws themselves are in Haddan and Stubbs, i. 209–83. The regulations of the three codes, the Venedotian, the Dimetian, and the Gwentian, are there printed and translated in parallel columns. The laws 'of women' are on pp. 246–51. They made marriage terminable apparently without any reasons besides the wish of husband and wife, and without restrictions except with regard to pecuniary rights and compensations, and with freedom to both to 'marry' again. Some particulars about the date of the laws are given in Haddan and Stubbs, i. 211: 'In course of time the (seemingly) at first single code became distinguished into three, varying with the three great divisions of Wales, viz. Gwynedd (Venedotia), Dyved (Dimetia) for Deheubarth, and Gwent (*i.e.* Monmouth, &c.) for Morganwg. . . . Subsequent revisions, from certainly A.D. 1080 to the Statute of Rhuddlan A.D. 1284 (which introduced English law), have also rendered it impossible to separate in the code, according to existing MSS., the exact laws of the original code from later alterations or additions. It must be borne in mind, therefore, that the following extracts are from twelfth and thirteenth century transcripts only, of a document, embodying, no doubt, and modifying documents earlier than its own date (of a little after 900), but itself again, as undoubtedly, largely modified before these transcripts were made.'

[2] See Haddan and Stubbs, ii. 337: 'XXVI. *De meretrice conjuge.* Audi Dominum dicentem, "Qui adhæret meretrici, unum corpus efficitur.' Item, "Adultera lapidetur," id est, huic vitio moriatur, ut desinat crescere quæ non desinit mœchari. Item, si adulterata fuerit mulier, nunquid revertitur ad virum suum priorem? Item, "Non licet viro dimittere uxorem, nisi ob causam fornicationis," ac si dicat, ob hanc causam; unde, si ducat alteram velut post mortem prioris, non vetant.' As to the source of these decrees, see *ibid.* p. 333: 'The canons . . . in this (so-called) Second Synod are indisputably Irish; but hardly St. Patrick's. Of this "Second Synod," cc. III., VIII., XIV., XXIII., XXIV., XXV., XXX. occur . . . in the *Cod. Can. Hibern.*, and are there referred in most cases (not to St. Patrick, but) to a Roman Synod as adopted by an Irish one. And can. XXVII. of the list is directly contrary to St. Patrick's own "Confessio."'

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It cannot, then, be denied that there are individual instances of lax decisions in England, Wales, and Ireland. There is nothing in them to indicate the existence of a tradition allowing 'marriage' after divorce, and any right method of reasoning shows them to be mere exceptions in violation of the rule of the Church which was expressed at Hertford and by Bede, and implied in other documents to which we have referred, and which was at a later date unquestionably accepted in the acceptance of the marriage provisions of the canon law.[1] Allowing the fullest force to the evidence of which we have been writing, there is every reason to believe that the law of the Church in England since the sixteenth century which declares the indissoluble character of the marriage bond does not differ from the law which before that time had existed in this country continuously from the earliest days of which we have record.

III. At whatever point in her history the Church in England is part of a larger whole. Her appeal cannot end with the consideration of what she herself has done. Inheriting the truth and grace which are the possession of the whole mystical Body of Christ, she inherits also the duty of loyalty to the whole Catholic Church. We have then to inquire whether the assertion by the Church in England of the indissolubility of marriage is in accordance with this duty.

It will be convenient to examine the period from the beginning of the sixth century to the growth of the canon law before going back to earlier times, and to take the West and the East separately.

[1] Instances of these provisions are given by Mr. Watkins (pp. 390–3). It is sufficient in this place, on a point so impossible to dispute, to refer to the 'dictum' in the *Decretum* of Gratian (II. xxxii. 7) which declares that a husband commits adultery if he 'marries' in the lifetime of a wife whom he has put away because of fornication ('His auctoritatibus evidentissime monstratur, quod quicunque causa fornicationis uxorem suam dimiserit, illa vivente aliam ducere non poterit, et, si duxerit, reus adulterii est'). The ordinary Western position since the twelfth century is given by, *e.g.*, Peter Lombard, *Sent.* iv. 31 : 'Separatio autem gemina est, corporalis scilicet et sacramentalis. Corporaliter possunt separari causa fornicationis, vel ex communi consensu causa religionis, sive ad tempus sive usque in finem. Sacramentaliter vero separari non possunt dum vivunt, si legitimæ personæ sint. Manet enim vinculum conjugale inter eos, etiamsi aliis a se discedentes adhæserint.' St. Thom. Aq., *S. T.* Suppl. lxii. 5 : 'Nihil adveniens supra matrimonium potest ipsum dissolvere. Et ideo adulterium non facit quin sit verum matrimonium. "Manet" enim, ut Augustinus dicit, "inter viventes conjugale vinculum, quod nec separatio nec cum aliquo junctio potest auferre." Et ideo non licet uni, altero vivente, ad aliam copulam transire.'

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The teaching of the Church in the West in this period is not different from that of the prevalence of which in England we have already written. Again, there are slight and occasional exceptions to the rules ordinarily laid down. In the year 506 the Council of Agde, without making any express statement on the subject, appears to imply that for some causes divorces may be granted and remarriages allowed by the Bishops.[1] The national assembly convened by King Pepin at Verberie in 753, the decrees of which may have met with the acquiescence of the ecclesiastical authorities, allowed a separated husband or wife to 'marry' under circumstances of different kinds.[2] Four years later the Council of Compiègne allowed remarriage, not only in cases where separation had taken place because of leprosy or incestuous adultery, but also if one of the parties had entered a monastery, or if a vassal on leaving his lord had left at the same time the wife

[1] Canon 25: 'Those laymen who by a grievous fault are dissolving, or even have dissolved, the conjugal partnership, and who, without credibly declaring any causes of divorce, are dissolving their marriages for this reason, that they may take to them unlawful or strange connexions, if they have cast away their wives before they have stated the causes of divorce before the Bishops of the Province and before the wives have been judicially condemned, are to be excluded from the communion of the Church and the holy congregation of the people, because they defile their faith and their marriage unions' ('Hi vero sæculares qui conjugale consortium culpa graviore dimittunt, vel etiam dimiserunt; et nullas causas discidii probabiliter proponentes, propterea sua matrimonia dimittunt, ut aut illicita, aut aliena præsumant; si antequam apud episcopos comprovinciales discidii causas dixerint, et prius uxores, quam judicio damnentur, abjecerint; a communione Ecclesiæ, et sancto populi cœtu, pro eo quod fidem et conjugia maculant, excludantur'). See Hardouin, ii. 1001.

[2] The wife might 'marry' because of incestuous adultery on the part of the husband. The husband might 'marry,' if his wife had conspired against his life, or if she refused to go with him when he was obliged to leave his own country. See canons 2: 'Si aliquis cum filiastra sua manet, nec matrem, nec filiam ipsius potest habere; nec ille, nec illa aliis se poterunt conjungere ullo unquam tempore. Attamen uxor ejus, si ita voluerit, si se continere non potest, si posteaquam cognovit quod cum filia sua vir ejus fuit in adulterio, carnale commercium cum eo non habet, nisi voluntate abstinet, potest alio nubere'; 18, 'Qui cum consobrina uxoris suæ manet, sua careat, et nullam aliam habeat: illa mulier quam habuit, faciat quod vult'; 5, 'Si qua mulier mortem viri sui cum aliis hominibus consiliavit, et ipse vir ipsius hominem se defendendo occiderit, et hoc probare potest; ille vir potest ipsam uxorem dimittere, et si voluerit aliam accipiat'; 9, 'Si quis necessitate inevitabili cogente in alium ducatum seu provinciam fugerit . . .; et uxor ejus, cum valet et potest . . . eum sequi noluerit . . . ille vir ejus . . . si se abstinere non potest, aliam uxorem cum pœnitentia potest accipere.' To canon 18 the words 'Hoc ecclesia non recipit' are added. See Hardouin, iii. 1990-2.

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whom his lord gave him.[1] A canon attached to the canons of the Council of Worms of 868 allowed, among other relaxations, the 'marriage' of a woman who had put away her husband because of her discovery of his incestuous adultery prior to his marriage with her.[2] The Council of Soissons of 744,[3] and a canon passed by a Roman synod in 826 and ratified by another Roman synod in 853,[4] used language which is difficult to interpret, but which may have

[1] Canons 16 (leprosy); 8, 14, 15 (incestuous adultery); 13 (monastic vow); 6, 'Homo francus accepit beneficium de seniore suo, et duxit secum suum vassallum; et postea fuit ibi mortuus ipse senior, et dimisit ibi ipsum vassallum: et post hoc accepit alius homo ipsum beneficium; et pro hoc ut melius potuisset habere illum vassallum, dedit ei mulierem de ipso beneficio, et habuit ipsam aliquo tempore: et dimissa illa reversus est ad parentes senioris sui mortui, et accepit ibi uxorem, et modo habet eam. Diffinitum est, quod illam quam postea accepit ipsam habeat.' See Hardouin, iii. 2005-6.

[2] Canon 63: 'Si quis cum matre et filia in adulterio mansit, nesciente matre, quod cum filia mansisset: similiter et filia nescia, quod cum matre mansisset: et postea ille vir si acceperit mulierem, dimittat eam, et usque in diem mortis suæ non habeat uxorem. Et illa mulier, quam reliquerit, accipiat virum: et illa mater et filia, cum quibus in adulterio mansit, ambabus nescientibus, quod cum matre et filia mansisset, habeant viros. Nam in notitiam illarum si venerit hoc scelus, dimittant maritos, et agant pœnitentiam: et illarum mariti et illi posteriores, accipiant mulieres. Similiter et de duabus sororibus, qui cum una in adulterio mansit, et aliam in publico accepit, non habeat mulierem usque ad mortem. Et illæ duæ sorores nescientes, accipiant viros: et si in notitiam eis venerit forma superior servetur.' See Hardouin, v. 745.

[3] Canon 9: 'We ordain that . . . no one take the wife of another while her husband is living, and that no woman take another husband while her own is living; because a husband ought not to send away his wife except for the cause of discovered fornication' ('Constituimus, ut . . . nec marito vivente suam mulierem alius accipiat, nec mulier vivente suo viro alium accipiat: quia maritus mulierem suam non debet dimittere, excepto causa fornicationis deprehensæ'). See Hardouin, iii. 1934. Bishop Kingdon comments on this canon that it 'seems doubtful, for though the dismissal for adultery is seemingly acknowledged, the remarriage is forbidden unconditionally. It probably intends to forbid remarriage, though separation is allowed' (p. 34). The extraordinary character of the Latin of the canon will be observed. King Pepin, after the Council, referred the question of remarriage after separation to Pope Zacharias, who replied that both parties were to remain unmarried or be reconciled to each other. See his *Epistola* vii. 12, in Hardouin, iii. 1903.

[4] Canon 36: 'Let no one be allowed, except for the cause of fornication, to leave the wife who is joined to him and then unite with another: otherwise it is expedient that the transgressor be united in his former wedlock' ('Nulli liceat excepta causa fornicationis adhibitam uxorem relinquere, et deinde aliam copulare: alioquin transgressorem priori convenit sociari conjugio'). See Hardouin, v. 69. Here, again, the doubt is whether 'excepta causa fornicationis' is to be taken with 'aliam copulare' as well as with 'uxorem relinquere.'

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meant that in a separation because of adultery the person who had not committed adultery was free to contract a fresh 'marriage.' Of these instances the decision at Agde is obviously a concession weakly made by the Church to secular law ;[1] the canons of Compiègne and of Verberie, if the latter was accepted by the Church, show the influence of 'the sunshine of secular favour' which Mr. Watkins regards as 'the most potent of all instruments for the undermining of the Church's loyalty' (p. 389) ; the Council of Worms, if the canon referred to belongs to that Council, is legislating for a case so horrible that it may easily have led into inconsistency those who would ordinarily have maintained the indissolubility of marriage ; the meaning of the decisions at Soissons and Rome is most uncertain.

On the other hand, there is evidence of the greatest clearness that by the ordinary law of the Western Church neither party in a Christian marriage once validly and completely contracted was under any circumstances free to contract another marriage so long as the other should live. The decrees of the Councils of Friuli[2] and Toul,[3] of

[1] But too much should not be based on the Council speaking of the Arian Alaric II. in the following terms in the *præfatio* : 'Cum in nomine Domini, ex permissu domini nostri gloriosissimi, magnificentissimique regis, in civitate Agathensi sancta synodus convenisset, ibique flexis in terram genibus, pro regno ejus, pro longævitate, pro populo Dominum deprecaretur : ut, qui nobis congregationis permiserat potestatem, regnum ejus Dominus felicitate extenderet, justitia gubernaret, virtute protegeret.' See Hardouin, ii. 997.

[2] Canon 10 : 'Though the bond of marriage be broken for the cause of fornication, a man may not marry another wife as long as the adulteress lives, though she be an adulteress . . . For although it is read in the sacred pages of the Gospel that the Lord said that a man may send away his wife for the cause of fornication alone, yet it is not read that it is allowed for him to marry another while she lives ; there is no doubt that it is in every way forbidden' ('Item placuit ut, resoluto fornicationis causa jugali vinculo, non liceat viro, quamdiu adultera vivit, aliam uxorem ducere, licet sit illa adultera. . . . Nam etsi legatur in sacris evangelicis paginis, sola fornicationis causa dixisse Dominum, dimittere virum uxorem suam : non tamen legitur concessisse aliam, vivente illa, in conjugio sibi sociare : prohibuisse quidem modis omnibus non ambigitur.' See Hardouin, iv. 859-60. The date of the Council was 791 A.D.

[3] As shown in the letter written in 860 at the wish of the Council by Archbishop Hincmar of Rheims. The letter is printed in Hardouin, v. 521-38. The main subject of it is a different, though cognate, point, but it contains very express statements of the indissolubility of marriage. And a comparison of the passage 'Hujus procul dubio sacramenti res est, ut mas et femina connubio copulati, quamdiu vivant, inseparabiliter conjuncti perseverent : nec liceat, excepta causa fornicationis, conjugem a conjuge dirimi' (*ibid.* 525-6) with, *e.g.*, the passages 'Legaliter et nuptialiter copulati excepta causa fornicationis separari non possunt ; et

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Nantes[1] and Paris,[2] are instances of numerous decisions which may be found collected and discussed with great clearness and impartiality by Mr. Watkins (pp. 362–394). And if Pope Gregory II.[3] permitted the re-marriage of the husband in the same difficult case which led to hesitation in the 'Dialogue of Egbert,' there is no trace of evidence to throw doubt on the same writer's assertion that this 'concession' 'is perhaps the only instance in the whole long line of Roman pontiffs of a failure to maintain' (p. 377) the indissolubility of the bond of Christian marriage.

The only reasonable inference from the investigation of the Church in the West from the beginning of the sixth century to the growth of the canon law is that the canon law faithfully represented on this point the tradition of the Western Church throughout the period.

causa fornicationis separati, aut permanere innupti, aut mutuo debent reconciliari' (*ibid.* 531); 'Causa autem fornicationis vir aut mulier ab invicem discedentes, propter sacramentum nuptialis conjunctionis, aut innupti quousque alter eorum moriatur manebunt, aut sibi reconciliari studebunt' (*ibid.* 532); 'Vinculum conjugale, legaliter et nuptialiter celebratum, indissolubiliter manet connexum, licet fornicationis causa vel quacunque de causa videatur separatum' (*ibid.* 533), shows the probability of, *e.g.*, the decree of Soissons being rightly interpreted as not sanctioning 'marriage' after divorce.

[1] Canon 12: 'If a man's wife has committed adultery . . . let him send away his wife, if he will, because of fornication. . . . But her husband may not on any account take another wife while she lives' ('Si cujus uxor adulterium perpetravit . . . dimittat uxorem, si voluerit, propter fornicationem. . . . Vir vero ejus illa vivente nullatenus aliam accipiat'). See Hardouin, vi. 459. The date of this Council is uncertain. Sirmond (quoted *ibid.* 462, cf. iii. 985) says that it cannot be so late as 900, and that if anyone likes to refer it to 658, 'liberum esto judicium.' Hefele (*Councils*, iv. 476, English translation) mentions, without expressing his own opinion, that Pagi and Sirmond refer the canons to 658.

[2] *I.e.* the great Council held at Paris in 829 A.D. See iii. 2 (Hardouin, iv. 1353): 'A wife is not to be sent away except for the cause of fornication, as the Lord says, but is rather to be borne. And those who marry other wives when their own have been sent away for the cause of fornication are to be marked as adulterers by the judgment of the Lord' ('Et quod nisi causa fornicationis, ut Dominus ait, non sit uxor dimittenda, sed potius sustinenda. Et quod hi, qui causa fornicationis dimissis uxoribus suis alias ducunt, Domini sententia adulteri esse notentur'). Compare especially Hertford (673 A.D.), canon 10 (Hardouin, iii. 1017–8); Aix-la-Chapelle *Capitulare* (789 A.D.), cap. 43 (*ibid.* iv. 836); Worms (829 A.D.), repeating the decisions at Paris (*ibid.* iv. 1362); Tribur (895 A.D.), canon 46 (*ibid.* vi. 453–4); Troli (909 A.D.), cap. 8 (*ibid.* vi. 526).

[3] *Epistola* ii. *ad Bonifacium Episcopum*, 2 (printed in Hardouin, iii. 1858–9): 'Nam quod proposuisti, quod si mulier infirmitate correpta non valuerit debitum viro reddere, quid ejus faciat jugalis? Bonum esset si sic permaneret, ut abstinentiæ vacaret. Sed quia hoc magnorum est, ille qui se non poterit continere, nubat magis; non tamen subsidii opem subtrahat ab illa, quam infirmitas præpedit, et non detestabilis culpa excludit.'

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Very different was the history of marriage in the East during the same period. The Church, indeed, never acquiesced in the worst features of the marriage laws of the Eastern Empire. Mr. Watkins points out how, though the prohibitions of Justinian of 'divorce by consent' had been 'largely regarded during the twenty-four years during which they had stood unrepealed,' yet 'in 566 A.D. the lawfulness of divorce by mutual consent was again as fully recognized by the law of the Empire as if Christianity had been unknown in it,' and 'for nearly two hundred years the statute books of the Eastern Empire show no sign of amelioration.' In their earnest battle against this terrible laxity he tells us that 'the responsible teachers of the Eastern Church do not appear to have ever swayed,' and that 'to them it is due that from the end of the ninth century onwards the laws of the states of Eastern Christendom have continued so far at one with the law of Christ that they uniformly prohibit the ancient licence of consensual divorce' (pp. 350, 352). Yet numerous causes for divorce and the lawfulness of 'marriage' after divorce were recognized continuously during this period and are recognized at the present time by the Eastern Church.[1]

[1] It is difficult to find authority for any more exact statement about the East. The above, however, indicates sufficiently the difference between the East and the West. At the Council of Florence (A.D. 1439), after the decrees had been signed, eleven questions were asked of the Greeks by the Latins. The tenth of these was: 'Why do ye separate marriages, since the Lord said "Whom God hath joined, let not man separate"?' (Δι' ἣν αἰτίαν χωρίζετε τὰ ἀνδρόγυνα, τοῦ κυρίου εἰπόντος· οὓς ὁ Θεὸς ἔζευξεν, ἄνθρωπος μὴ χωριζέτω;), and this inquiry was one of the two to which Dorotheus, the Metropolitan of Mitylene, was unable to give a satisfactory answer. The Pope then addressed both questions to the Emperor, and the Eastern Bishops answered on his behalf that they did not allow separations without good reason (τὰ συνοικέσια ἡμῶν οὐκ ἀλόγως χωρίζονται). See Hardouin, ix. 429–32; cf. Popoff, *History of the Council of Florence*, pp. 158–9, English translation. The Greek canonists of the twelfth century appear to have regarded the legislation of Justinian as rightly to be accepted by the Church. See Bishop Kingdon's book, pp. 96–7. Alexius of Constantinople is quoted by Dean Luckock (pp. 151–2) as allowing 'marriage' in the case of a divorce for adultery only to the person who had not committed adultery. A statement written by the Archbishop of Athens is printed on p. 35 of the York Report, according to which the Bishops 'dissolve spiritually' marriages which have been 'legally dissolved' by 'the Court of First Instance;' 'dissolution of marriage is permitted' for 'further reasons' besides adultery; and 'both parties divorced' may 'contract another marriage by ecclesiastical ceremony,' although 'it is not, strictly speaking, legal' for 'parties who have committed adultery to contract a marriage.' A large number of cases in which divorce and remarriage are allowed by the Church in accordance with the secular law are given by Mr. Watkins, pp. 346–62. On the other hand, the Russian writer

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Working back, then, from the present time to the year 500 A.D., we are met by the problem that while the Church in England and the Western Church, of which it forms a part, have steadily maintained the indissoluble character of the marriage bond, Eastern Christians have allowed that, under certain circumstances, the bond ceases to exist. As a matter of hypothesis, there are several possible explanations of this difference. It might be conjectured that the Eastern Church has maintained unaltered the law of the primitive Church, or that the law of the Church always has been as in the canon law of the West, or that at the first the law was different from that of either, and that, while the East has relaxed, the West has tightened.

If the Church of England makes her appeal to the whole Catholic Church, it must be known in which of these differing laws or in what respect in both of them there has been departure from the true law of the Body of Christ.

IV. Between the days of the Apostles and the year 500 A.D. a number of Councils made decisions on the subject we are considering. Among these there is one which, because of its excommunication of husbands who have put away their wives and 'married' other women without any proof of the adultery of the wives, has been thought to allow of remarriage after divorce when there has been adultery.[1] It may be

Macarius says: 'Le Seigneur n'a indiqué qu'un seul cas où il soit permis de rompre le mariage; c'est le cas de l'infidélité ou de la violation du lien conjugal par l'un ou l'autre des époux: "Quiconque renvoie sa femme, si ce n'est en cas d'adultère, et en épouse une autre, commet un adultère" (Mat. xix. 9); "Quiconque aura renvoyé sa femme, si ce n'est en cas d'adultère, la fait devenir adultère" (*ibid.* v. 32). Aussi les décrets de saints conciles et les règles des saints Pères ne marquent-ils que ce seul cas qui permette la dissolution du mariage; ils remarquent néanmoins que, même dans ce cas, le lien des époux peut se maintenir par leur réconciliation et demeurer indissoluble.' See his *Théologie Dogmatique Orthodoxe*, tome ii. pp. 582–3. We do not know the original of this work, but it is understood that the French translation, from which we have quoted, is dependable. In Palmer's *Dissertations on subjects relating to the 'Orthodox' or 'Eastern-Catholic' Communion*, p. 305, differences between the Greek and Russian Churches on the subjects of the degrees of consanguinity and affinity and of mixed marriages are noted, but not with regard to divorce.

[1] Canon 2 of the Council of Vannes (465 A.D.): 'We ordain that those also who have left their own wives, as is said in the Gospel, except for the cause of fornication, and have married others without proof of adultery, are to be withheld from communion in like manner, lest the sins overlooked through our indulgence should invite others to freedom of error' ('Eos quoque, qui relictis uxoribus suis, sicut in Evangelio dicitur, excepta causa fornicationis, sine adulterii probatione alias duxerint, statuimus a communione similiter arcendos: ne per indulgentiam

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doubted whether much could rightly be based upon this decree of the Council of Vannes taken merely by itself. Those who have considered the list of the six Bishops who formed the Council will recognize the justice of Mr. Watkins' comment that they were 'dealing chiefly with the lax habits of Christians who availed themselves of the indulgence of the Frankish secular laws' (p. 384), and that their decisions were not unaffected by the customs by which they were surrounded, and will be careful not to infer from the silence of the canon about those 'married' after the divorce of adulterous wives that their action was therefore approved.

On the other hand, the prohibitions of 'marriage' after divorce for adultery are numerous. The Apostolical canon which authoritatively forbids a husband who has put away his wife to 'marry' another[1] does not, it is true, mention this special case. But it is hardly to be supposed that in such a collection of rules no notice would have been made of so important an exception had it been recognized. The Council of Elvira forbids 'marriage' to a woman who has left her husband because of his adultery.[2] The Council of Arles declares that young Christians who have detected the adultery of their wives are prohibited to 'marry.'[3] The famous canon

nostram prætermissa peccata alios ad licentiam erroris invitent'). See Hardouin, ii. 797.

[1] Canon 47: 'If a layman put away his wife and take another or a woman divorced by another, let him be excommunicated' (Εἴ τις λαϊκὸς τὴν ἑαυτοῦ γυναῖκα ἐκβάλλων ἑτέραν λάβῃ, ἢ παρ' ἄλλου ἀπολελυμένην, ἀφοριζέσθω). See Hardouin, i. 21.

[2] Canon 9: 'A Christian woman who has left an adulterous Christian husband and is marrying another is to be forbidden to marry; if, however, she has married, she is not to receive communion before the death of the man whom she has left, unless mortal sickness compel it' ('Item fidelis femina, quæ adulterum maritum reliquerit fidelem, et alterum ducit, prohibeatur ne ducat; si autem duxerit, non prius accipiat communionem, nisi quem reliquerit prius de sæculo exierit; nisi forte necessitas infirmitatis dare compulerit'). Canon 8 forbids communion even before death to women who have left their husbands without any cause and have been united to others. See Hardouin, i. 251. The date of this Council is variously given: Hardouin, 313 A.D.; Mansi (ii. 22), 309 A.D.; Hefele (i. 137, English translation), 305 A.D.

[3] Canon 10: 'Of those who discover their wives in adultery and are young Christians and are forbidden to marry, it was determined that they be most strongly advised not to take other wives while their own live, though they be adulterous' ('De his qui conjuges suas in adulterio deprehendunt, et iidem sunt adolescentes fideles, et prohibentur nubere, placuit ut in quantum possit consilium eis detur, ne viventibus uxoribus suis, licet adulteris, alias accipiant'). See Hardouin, i. 265. The date of the Council was 314. We cannot say we think Bishop Kingdon's 'that by all means they be counselled' (p. 28) a happy translation of 'ut in quantum possit consilium eis detur.' Hefele's admirable explanation

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102 of the African code asserts that either a man or a woman who has been put away must remain separated or be reconciled ;[1] and there is no trace that this decision was anywhere interpreted to contemplate an exception to the rule if the separation had been caused by adultery. The collection of canons frequently described as those of the synod of Milevi re-enacted the African canon without alteration.[2] The Council of Angers used language of singular strength in ex-

of the difficult language of this canon is as follows : 'In reference to the ninth canon of Elvira, the Synod of Arles has in view simply the case of a man putting away his adulterous wife ; whilst, on the contrary, the Council of Elvira refers to the case of a woman leaving her adulterous husband. In both cases the two Councils alike depart from the existing civil law, by refusing to the innocent party the right of marrying again. But there is the noteworthy difference, that the right of remarrying is forbidden to the woman, under penalty of permanent excommunication (can. 9 of Elvira) ; while the man is only strongly advised ('in quantum possit consilium iis detur') not to marry again. Even in this case marriage is not allowed, as is shown by the expression 'et prohibentur nubere.' This Synod will not *allow* that which has been *forbidden*, but only abstains from imposing ecclesiastical penance. Why is it more considerate to the man? Undoubtedly because the existing civil law gave greater liberty to the husband than to the wife, and did not regard the connexion of a married man with an unmarried woman as adultery.' See Hefele, i. 189–90, English translation. Compare canon 24 in the MS. discovered at Lucca by Mansi : see Mansi, ii. 474 ; Hefele, i. 196, E.T. Lord Grimthorpe in his singularly silly comment on this Council (p. 334) appears to be under the impression that there is some authority for Petavius' conjectural emendation of the reading suggested in his edition of Epiphanius, *Adv. Hær.* lix. 3 (t. ii. app. p. 255).

[1] 'It was determined that, in accordance with Evangelical and Apostolic discipline, neither a man put away by his wife nor a woman put away by her husband may be united to another ; but let them remain so, or be reconciled to each other' ('Placuit, ut secundum evangelicam et apostolicam disciplinam neque dimissus ab uxore, neque dimissa a marito, alteri conjungatur ; sed ita maneant, aut sibimet reconcilientur'). See Hardouin, i. 923 ; cf. Ballerini, *Oper. S. Leonis*, t. iii. p. xcv.

[2] Canon 17. See Hardouin, i. 1220. This is quoted by Bishop Kingdon (pp. 31, 42) and the York Report (pp. 53, 60) as of the Council of Milevi, about 416 A.D. Dean Luckock (p. 146) takes the same view and adds that 'St. Augustine not only subscribed' the canons of the Council, 'but sent a private letter to the Pope accompanying the synodical commendation of them.' Hefele (ii. 455, English translation) says that 'all' these canons 'belong to other synods.' A common opinion is that of Hardouin (i. 923, 1220), that this particular canon was of the Synod of Carthage of 407. The question whether this canon was among those reaffirmed by canon 1 of the Œcumenical Council of Chalcedon in 451 (see Hardouin, ii. 602) is discussed by Keble, *Sequel of the Argument against immediately repealing the laws which treat the nuptial bond as indissoluble*, pp. 178–9. The three letters to Innocent, in the sending of which St. Augustine joined in 416 (*Ep.* clxxv., clxxvi., clxxvii.) are on a different question.

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communicating those who went through a form of 'marriage' with wives whose husbands were still living.[1]

The testimony of the Fathers begins with a well-known passage in the 'Shepherd' of Hermas. As the right interpretation of the passage has been disputed, it will be necessary for us to quote it at length. The writer of the book is represented in it as carrying on a dialogue with the Angel of Repentance, who has appeared to him in a vision.

'I said to him, Sir, allow me to ask you a few questions. Say on, he said. Sir, I said, if a man should have a wife who is faithful in the Lord' (*i.e.* a Christian) 'and should find her in some act of adultery, does the husband sin if he continues to live with her? As long as he is ignorant [of her adultery], he said, he sins not; but if the husband know of her sin and the wife repent not but continue in the fornication, and if the husband still live with her, he becomes a sharer in the guilt of her sin and a partner in her adultery. What then, Sir, I said, is the husband to do if the wife continue to allow the sin? Let him put her away, he said, and let the husband continue by himself; but if he put away his wife and marry another, he himself also commits adultery. If then, Sir, I said, the woman repent after she has been put away, and wish to return to her own husband, shall she not be received? Yes, he said; if her husband do not receive her, he sins and brings a great sin upon himself; but one who has sinned and is repenting ought to be received, only not often; for to the servants of God there is one repentance. For the sake of the repentance, then, the husband ought not to marry. The matter is the same in the case of a woman and of a man. (Not only, he said, is it adultery if anyone defile his flesh, but also he who makes the images of the heathen commits adultery. Therefore, if anyone continue in such works also and repent not, depart from him and associate not with him; otherwise, thou also art partaker in his sin.) Therefore it is commanded to you, whether husband or wife, to remain by yourselves, for in such there can be repentance. I do not then, he said, give an occasion that this matter so happen, but with the view that one who has sinned may sin no more. But for his former sin there is One who is able to give healing, for He it is who has authority over all things.'[2]

[1] Canon 6: 'Hi quoque qui alienis uxoribus, superstitibus ipsarum maritis, nomine conjugii abutuntur, a communione habeantur extranei.' See Hardouin, ii. 779. The date of the Council was 453.

[2] Hermas, *Pastor*, II. iv. i.: *Λέγω αὐτῷ· Κύριε, ἐπίτρεψόν μοι ὀλίγα ἐπερωτῆσαί σε. Λέγε, φησίν. Κύριε, φημὶ, εἰ γυναῖκα ἔχῃ τις πιστὴν ἐν κυρίῳ καὶ ταύτην εὕρῃ ἐν μοιχείᾳ τινί, ἆρα ἁμαρτάνει ὁ ἀνὴρ συνζῶν μετ' αὐτῆς; Ἀχρι τῆς ἀγνοίας, φησὶν, οὐχ ἁμαρτάνει· ἐὰν δὲ γνῷ ὁ ἀνὴρ τὴν ἁμαρτίαν αὐτῆς, καὶ μὴ μετανοήσῃ ἡ γυνὴ, ἀλλ' ἐπιμένῃ τῇ πορνείᾳ αὐτῆς, καὶ συνζῇ ὁ ἀνὴρ μετ' αὐτῆς, ἔνοχος γίνεται τῆς ἁμαρτίας αὐτῆς καὶ κοινωνὸς τῆς μοιχείας αὐτῆς. Τί οὖν, φημὶ, κύριε, ποιήσῃ ὁ ἀνὴρ, ἐὰν ἐπιμείνῃ τῷ πάθει τούτῳ ἡ γυνή; Ἀπολυσάτω, φησὶν, αὐτὴν, καὶ ὁ ἀνὴρ ἐφ' ἑαυτῷ μενέτω· ἐὰν δὲ*

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It has been customary to regard this passage as a clear prohibition of the remarriage of either husband or wife after divorce even for adultery, and subsequent writers have followed Mr. Keble[1] in calling attention to the marked difference between the prohibition that is thus expressed and the counsel not to marry again given to one whose husband or wife is dead.[2]

This interpretation is accepted in the York Report and in the works of Bishop Kingdon, Dean Luckock, and Mr. Watkins. It has lately been challenged by a writer whose lightest word claims attention from students of theology and of the Fathers. In a letter which was published in the *Guardian* of February 6, the Regius Professor of Ecclesiastical History at Oxford mentioned Dean Luckock's use of the passage as an instance of 'a strong preconception derived from Latin and English canon law' which, in his opinion, characterized 'the Dean's comments on patristic evidence.' Dr. Bright went on to say:

'A passage in Hermas is claimed as "absolutely forbidding the remarriage of either of the separated parties *in the lifetime* of the other" (*Hist. Marr.* p. 82). Hermas says nothing about a "lifetime." His ground for prohibiting remarriage is that the guilty wife may repent, and should then be "taken back, *but*," he expressly adds, "*not often, for to the servants of God there is* (but) *one repentance.*" These words are omitted in Dean Luckock's version, and

ἀπολύσας τὴν γυναῖκα ἑτέραν γαμήσῃ, καὶ αὐτὸς μοιχᾶται. Ἐὰν οὖν, φημὶ, κύριε, μετὰ τὸ ἀπολυθῆναι τὴν γυναῖκα μετανοήσῃ ἡ γυνὴ καὶ θελήσῃ ἐπὶ τὸν ἑαυτῆς ἄνδρα ὑποστρέψαι, οὐ παραδεχθήσεται; Καὶ μήν, φησὶν, ἐὰν μὴ παραδέξηται αὐτὴν ὁ ἀνὴρ, ἁμαρτάνει καὶ μεγάλην ἁμαρτίαν ἑαυτῷ ἐπισπᾶται, ἀλλὰ δεῖ παραδεχθῆναι τὸν ἡμαρτηκότα καὶ μετανοοῦντα· μὴ ἐπὶ πολὺ δέ· τοῖς γὰρ δούλοις τοῦ Θεοῦ μετάνοιά ἐστιν μία. διὰ τὴν μετάνοιαν οὖν οὐκ ὀφείλει γαμεῖν ὁ ἀνήρ· αὕτη ἡ πρᾶξις ἐπὶ γυναικὶ καὶ ἀνδρὶ κεῖται. οὐ μόνον, φησὶν, μοιχεία ἐστὶν, ἐάν τις τὴν σάρκα αὐτοῦ μιάνῃ, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὃς ἂν τὰ ὁμοιώματα ποιῇ τοῖς ἔθνεσιν, μοιχᾶται. ὥστε καὶ ἐν τοῖς τοιούτοις ἔργοις ἐὰν ἐμμένῃ τις καὶ μὴ μετανοῇ, ἀπέχου ἀπ' αὐτοῦ καὶ μὴ συνζῆθι αὐτῷ· εἰ δὲ μὴ, καὶ σὺ μέτοχος εἶ τῆς ἁμαρτίας αὐτοῦ. διὰ τοῦτο προσετάγη ὑμῖν ἐφ' ἑαυτοῖς μένειν, εἴτε ἀνὴρ εἴτε γυνή· δύναται γὰρ ἐν τοῖς τοιούτοις μετάνοια εἶναι. ἐγὼ οὖν, φησὶν, οὐ δίδωμι ἀφορμὴν ἵνα αὕτη ἡ πρᾶξις οὕτως συντελῆται, ἀλλὰ εἰς τὸ μηκέτι ἁμαρτάνειν τὸν ἡμαρτηκότα. περὶ δὲ τῆς προτέρας ἁμαρτίας αὐτοῦ ἔστιν ὁ δυνάμενος ἴασιν δοῦναι· αὐτὸς γάρ ἐστιν ὁ ἔχων πάντων τὴν ἐξουσίαν.

[1] Keble, *Sequel of the Argument against immediately repealing the laws which treat the nuptial bond as indissoluble*, 7.

[2] Hermas, *Pastor*, II. iv. 4: 'If a wife or a husband be dead, and one marry, does the person who marries sin? He does not sin, he said; but, if he abide by himself, he gains more abundant honour to himself and great glory with the Lord. But if he marry, he does not sin' (*Ἐὰν γυνὴ, φημὶ, κύριε, ἢ πάλιν ἀνήρ τις κοιμηθῇ, καὶ γαμήσῃ τις ἐξ αὐτῶν, μήτι ἁμαρτάνει ὁ γαμῶν; Οὐχ ἁμαρτάνει, φησὶν, ἐὰν δὲ ἐφ' ἑαυτῷ μείνῃ τις, περισσοτέραν ἑαυτῷ τιμὴν καὶ μεγάλην δόξαν περιποιεῖται πρὸς τὸν κύριον· ἐὰν δὲ καὶ γαμήσῃ, οὐχ ἁμαρτάνει*).

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also in his exhibition of the Latin version of the Greek. Yet surely they are important.'[1]

Now, we agree with Dr. Bright that the sentence to which he refers ought not to have been omitted in the quotation. Without it, it is not possible to consider fully what the meaning of Hermas is. At the same time, there is no indication of the likelihood of Hermas having thought that, supposing a wife who had committed adultery, been separated from her husband, and on repentance reconciled to him, had again fallen into the same sin, the husband would in that case be free to contract a fresh marriage. And—and this is a point of the highest importance—Hermas does not only say that the husband must remain by himself because of the possibility of his wife's repentance, but also that if the husband 'marry another woman, he himself also commits adultery,' which would not be true unless there were a bond of marriage which remains unbroken even when the wife is adulterous.

The testimony of Justin Martyr is parallel to that of some Councils which we have noticed. He condemns those 'who by human law are twice married,' but does not say whether he is considering the case of a husband or wife who has been separated from an adulterous spouse.[2]

We doubt whether Bishop Kingdon (p. 47), who is followed by the York Report (pp. 62–3), is wise in the prominence given to the teaching of Athenagoras that 'whoever puts away his wife and marries another commits adultery,' or whether Mr. Watkins (p. 202) exercises his usual judgment in the importance he attaches to it. Athenagoras, as is well known, held views about second marriages of any kind which have not been accepted by the Church of Christ, and which surely deserve a less grudging condemnation than that which Bishop Kingdon awards to them; and it can hardly be possible for anyone who has studied patristic methods of quoting Holy Scripture to be quite without doubt whether it is just to make so much of the fact that 'Athenagoras quotes our Lord's precept without any excepting clause.'[3]

The teaching of Clement of Alexandria[4] is parallel to

[1] *Guardian*, February 6, 1895, p. 202. Dr. Bright wrote further letters in the *Guardian* of February 20 and March 13 and 20.

[2] Just. Mart. *Apol.* i. 15.

[3] Athenag. *Apol.* xxxiii.

[4] Clem. Alex. *Strom.* ii. 23: 'Now that the Scripture counsels marriage and does not allow any departure from the union, it expressly legislates, Thou shalt not put away thy wife except for the cause of fornication; and it accounts a second marriage in the lifetime of either of those who have been separated as adultery' (ὅτι δὲ γαμεῖν ἡ γραφὴ

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that of the Council of Soissons of 744 and those of Rome of 826 and 853.

There is no doubt that Tertullian, after he became a Montanist, held 'marriage' after separation for adultery to be unlawful.[1] But, as in the case of Athenagoras, this fact has to be taken in connexion with the parallel fact that he condemned second marriages of any kind, and, to quote Dr. Bright's letter again,

'As for the *De Monogamia*, where Tertullian says, "To us, even though we divorce, marriage will not be allowed," it is rash to infer a Catholic "law" from the language of an intensely sectarian treatise, directed against all second marriage whatsoever, and illustrating the writer's habitual recklessness when he has a controversial point to maintain.'[2]

There are very few things which are more necessary in dealing with the language of early Christian writers than to observe accurately their standpoint and the real bearing of what they say. Mere collections of unsorted quotations of passages, written under entirely different circumstances and possibly with a different use of language, have unquestionably a tendency to mislead.

Care, then, must be taken not to think too much of Tertullian's statements in the Montanistic treatises, though the consideration pointed out by Mr. Keble that 'he does not charge the "Psychici," as he calls the Church, with allowing divorce as with a corruption (which he would be likely to do, had they really allowed it in any case), but speaks as if they, disallowing it, ought in consistency to be none of them twice married'[3] is of considerable weight.

Still, if, as is our opinion, there is no passage in the earlier treatises of Tertullian which can, with any confidence, be quoted to support or to condemn 'marriage' after divorce,[4]

συμβουλεύει οὐδὲ ἀφίστασθαί ποτε τῆς συζυγίας ἐπιτρέπει, ἄντικρυς νομοθετεῖ· Οὐκ ἀπολύσεις γυναῖκα, πλὴν εἰ μὴ ἐπὶ λόγῳ πορνείας· μοιχείαν δὲ ἥγειται τὸ ἐπιγῆμαι ζῶντος θατέρου τῶν κεχωρισμένων). The question is whether the exception εἰ μὴ ἐπὶ λόγῳ πορνείας is to be read into the last clause or limited to the first. Cf. iii. 6.

[1] Tert. *De Monog.* 9, 10; *Adv. Marc.* iv. 34, v. 7.

[2] *Guardian*, February 6, 1895, p. 202.

[3] Keble, *Sequel of the Argument against immediately repealing the laws which treat the nuptial bond as indissoluble*, pp. 13, 14.

[4] See *De Patientia*, 12: 'It is not lawful for us to remain for a single day without patience. For, since it controls every kind of healthful discipline, what wonder that it even ministers to penitence, which is wont to aid the fallen, since, when marriage is disjoined, yet for this reason for which it is lawful either for a man or a woman to be sustained in persevering in widowhood, this waits, this wishes, this prays for

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it is best to put his teaching altogether aside in considering the subject.

The testimony of Origen is of very great interest. Bishop Kingdon in his summary (p. 72) definitely says that he 'prohibits' 'marriage' after divorce, and at an earlier point in his treatise (pp. 52–3) quotes passages to support this view. Dean Luckock, while admitting that 'Origen would not take upon himself to condemn' 'absolutely' those who allowed a different practice, has no doubt that 'the rule and practice of the Church in Origen's time was unquestionably based upon the belief that nothing but death dissolved the marriage bond' (pp. 88–9). On the other hand, Mr. Reynolds, who has evidently spent time and pains on the study of Origen, expresses his judgment that 'he represents the action of a guilty wife as severing the bond'[1] and so making remarriage possible.

Both opinions alike are based upon the long passage in Origen's treatise on St. Matthew's Gospel in which he comments upon the question about divorce which the Pharisees asked and our Lord's reply.[2] This passage was treated years ago with great care by Mr. Keble,[3] and it is obvious that his

penitence for those who are some day to enter salvation. How great good it confers on both! The one it prevents from adultery, the other it causes to amend' ('Non licet nobis una die sine patientia manere. At enim cum omnem speciem salutaris disciplinæ gubernet, quid mirum, quod etiam pœnitentiæ ministrat, solitæ lapsis subvenire; cum disjuncto matrimonio, ex ea tamen causa, qua licet seu viro seu feminæ ad viduitatis perseverantiam sustineri, hæc exspectat, hæc exoptat, hæc exorat pœnitentiam quandoque inituris salutem. Quantum boni utrique confert! Alterum non adulterum facit, alterum emendat'). *Ad Uxorem*, ii. 1: 'Let us now turn to the counsel that is next best, in regard to human infirmity, since we are admonished by the examples of certain women who, when an opportunity for continence has been offered by divorce or a husband's death, have not only thrown away the opportunity of so great a good, but have not even in marrying been willing to remember the rule that before all things they should marry in the Lord' ('Nunc ad secunda consilia convertamur, respectu humanæ infirmitatis, quarundam exemplis admonentibus, quæ divortio vel mariti excessu, oblata continentiæ occasione, non modo abjecerunt opportunitatem tanti boni, sed ne in nubendo quidem rursum disciplinæ meminisse voluerunt, ut in domino potissimum nuberent'). The passage in *De Patientia* has been taken to mean that 'marriage' would be 'adultery' in a case where separation had been right: that in *Ad Uxorem* has been interpreted as implying that it was equally lawful for a woman to 'marry' after 'divortium' and after 'mariti excessus.' The argument is precarious in either case. In our opinion the inference from *De Patientia* is better supported than that from *Ad Uxorem*. Compare *Ad Uxorem*, ii. 2. Both these treatises were written before Tertullian became a Montanist. See Fuller in Smith and Wace's *Dictionary of Christian Biography*, iv. 822.

[1] *Origen and the York Report*, p. 8. [2] St. Matt. xix. 3–9.

[3] Keble, *Sequel of the Argument against immediately repealing the laws which treat the nuptial bond as indissoluble*, pp. 21–7.

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interpretation of it underlies what has been written by Bishop Kingdon and Dean Luckock. The Dean's discussion is fuller than that of the Bishop, and we may take his statement as representing the point of view of both. To his mind the whole passage is pervaded by the thought of the 'original design of the Creator' whereby marriage was indissoluble, and regards any 'relaxation' of its indissolubility as a 'concession to man's weakness.' Since such a relaxation was made by Moses and the principle of concession was recognized in the New Testament, it was not to be wondered at that 'it had been recognized also in the government of the Church in regard to' the law of marriage (pp. 86–7). Dean Luckock then quotes two passages, which are the same as those given by Bishop Kingdon (pp. 52–3). They are as follows:[1]

'And before now, contrary to what is written, some rulers of the Church permitted a certain woman to marry during the lifetime of her husband, doing this in opposition to the Scripture in which it has been said "A woman is bound as long as her husband liveth," and again, "The woman shall be called an adulteress if she be joined to another man while her husband is living," not altogether without reason, for it is probable that this concession was permitted through comparison with worse things contrary to that which was ordained from the beginning and written in the Scripture.'

'As the woman is an adulteress, even if she seem to be married to a man while her former husband is still alive, so also a man who seems to marry a divorced woman does not so much marry, according to the decision of our Saviour, as commit adultery.'[2]

Placed close together in this way and read in the light of the concession of the 'rulers of the Church' being parallel to certain concessions in the New Testament, these two passages may not unnaturally be taken to mean that the woman referred to had been put away for adultery and that her subsequent 'marriage' was regarded by Origen as a further act of adultery. This, as we understand them, is the position of Bishop Kingdon and Dean Luckock.

[1] We have aimed at somewhat more literal translation than that in the books referred to.

[2] Origen, *In Matt.* tom. xiv. 23 (t. iii. p. 647, Delarue): *Ἤδη δὲ παρὰ γεγραμμένα καί τινες τῶν ἡγεμένων τῆς ἐκκλησίας ἐπέτρεψάν τινα, ὥστε ζῶντος τοῦ ἀνδρὸς, γαμεῖσθαι γυναῖκα, παρὰ τὸ γεγραμμένον μὲν ποιοῦντες ἐν ᾧ λέλεκται· γυνὴ δὲ ἐφ' ὅσον χρόνον ζῇ ὁ ἀνὴρ αὐτῆς, καὶ τό· ἅμα οὖν μοιχαλὶς χρηματίσει ἡ γυνὴ γενομένη ἀνδρὶ ἑτέρῳ ζῶντος τοῦ ἀνδρὸς, οὐ μὴν πάντη ἀλόγως, εἰκὸς γὰρ τὴν συμπεριφορὰν ταύτην συγκρίσει χειρόνων ἐπιτρέπεσθαι παρὰ τὰ ἀπ' ἀρχῆς νενομοθετημένα καὶ γεγραμμένα. Ibid.* 24 (p. 649): *Ὥσπερ δὲ μοιχαλίς ἐστι γυνὴ, κἂν δοκῇ γαμεῖσθαι ἀνδρὶ, ἔτι ζῶντος τοῦ προτέρου· οὕτως καὶ ἀνὴρ δοκῶν γαμεῖν ἀπολελυμένην, οὐ γαμεῖ, κατὰ τὴν τοῦ σωτῆρος ἡμῶν ἀπόφασιν, ὅσον μοιχεύει.*

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Probably a good many persons acquainted with the treatise of Origen have shared our surprise that a writer who can have no interest but the establishment of the truth should have given unwary readers no hint that the two passages are separated from each other by a discussion of possible causes of separation which occupies nearly two pages of the Benedictine edition.[1] And it does not increase our confidence in the thoroughness of the Dean's knowledge of the treatise in question to find, from a letter which he addressed to Mr. Reynolds,[2] that a highly important part of Origen's treatment of the question had 'escaped' his 'notice' at the time when he wrote his book.

The York Report is on this point, as with regard to the Fathers and the Councils generally, a mere reproduction of Bishop Kingdon's book, and adopts (p. 65) from him the statement that 'we cannot find any trace that the exception mentioned in St. Matthew was regarded as in any way affecting the unconditional condemnation of such "seeming" or pretended marriages (as Origen calls them). This surely would imply that there was some traditional mode of interpreting St. Matthew, which was tacitly accepted,' and adds at a later point the following sentences:

'The Primitive Fathers . . . quote our Lord's words without allowing any exception or excepting clause; as if there were a traditional and well-understood mode of interpreting any such exception as not applying to Christians. See, *e.g.*, Athenagoras, A.D. 177, Origen, 245 A.D., and others' (pp. 97–8).

We shall have occasion, later on, to refer to our Lord's words. Our present point is the teaching of Origen. And we cannot help feeling that careful students must have been no less startled at the statements we have quoted than at Dean Luckock's silence upon which we have already commented. It is difficult to suppose that either Bishop Kingdon or the compiler of the York Report can have had any accurate recollection of the parts of Origen's discussion which they did not quote; for in the long passage which comes between the two passages which they have given the 'excepting clause'

[1] Dean Luckock writes as if the second passage was expressly connected with the first: 'It deserves our especial notice that Origen guards himself from letting it be supposed that such a union as had been allowed by the above dispensation was an actual legal marriage; for he thus writes: "as the woman,"' &c. (p. 88). Bishop Kingdon gives the numbers of the pages, and mentions that the second passage is 'a little later on' than the first (p. 52), but there is nothing to show a reader unacquainted with the passage the importance of what lies between.

[2] See *Origen and the York Report*, Preface, p. i.

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in 'our Lord's words' and possible interpretations of it are carefully considered.

Mr. Reynolds' pamphlet on this subject is free from the carelessness it has been our duty to point out in other writers. He calls attention to the 'stress' which 'Origen lays' 'on the words "every cause"' (p. 1), the 'very remarkable sentence' in which 'Origen represents the union of Christ and His Church as a second marriage following after the dissolution of the first by the adultery of the former wife' (p. 2), the treatment of the words 'saving for the cause of fornication,' the absence of any proof that in the historical incident mentioned by Origen 'the separation' of the woman 'from the first husband was occasioned by adultery' (p. 5), and the discussion of the question whether 'a wife' who 'was not convicted of fornication' (p. 6) could lawfully be put away for any other offence. In expressing a hope that 'the whole of' the 'evidence will be carefully gone into and re-examined,' and referring to the allusion in the York Report to Origen as indicating 'a traditional and well-understood mode of applying' the 'excepting clause' in 'our Lord's words' 'as not applying to Christians,' he ventures

> 'to think it has been proved . . . (1) that Origen understood πορνεία to mean adultery, also (2) that he took St. Matthew's Gospel as intended for the whole Christian Church' (p. 9).

Our consideration of the passages in St. Matthew's Gospel must, as we have said, come later. On the teaching of Origen, our opinion, not adopted without hesitation and recognition of much to be said on the other side, is that the passage—

> 'The woman is an adulteress even if she seem to be married to a man while her former husband is still alive, so also a man who seems to marry a divorced woman does not so much marry, according to the decision of our Saviour, as commit adultery'—

is meant to be a declaration which sums up the whole question by affirming that while separation is lawful for the one cause mentioned by our Lord—*πορνεία*—under no circumstances can there be a valid marriage if the husband or wife of either of the parties is still alive. The argument from the comparison of our Lord with a husband who has married a second wife after the adultery of the first is of weight in support of another interpretation. Our reasons for not allowing it to outweigh the indications which support the opinion we have expressed are, first, that the Jewish synagogue, the first wife, died by reason of the separation, and, in the second

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place, that Origen might well use the illustration without meaning it to be in all respects consistently worked out.

The importance of the view of Origen may easily be exaggerated. There are very few matters on which he is a safe guide. So far as he can rightly be quoted at all in this controversy, it is, we think, in support of the indissolubility of marriage. We have treated his opinion at some length partly because of its interest and partly because we wish to enter a protest against the carelessness which disfigures some of the works which we have under review.

We have not referred to Mr. Watkins' learned book in connexion with Origen because, though he quotes a great part of what Origen says, his handling of it seems to us nervous, lacking his usual ability, and inadequate. In writing of the remaining patristic evidence with a brevity which is enforced upon us by the limits of our space, we may avail ourselves of his statement that

'St. Ambrose,[1] St. Jerome,[2] and St. Augustine [3] decline to admit

[1] St. Ambrose's position may be seen by a comparison of *Expos. Evang. Luc.* viii. 2 with *De Abraham*, i. 4 (§ 25).

[2] See St. Jerome, *Ep.* lv. 3, lxxvii.; *Ad Jovin.* i. 10; *In Mal.* (ii. 14); *In Matt. Evang.* (xix.). In the first reference he says: 'As long as the husband liveth, though he be an adulterer, though he be of unnatural vice, though he be guilty of all crimes, and have been left by his wife because of these sins, he is accounted her husband and she may not take another' ('Quamdiu vivit vir, licet adulter sit, licet sodomita, licet flagitiis omnibus coopertus, et ab uxore propter hæc scelera derelictus, maritus ejus reputatur, cui alterum virum accipere non licet'). In the second reference (§ 3) he says: 'What is unlawful for women is equally unlawful for men' ('Quod non licet feminis, æque non licet viris'); and though the particular words apply to indulgence in sin, not expressly to remarriage, the whole context shows that, in St. Jerome's view, they may rightly be so applied.

[3] The teaching of St. Augustine in *De Bono Conjug.* 3–7; *De Conj. Adult., passim*; *De Serm. Dom. in Monte*, i. 14–16 (§§ 39–48); *Serm.* cccxcii. 2, is unmistakable. The passage in *De Fide et Operibus*, 19 (§ 35), does not appear to refer to the marriages of those who have been baptized. It expresses some doubt as to whether the remarriage of a husband who has put away his wife for adultery is sin so grievous as necessarily to exclude one who has committed it from baptism. In the light both of his teaching elsewhere and of the immediate context it can hardly be thought that the sentence, 'Et in ipsis divinis sententiis ita obscurum est, utrum et iste, cui quidem sine dubio adulteram licet dimittere, adulter tamen habeatur si alteram duxerit, ut, quantum existimo, venialiter ibi quisque fallatur,' expresses a real doubt of his own as to the meaning of our Lord's teaching. Rather, the sense is that an ill-instructed person must not be judged too hardly if he misunderstands. In *Retract.* i. 19 (§ 6), he refers to his teaching in the Discourse on the Sermon on the Mount, and does not express any doubt that he taught truly on the subject of remarriage; in *Retract.* ii. 57, he writes as follows with reference to the

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remarriage after a divorce for adultery, even in the case of the unoffending husband. On the other hand, Lactantius [1] and Ambrosiaster [2] admit remarriage after a divorce for adultery. In the East St. Basil [3] does not approve of remarriage in any case, but is not prepared to visit such remarriage with harsh discipline in the case

treatise *De Conj. Adult.*: 'Scripsi duos libros de conjugiis adulterinis, quantum potui, secundum Scripturas, cupiens solvere difficillimam quæstionem. Quod utrumque enodatissime fecerim, nescio: immo vero non me pervenisse ad hujus rei perfectionem sentio, quamvis multos sinus ejus aperuerim, quod judicare poterit quisquis intelligenter legit.' This passage appears to us to express hesitation as to the value of some of his arguments rather than about the correctness of his conclusion. Had he come to doubt his former general position, we do not think there could have been so little sign in the *Retractationes* of a change of view. St. Augustine speaks of the whole 'quæstio' as 'difficillima' (*Retract.* ii. 57) and 'obscurissima et implicatissima' (*De Conj. Adult.* i. 25, § 32), but this does not necessarily imply doubt as to conclusions, and the reference to 'sinus' in the immediate context in each treatise is significant. These passages are referred to in Dr. Bright's letters in the *Guardian*, and we have not commented upon them without allowing weight to his intimate knowledge of St. Augustine and patristic theology generally. The use of 'vinculum' and 'solutio' in the sentence which Dr. Bright quoted of fornication from *De Serm. Dom. in Monte*, i. 16 (§ 50), 'ut cum tanto vinculo sibi conjugia constringantur, hæc una causa solutionis excepta sit,' may be illustrated from *De Nupt. et Concup.* i. 10 (§ 11), 'Ita manet inter viventes quiddam conjugale, quod nec separatio nec cum altero copulatio possit auferre. Manet autem ad noxam criminis, non ad vinculum fœderis,' where 'vinculum fœderis' is used in a different sense from, *e.g.*, *De Conj. Adult.* ii. 5 (§ 4).

[1] Bishop Kingdon states the position of Lactantius as 'silent about *remarriage* of either man or woman' (p. 72), and on p. 54 argues that the statement that 'the Divine law so joins together by *an equal law* two persons into marriage, that is into one body, that he is reckoned adulterous whoever have wrenched asunder the compacted body' is significant in its intimation that both husband and wife 'are bound alike, and if the bond is broken, it is broken for both.' As Lactantius says that 'he is an adulterer who has married a woman put away from her husband,' this might imply a prohibition of remarriage. It may, however, be doubted whether the Bishop has paid sufficient attention to the exact words of the phrase, 'qui præter crimen adulterii uxorem dimisit ut alteram ducat' in the sentence 'adulterum esse, qui a marito dimissam duxerit, et eum, qui præter crimen adulterii uxorem dimisit ut alteram ducat. Dissociari enim corpus et distrahi Deus noluit' (*Divin. Instit.* vi. 23). The passage is not clear either way; but Mr. Watkins' interpretation may be thought the more probable.

[2] That is, he allows remarriage to the husband of an adulterous wife; he does not allow it to the wife of an adulterous husband. See *In* 1 *Cor.* (vii. 10, 11).

[3] The teaching of St. Basil is very far from clear, but the view expressed above is best supported. He appears to have been greatly influenced against wishing to enforce what he believed to be right by the laxity by which he was surrounded. The most important passages in his writings are *Moralia*, *Reg.* lxxiii.; *Ep.* clxxxviii, cxcix, ccxvii, canons 9, 21, 77. Dean Luckock (p. 120) seems to regard canon 77 as a retractation of canon 9.

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of the man. St. Epiphanius [1] and St. Asterius [2] admit remarriage. St. Gregory Nazianzen [3] is uncertain, St. Timothy of Alexandria [4] oracular, Theodoret [5] contradictory. St. Chrysostom [6] is against remarriage' (p. 436).

When we have added a reference to Mr. Watkins' interesting treatment of the letters of Pope Innocent I.[7] (pp. 336–9), we are in a position to pass on to a further stage in our inquiry.

V. Our investigation of the history of the question after the year 500 led us to the problem which arose from the marked difference between the teaching of the East and the teaching of the West. Again, we are confronted with some differences of opinion. There can be no doubt that the Primitive Church unhesitatingly answers that remarriage can never be lawful if husband and wife have been separated for any cause other than that of adultery. On the further question, whether adultery in any way severs the bond of

[1] See *Adv. Hær.* lix. 4: Ἔξεστι δὲ τῷ λαῷ δι' ἀσθένειαν διαβαστάζεσθαι, καὶ μὴ δυνηθέντας ἐπὶ τῇ πρώτῃ γαμετῇ στῆναι, δευτέρᾳ μετὰ θάνατον τῆς πρώτης συναφθῆναι. Καὶ ὁ μὲν μίαν ἐσχηκὼς ἐν ἐπαίνῳ μείζονι καὶ τιμῇ παρὰ πᾶσιν ἐκκλησιαζομένοις ἐνυπάρχει· ὁ δὲ μὴ δυνηθεὶς τῇ μιᾷ ἀρκεσθῆναι τελευτησάσῃ ἕνεκέν τινος προφάσεως, πορνείας ἢ μοιχείας, ἢ κακῆς αἰτίας χωρισμοῦ γενομένου, συναφθέντα δευτέρᾳ γυναικὶ, ἢ γυνὴ δευτέρῳ ἀνδρὶ, οὐκ αἰτιᾶται ὁ θεῖος λόγος, οὐδὲ ἀπὸ τῆς Ἐκκλησίας καὶ τῆς ζωῆς ἀποκηρύττει, ἀλλὰ διαβαστάζει διὰ τὸ ἀσθενές· οὐχ ἵνα δύο γυναῖκας ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ σχῇ ἔτι περιούσης τῆς μιᾶς, ἀλλ' ἀπὸ μιᾶς ἀποσχεθεὶς, δευτέρᾳ, εἰ τύχοιεν, νόμῳ συναφθῆναι. Ἐλεεῖ τοῦτον ὁ ἅγιος λόγος καὶ ἡ ἁγία Θεοῦ Ἐκκλησία· μᾶλιστα εἰ τυγχάνει ὁ τοιοῦτος τὰ ἄλλα εὐλαβὴς, καὶ κατὰ νόμον Θεοῦ πολιτευόμενος. Dean Luckock (pp. 121–3) suggests the omission of the clause ἕνεκέν τινος προφάσεως, πορνείας ἢ μοιχείας, ἢ κακῆς αἰτίας χωρισμοῦ γενομένου. The passage is certainly awkward, but the alteration is too great to be made on conjecture. It should be noticed that Epiphanius, if the text gives the right sense, allows divorce and remarriage for other causes besides adultery.

[2] *In Matt. Evang.* (xix.). He speaks of the right of remarriage only in the case of the husband of an adulterous wife.

[3] St. Greg. Naz. *Orat.* xxxvii. 5–8.

[4] St. Tim. Alex. *Inter.* xv. This appears to be a condemnation of remarriage; the question asked is with regard to the husband of a wife who is insane.

[5] Theod. See *Græc. Aff. Curatio*, ix.; *In Mal.* (ii. 13, 14); *In Rom.* (vii.); *In* 1 *Cor.* (vii.) Mr. Watkins is of opinion that ζεύγλη in the first reference is more probably than not used in the technical sense of *vinculum*. If so, that passage allows remarriage after divorce for adultery. The other passages appear to condemn it. Bishop Kingdon (pp. 67–9, 73) is inclined to take all the passages as consistent and as not allowing remarriage.

[6] The chief passages are in *In Matt. Hom.* xvii., lxii.; *In* 1 *Cor. Hom.* xix.; *De Virginitate*, 40; *De Libello Repudii.*

[7] He emphatically prohibits remarriage after divorce; there is no trace of any exception where the divorce is for adultery. The letters are printed in Hardouin, i. 1004–5, 1008.

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marriage—whether the innocent husband of a guilty wife, or the innocent wife of a guilty husband, or either husband or wife if innocent of adultery, or either whether innocent or guilty, may contract a new 'marriage,' the position is not the same. We have to ask whether we are to follow the emphatic teaching of Hermas, supported as it is, in later times, by the great names of Ambrose, Jerome, Augustine, or whether the exceptional instances are a better guide. Was the allowing of remarriage in any case a concession to the spirit of the world and to secular laws which was contrary to Christian principles, or did the more rigid line involve an undue addition to the severity of the law of Christ?

Our answer must come from the Holy Scriptures. We have the authority of Christ[1] for the statement that in its primitive ideal marriage was indissoluble, and that Moses[2] allowed a laxer rule only because of the hardness of men's hearts. Did He, in asserting that husband and wife are united in one flesh, forbid, under all circumstances, the 'marriage' of either of them while the other should live? There are four passages in the Gospels[3] which contain His teaching on the subject. Two of these[4] lay down, without any sign of exception, a law that remarriage is adultery. Of the other two, the first[5] implies that a wife may be put away 'for the cause of fornication,' but, while forbidding the 'marriage' of any divorced woman, says nothing as to the possibility of the 'marriage' of the husband who has put away his wife because of her adultery. If there were no other record of the teaching of our Lord, the natural inference would be that separation is lawful if there has been 'fornication,' but that in no case may there be remarriage. The fourth passage,[6] as it stands in the received text, reads: 'Whosoever shall put away his wife, except for fornication, and shall marry another, committeth adultery, and he who marrieth a woman who has been put away committeth adultery.'

In the York Report, the two passages in St. Matthew's Gospel are explained by the well-known interpretation which is associated with the name of Dr. Döllinger,[7] and which was defended with great skill by Dr. Liddon.[8] According to it,

[1] St. Matt. xix. 4–6.
[2] *Ibid.* 8.
[3] St. Matt. v. 31–2, xix. 3–9; St. Mark x. 2–12; St. Luke xvi. 18.
[4] St. Mark x. 2–12; St. Luke xvi. 18.
[5] St. Matt. v. 31–2.
[6] St. Matt. xix. 9.
[7] Döllinger, *First Age of the Church*, Appendix iii.
[8] Liddon, *University Sermons*, second series, 310–13.

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the word πορνεία is used in its strict sense of the fornication of an unmarried person; the Jews alone are referred to, and the meaning is that if an unacknowledged act of sin on the part of the woman has preceded the marriage, the man may on discovering it put her away and marry another woman, because the supposed marriage has been vitiated from the first, and consequently the bond has never existed. Bishop Kingdon, following in the main the opinion of Mr. Keble,[1] thinks the passages must refer to the Jews only, and that πορνεία is not necessarily to be restricted to sin before marriage. Dean Luckock, considering it likely, though not certain, that πορνεία should be limited to sin before marriage and Dr. Döllinger's interpretation accepted, has no doubt that the reference is to the Jews only. On the view, then, of any of these writers, the Christian law of marriage is given completely in the Gospels of St. Mark and St. Luke, and remarriage can never be lawful.

Mr. Watkins, after a most careful investigation of the subject, summarizes his conclusions thus:

'The putting away of a wife for πορνεία is held blameless by St. Matthew xix. 9 and St. Matthew v. 32, as it has always been held by the Christian Church. There is no passage which certainly sanctions remarriage after divorce. The text of St. Matthew xix. 9, as it is found in some MSS., appears to do so, at least if the words are held to have reference to the Christian community, and if πορνεία be taken to include adultery. But there are extraordinary variations in the readings of this text; the original reading may well have contained no reference to remarriage at all; and in any case the uncertainty of the reading makes it very undesirable to base any argument upon it. Putting this passage aside, the adultery of those who marry again is clearly stated in St. Matthew v. 32 (the woman and her partner), in St. Mark x. 11, 12 (the man and the woman), in St. Luke xvi. 18 (the man and the woman's partner)' (p. 177).

According to Lord Grimthorpe, our Lord sanctioned the 'dissolution of marriage for adultery,' and therefore, since it 'is not dissolution if it means that you must keep your wife still' (p. 334), allowed remarriage.

It is a grave difficulty in the way of Dr. Döllinger's interpretation, which is in some other respects of great probability, that, in spite of its proper meaning, we never find πορνεία limited to sin before marriage by the Fathers, and that the interpretation itself appears to have been unknown to them. Nor is it very easy to limit the sayings about divorce in St.

[1] Keble, *An Argument for not proceeding immediately to repeal the laws which treat the nuptial bond as indissoluble.*

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Matthew's Gospel to the Jews. But, in our judgment, either the second course or the combination of the two is far less difficult than to suppose that our Lord could have uttered the statements recorded by St. Mark and St. Luke, asserting in the clearest and strongest way the complete indissolubility of the marriage bond, and the declaration in both passages in St. Matthew that marriage with any divorced woman [1] is adultery, if, all the while, He was meaning to allow remarriage to the husband of an adulterous wife. We think it clear that whether the opinion of Dr. Döllinger, or the view of Mr. Keble, or the suggestions of Mr. Watkins indicate the right interpretation of the passages in St. Matthew, the Christian law of marriage is declared in the words 'Whosoever shall put away his wife, and marry another, committeth adultery against her. And if a woman shall put away her husband, and be married to another, she committeth adultery,' [2] and does not admit of exception.[3]

Such a belief is strongly reinforced by St. Paul's words to the Corinthians,[4] and by his comparison of the union between Christ and the Church to the union between husband and wife.[5] It gives force, too, to our Lord's emphatic declaration 'they twain shall be one flesh,' which would be emptied of its meaning, as He Himself declared the concession allowed by Moses was inconsistent with it,[6] if the bond of marriage should be dissoluble.

How, then, are we to account for the occasional failures in teachers and Councils to maintain the law of Christ? Part of the answer is supplied by words of Origen: *οὐ μὴν πάντη ἀλόγως· εἰκὸς γὰρ τὴν συμπεριφορὰν ταύτην συγκρίσει χειρόνων ἐπιτρέπεσθαι παρὰ τὰ ἀπ' ἀρχῆς νενομοθετημένα καὶ γεγραμμένα* ('Not indeed altogether without reason; for it is likely that this concession was permitted through comparison of worse things contrary to that which was ordained from the beginning and written in the Scripture'). The thought that harshness might drive the sinful into further sin, and cause the innocent to lose innocency, has led many earnest Christians to tamper with the teaching of Christ. The other part of the answer is in the relation of the Church to the

[1] *ἀπολελυμένην.* [2] St. Mark x. 11–12; cf. St. Luke xvi. 18.

[3] We regret to observe that Canon Gore, in a lecture delivered in Westminster Abbey, while strongly asserting the general 'indissolubility of marriage,' has stated, 'our Lord appears . . . to make an exception, and the exception would appear to sanction the remarriage of the innocent party.' See *Church Times*, March 22, 1895, p. 338.

[4] 1 Cor. vii. 10–11, 39. [5] Eph. v. 22–32.

[6] St. Matt. xix. 5–8.

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State. It was hard enough for the Church to maintain her own law in the face of opposite laws of an unfriendly State. It was far harder when the State ceased to be hostile, and the natural desire to meet secular laws and avoid alienating emperors and statesmen appealed persuasively for the abandonment of rigour.

Eastern Christianity affords the justification of the Church of England, as she appeals to Holy Scripture and the undivided Church against the false claims of the Bishop of Rome. On the subject of marriage there is good reason to think that the general teaching of the West truly interprets the Bible and the voice of the early Church.

VI. Our opinion of the recently published works on the subject of divorce will in many respects have been already indicated. Bishop Kingdon's *Divorce and Re-marriage* contains valuable information, put in a useful shape. We are prepared to accept its main conclusions. Some of its details, as we have indicated, need careful revision. The York Report is not without unsatisfactory features. There are disadvantages, as the Convocation of York has now recognized,[1] in the publication of Convocation Reports upon which no judgment of the House has been passed. It is a little startling to be told by a committee that 'it has been impossible for' its members 'to verify all references,' and that, in effect, they throw the responsibility of statements they should either abstain from making or be prepared to stand by on 'the convener,' who 'has drawn up the Report' (p. 1).[2] It is not a happy plan, in an important document, to take the evidence from the Councils and the Fathers bodily from another work. Inaccuracies upon which we have commented and a general impression of haste which the Report conveys are disfiguring and harmful. We regret that a work of such good intentions, of so great courage, and containing so much of high value, should not have been more carefully prepared so that it might have been published in a form less susceptible to attack. Dean Luckock's *History of Marriage* is written in a most useful form and in an interesting style. It, too, contains valuable matter and it is well arranged. To us, it has not infrequently suggested a doubt whether the respected author has so full a grasp on his subject or so accurate a knowledge

[1] See the resolution passed on February 21 (*Guardian*, February 27, 1895, p. 343).

[2] The Report has now been recommitted 'in order that the committee' may 'verify those quotations which they' have 'given to the world, but' have 'not yet verified.' See *Guardian*, February 27, 1895, p. 346.

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of patristic theology as is desirable in the writer of such a work. For Mr. Watkins' book we can only have the highest praise. Here and there we may be unable to agree with him on some point of detail; occasionally, as in the case of Origen, he appears to us to fail to grapple with a point of some importance. But, taken as a whole, the book is most masterly. And its sound judgment and strongly marked impartiality give it value as dealing with a subject in which judgment and impartiality are specially necessary. Dean Luckock's work contains matter on the prohibited degrees which is outside the scope of our present article; Mr. Watkins' deals fully with the whole subject of Holy Matrimony. It will be found to be indispensable to students of the subject. Father Convers' *Marriage and Divorce* will be of great usefulness to those who wish to study the practical aspects of a lax law of marriage. It has special bearing on the problems presented by divorce in America. Mr. Reynolds' pamphlets have much merit. They are marked by brevity, clearness, and care. If we do not accept his conclusions, we recognize his skill. Of Lord Grimthorpe's article, with its bad taste and bad temper, it is difficult to write calmly. There are readers who will forgive many offences more readily than his insinuation that Mr. Keble was a dishonest controversialist (p. 333).

VII. The question of divorce is of the most pressing practical kind. If it is true, as we have maintained, that the law of Christ declares the indissolubility of marriage, the Church in England is bound to maintain the sacred character of the marriage bond. Let no one think that this is a mere antiquarian question. It involves in the most practical way loyalty to our Lord. It involves, also, the maintenance of family life, the retention of the influence of home, the protection of purity. The present is no time for playing with any part of the question. The Divorce Act of 1857 has done not a little to justify the forebodings of the magnificent speech in which it was opposed by Mr. Gladstone[1] and the thoughtful words of Mr. Keble's protest.[2] Respectable politicians, including a Cabinet Minister of eminence and ability, have not hesitated to introduce more than once a Bill for greatly extending the causes of divorce.[3] Unless we are mistaken, there are few Churchmen who sufficiently estimate the passionate strength with which the Christian doctrine of

[1] See *Guardian*, August 5, 1857, pp. 626–9.
[2] Keble, *Argument*, &c.; *Sequel*, &c.
[3] See the York Report, pp. 6, 12.

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marriage is itself assailed. There is a whole class of literature, to which we do not care to give references, which loses no opportunity of moving towards the recognition of concubinage, terminable at will, as a respectable State equivalent to marriage. There are sober-minded men and women, out of heart with the ills of the world for which in their loss of Christian truth they can see no remedy, who in sad despair are giving up traditional beliefs about marriage as well as about God.

For the Church, to acquiesce in the existing Divorce Act of the State and allow her children to avail themselves of its provisions is to fail in loyalty to Christ. It is to open the door for new laxity. And it may be worth while to point out the special hardness with which any new laxity will press on women. It is woman who suffers most through loose laws of marriage as well as through the breaking up of homes. The injustice to women of the present law will grow to deeper injustice with every relaxation. There may be truth in the saying that the purity of English homes has owed not a little to the fierce hatred of sin in women which has marked a social system indifferent enough to such sins in men. The Divine Wisdom ever brings good out of evil. But none the less Christians are bound before God to aim at justice in such a matter. Even Jerome could write of the purity that is no less binding on both.[1] The Church must be careful to oppose any injustice such as divorce laws mean.

We are continually told of the hardship that would be caused to innocent persons if remarriage could never be allowed. We might point out that these are not, as a rule, the kind of cases in which the relief of the Divorce Court is sought.[2] There is a deeper consideration to which we prefer to point. Hardship, indeed, there may be of the most terrible kind. There may be the wrecked life of a young and innocent wife for whom, if there might be remarriage, there might still be the shelter and comfort of a real home. There may be the misery of a husband, for whom, again, if there might be remarriage, life might be made a different thing. But, whatever such hardships there may be, they are part of what is wider. There are other causes of them than adultery. Insanity, cruelty, imprisonment make hardship for the husband or wife married to the insane, the cruel, or the convict. Some unsought and unlawful passion may make hardship for the one who feels it. Throughout the relations of the sexes, throughout many other departments of life, hardship cannot

[1] St. Jer. *Ep.* lxxvii. 3. [2] See, *e.g.*, the York Report, pp. 12–14.

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be avoided. The existence of it in individuals can never justify the modification of law. The State and the Christian Church alike will find their greatest good in maintaining unbroken the general principles of right. Christians know that the individual who therefore suffers may find his highest welfare in his pain.

We have others to consider besides ourselves. The influence of England in America and the colonies is greater than we sometimes think. The branches of the Church in those countries in communion with the Church in England may be strengthened or weakened by much which we do. Young Churches in the mission field rightly look to us for help.

On every ground—to maintain the law of Christ which Providence has preserved in our own branch of the Church, to protect the best interests of the community at home, to exercise a healthful influence in the Church and in society abroad—we appeal to the Bishops. It is for them to strengthen the hands of the clergy. If they cannot alter the law of the State, they can at least protect the law of the Church. A decision of the English Episcopate declaring to the clergy the indissoluble character of the marriage bond and the need of maintaining the law of marriage by Church discipline, making clear to the laity that the Church in this land has not lost the power of the keys and has voice and strength, would do much for English Christianity and for the moral law.

ART. II.—ERASMUS AND THE REFORMATION IN ENGLAND.

Life and Letters of Erasmus. Lectures delivered in Oxford, 1893-4. By J. A. FROUDE, Regius Professor of Modern History. (London, 1894.)

THIS last fruit of a fertile tree is a worthy conclusion of its bearing. The author was perhaps rejoicing in the sense of his own art when he compared Erasmus's literary skill to that of Horace, who could make a dull journey to Brundusium interesting for all time. For the same admirable grace is found in the biographer himself. Macaulay's quick-trotting sentences and Carlyle's eccentricities of power may be wonderful, yet who would wish to write like them? Professor Froude had a style fit for any subject, and such as any man might imagine himself attaining, so easily does it seem to flow. Any man may imagine

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himself attaining it, but if when his page is written he believes it to read like a page of Froude he is a prejudiced self-critic indeed.

Between the charms of the style and the attractions of the subject, this biography of Erasmus is as interesting as the best of novels, and much more so than the second best. If it were not an insult to the muse of history, we should say that a reader of Charles Reade's admirable fiction, *The Cloister and the Hearth*, which tells the story of Erasmus's father, will find all his delight renewed by following on to the biography of the son as set before us in this volume. We do not mean to hint that the work is of kin to a novel, except in its life and interest. On the contrary, we consider this presentation of the great humanist as very just and fair. Its weakness lies in the fact which all the critics have recognized, that Mr. Froude's invincible judgments upon the history of the time enter unchecked and uncorrected into the biography, and fill a larger space in it than the proportions of the work required. Though the life of Erasmus by Mr. Drummond [1] is doubtless inferior in literary skill to the workmanship of Professor Froude, we must confess that it affords more complete materials upon the great man's personality. And there is more than one particular in which the judgments upon public affairs to which Professor Froude is committed, not only exclude interesting personal matter, but warp his opinion upon Erasmus's character and history.

For instance, the writer's determination to hold the worst opinion of monks and friars, for the justification of the later proceedings of his idol, Henry VIII., urges him to stamp with perfect accuracy every invective which Erasmus directs against them. We would by no means argue that this illustrious exposer of falsehood was himself untruthful. But, if we may use academic phrase he was truthful with the truthfulness of *literæ humaniores* rather than with that of mathematics. He has no objection to put, as Johnson has it, a cocked hat on his story and a gold-headed cane in its hand, any more than Livy or Thucydides had to enliven their history with speeches that were never spoken. Professor Froude himself well characterizes his truthfulness (p. 194) by saying that 'he had an intellectual contempt for lies and ignorance backed up by bigotry and superstition;' and equally

[1] *Erasmus, his Life and Character.* By Robert Blackley Drummond. 2 vols. London, 1873. We do not forget the work of Mr. Pennington, which is very meritorious within its limited space, but too much disposed to view the career of its subject from a Lutheran standpoint.

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well marks its infirmity when he tells us (p. 31) that 'one must not take too literally the passionate expressions of a sensitive, emotional, and, evidently at the time, distracted man of genius.'

This refers to certain records of Erasmus's life in Paris. But we believe that emotion and passion renewed themselves in his mind whenever he thought of the coercion to which his inexperienced youth had been subjected by inferior men, and especially of the ugly reproach of solemn vows now broken with which they had loaded his memory. Nor can we recognize anything so dangerous in a letter to the court of Leo X. upon the wrongdoings of monks as should forbid our supposing that Erasmus made in it the worst of their misdeeds and the best of his own case. No doubt monasticism was fallen far from its first purity. No doubt culture and enlightenment found no friends among men whose thoughts were imprisoned in their rule. But before we determine to believe that monasticism had been essentially bad for a hundred years before Erasmus, we must forget that Thomas à Kempis, that master of the spiritual life, had been a monk in the very regions where Erasmus's experiences were endured, and lived for four years after the birth of the scholar. The early life of Luther affords no such records of cloistered brutality and self-indulgence as Erasmus relates, and as Mr. Froude would pronounce universal. And if the monasticism of England so soon to be extinguished had left such evil odour behind it, would the monks and friars of Shakespeare have been the unworldly personages that they are?

Professor Froude gives a very plain proof of the limited credit which he extends to Erasmus's truthfulness by translating, with his own inimitable skill, the *Julius Exclusus* (p. 140 *sq.*), the authorship of which the scholar persistently denied. And we may remark that the biographers do not seem to have noticed that an additional reason for the Erasmian authorship of this relentless satire is found in its resemblance to the savage account of the post-mortem adventures of the Emperor Claudius from the pen of Seneca, a favourite author with Erasmus.[1]

Erasmus was a classicist, a man of the Renaissance. Intellectual restrictions were hateful to him; justly hateful, since he made such noble use of the liberty which he secured for himself at the expense of his vows. He found in his classic authors bright examples of poetry, history, and the observa-

[1] Senecæ *Op.* Elzev. 1679, tom. ii. p. 686; Merivale's *Roman Empire*, ch. l.

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tion of life—of the kindliness and the satire which were alike dear to him—and in the Christian Fathers who wrote before the structure of formal knowledge which surrounded him was erected, he found the true authorities for Christian life. All these priceless treasures had been accumulated in times of liberty. By liberty alone could they be recovered for future times, and turned to the uses of new Christian generations. It was natural that the scholar should resent the attempt to fetter him.

Erasmus lived just at the time when his learning and his wit could win the highest appreciation. The Latin tongue in which his scholarship moved him to write was still the universal language of readers. And if readers were panting for better supplies of knowledge from a past so sacred to them, and yet so hidden from their eyes, they were also as eager to be amused as the very customers of Mr. Mudie. Erasmus had it in him to supply both wants, and when we learn that the *Praise of Folly* was published at the same time as the Greek Testament, it is as if we heard that Bishop Lightfoot on the morrow of the appearance of the *St. Ignatius* had sent out *Vanity Fair*.

Even in the latter days of Erasmus himself much was changed. The intellectual division of labour became inevitable. Religious questions waxed so desperately earnest, and reading spread so widely, that nothing but vernacular tongues could answer the need. The stores upon which scholarship drew became immense, Erasmus himself being among their chief contributors, and there was no longer room for a man to be at the same time a popular writer of fiction, an editor of Fathers, and a theological disputant. There could not have been another Erasmus in any age since his own, or, to speak more correctly, Erasmus in any age since his own must have written in a different language and for a different public; for the whole reading community of some one of the great nations, instead of the learned of them all. If his letters were 'humaniores' in comparison with the school divinity of his time, Luther and Montaigne and Shakespeare supplanted them as the century ran on by something more human still.

And this has made a great change in the meaning of classicism to our minds. Erasmus's studies in the classics are excursions into the land of liberty. There lay human nature undrilled and free to speak. There were the studies fit to delight the minds which desired liberty more than they feared licence. But so far has modern literature outrun the Renaissance that classicism stands for us as the observance of

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form in opposition to the unrestrained luxuriance of later thought. And, in truth, developments of classicism grew up even in Erasmus's own time which he set himself distinctly to resist. Bishop Fitzgerald, an able historian, very sympathetic with Erasmus, is of opinion that the true design of his famous dialogue, the *Ciceronian*, is commonly misunderstood.' /

'At first glance the reader might suppose that he held in his hand a mere satire upon the Italian purists, intended for no higher end than to ridicule a sickly fastidiousness about the style of Latin composition. But, in truth, its great author had a much greater object in view, and the furious resentment of the powerful personages whom he provoked shows that they well understood how thoroughly he had penetrated their secret. The fact is this. The profligacy of the clergy had produced as its natural consequence irreligion. Conscious that it was by trick and imposture their own system was supported, and, at the same time, ignorant of the true faith and its evidences, they could hardly fail of drawing the inference that Christianity itself was but a gainful delusion, while yet there was something in it (even in the base form it was compelled to wear) that made its awful denunciations against hypocrisy and impurity a heavy burden on its professors. Now, consider the effect which the recovery of the old pagan literature, in all the freshness and grace of novelty, must have had upon minds so prepared. Here they found whatever could encourage their profligate sensuality; here whatever might refine the taste or captivate the fancy. Here were unlocked for them all the treasures of ancient atheism in its most attractive and elegant disguises; here they found a popular mythology exactly suited to their purpose, beautiful in its forms, romantic in its fables, not grasping the mind like Christianity with a firm and unrelaxing hand, but holding it in airy and elastic fetters. . . . In short, the genius of paganism appeared to be on the point of becoming again triumphant in its ancient form, and Erasmus saw with alarm that in the very capital of Christendom, and beside the chair of its first bishop, the very semblance of a Christian profession was rapidly disappearing.'[1]

It may be that a set purpose of restoring heathenism is here ascribed to what was but an unconscious tendency, and that ridicule of a forced and exaggerated classicism of style held a more prominent place in Erasmus's design than the bishop supposes. But, that besides the exquisite literary ridicule of the *Ciceronian*, there lay in its author's intention an imputation of heathenism against the Italian Renaissance, is upon the face of the work. And what the bishop does not observe is the fearful ease with which a secularized Papacy

[1] *Lectures on Ecclesiastical History*, by William Fitzgerald, Bishop of Killaloe. London: Murray, 1885, ii. 180.

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might assume the place of a heathen imperialism. What need of restoring the religious profession of old Rome if Christianity might take the same form—namely, that of a legal religion the head and representative of which should be the ruler of Rome, which should secure a uniformity of external discipline and worship among the nations without imposing upon any an impossible earnestness of spiritual belief or moral practice? The Papacy of the time was abundantly secular enough to be the head of such a system; and in the very region of Bologna where Erasmus saw the old warrior Julius II. make his entry at the head of his troops, like a consul in his triumph, a modern writer finds to his high approval a heathenism even more ancient than that of Rome flourishing in all its fleshly naturalism to this day.[1]

The sight of Julius in his warlike array produced a repulsion in the mind of Erasmus which never left him. Tinged though he might be with the humanism of Greece and Rome, he was a genuine believer in Christ, incapable of helping the perversion of Christian episcopacy into a carnal monarchy, or that of Christian language into heathen Latinity.

Mr. Froude considers that Erasmus had much intellectual resemblance to Voltaire.[2] There is no doubt that his mind had a sceptical turn and his wit a sarcastic vein, which did not cease to work even in presence of holy things. But many a good Christian has had an intellect of sceptical tendency and a sarcastic turn does not make a Voltaire unless it be accompanied by Voltaire's unsparing irreverence. The Frenchman whom we should regard as the completion of Erasmus is not Voltaire but Pascal, in whom the intellect, the moral earnestness, the sarcasm, the scepticism, and the faith, all of which existed in Erasmus, appear in a form more powerful and more intense.

Mr. Drummond, as a Unitarian, naturally makes the most of Erasmus's charitable concession that among the Arians there were men who believed that what they taught concerning Christ was in accordance with truth and piety.[3] And he shows very plainly[4] that Erasmus did not hold the verbal inspiration of Holy Scripture. Bishop Fitzgerald considers it probable that in the bottom of his heart he contemplated a much larger change in the system of Church doctrine as likely to be the ultimate though gradual effect of

[1] *Etruscan Roman Remains in Popular Tradition*, by C. G. Leland. London, 1892.

[2] P. 26. [3] Vol. ii. 185. [4] *Ib.* pp. 364, 365.

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his method of reformation than ever was attempted by Luther.[1]

But the reverential and conservative elements of his mind were characteristic and powerful. They form, indeed, the religion of a literary man of wide reading, which can hardly be so enthusiastic as that of a worker. The very act of writing about faith and reverence cools their ardour unless the writing be essentially devotional. The moderation, the balance, the constant habit of inquiry, which are necessary equipments of the historian and the critic, compel them to assume the attitude of persons who prefer one form of faith among many which have interest and merit, not that of fervent attachment to one form of devotion under the pressure of which all merits elsewhere found are forgotten. But we cannot doubt the sincerity of Erasmus's attachment to the Catholic faith, nor of the anxiety which he felt for the spread of Christian virtue. His enthusiasm was moral rather than theological. He would have wished less imposition of ceremonies and more teaching of conduct, but he never imagined Christian conduct to be possible apart from spiritual faith in the person and presence of Christ.

And that brings us to consider the relations of Erasmus to the Reformation. It is related by Professor Froude with the utmost life and truthfulness, though the narrative does not enter into the theological particulars without which it cannot be considered complete. To Erasmus the moral aspect of the movement was the most important by far. To say truth, Erasmus knew too much of what was to be said *pro* and *con* in doctrinal matters to take any enthusiastic interest in a correction of current notions from the doctrinal side. The doctrinal enlightenment for which he hoped was to come from the gradual spread of light, and from the publication of the best sources of primitive truth. Meanwhile the pressing question with him was, how to promote Christian living. It was not so with Luther. His was a theological genius. Although he appeared to the men of his time, and presents himself in history, as a bold opponent of practices revolting to reason, and a passionate advocate of the rights of man against sacerdotalism; yet it was not really in this purely human character that he fought. Already, long before the struggle came, he was pledged and committed, mind and soul, to the theology of Augustine.[2] The secular princes and people knew little of such matters. But a trained scholar like

[1] *Lectures on Ecclesiastical History*, ii. 185.

[2] Seebohm, *Oxford Reformers*. London, 1867, p. 329 *sq*.

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Erasmus was aware that what was offered to him by Luther was not the choice between maintaining an old system and destroying it, but between retaining an old theology and introducing a new one. For, though Augustinianism had ever been the recognized mind of the Church on the question of grace and free-will, yet Augustinianism, checked and balanced by the practical operation of Church authority and sacramental doctrine, was a very different thing from Augustinianism dragged into the forefront of Christian teaching, stripped of all accompanying corrections, and pressed upon the individual judgment and consciousness of every man. But by what means, or in what form, could the deep and abstract doctrines of human depravity, and predestinating grace, and Christ's meritorious satisfaction in its extremest form of substitution, be offered to the acceptance of the plain man as a competitor with the mediæval system for his unlearned faith? By the doctrine of Justification by Faith, cried Luther.

Now, though from the pages of Professor Froude[1] it might be supposed that this great controversy was one which Erasmus regarded lightly, yet in truth he also believed in Justification by Faith; who can disbelieve it who holds to the New Testament?

'Since sin alone [says the Paraphrase on Romans v. 1] causes the breach between God and man, after we are made righteous out of sinners and that not by the Mosaic law, which rather increased our offence, nor by the merits of our own deeds, but after the example of our father, Abraham, we are reconciled to God our Father, by faithful commending ourselves to Him, to whom also Abraham became a friend, as the reward of his faith; and that not through Moses, but through the only-begotten son of God, our Lord Jesus Christ, who, washing out our sins by His blood, and by His death reconciling God to us, who was before angry with us for our guilty deeds, opened to us an access whereby, through the means of faith, without the aid of law or circumcision, we might be brought to this grace of the Gospel.'

Such a version of Justification by Faith did not satisfy Luther, to whom it appeared that Erasmus restricted the term law to the Jewish law, and left us open to believe that we could be justified by other forms of obedience, though not by the Mosaic.

We do not believe this to be a true interpretation of Erasmus, who in the above extract includes all merit of our own deeds in the same failure as the works of Jewish law. Erasmus's doctrine seems to be this: that faith introduces

[1] See the Epistle translated on p. 311.

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into grace, and keeps us there through the risen life of the Lord, who died for us, 'lest,' as he explains upon v. 9 of the same chapter, 'we fall back into the old enmity with God.' This is a doctrine perfectly free from the charge of self-justification. It ascribes everything to God, through Jesus Christ. There can be no doubt of its moral tendency, for it establishes a living connexion with the Lord Jesus as dead and risen again, which endows us, through union with Him, with the righteousness which is of faith; a holiness like His own, for which we are never to praise ourselves, since it is the gift of God, but from which sin withdraws us because it loses, for the time at least, the hold of faith on Him. Faith is contrary to sin, and sin to faith.

What was Luther's doctrine of Justification? We give it from his commentary on Galatians ii. 16:

'When thy conscience is terrified with the law, and wrestleth with the judgment of God, ask counsel neither of reason nor of the law, but rest only upon grace, and the word of consolation, and so stand herein as if thou hadst never heard anything of the law, ascending up to the glass of faith, where neither the law nor reason do shine, but only the light of faith, which assureth us that we are saved by Christ alone, without any law. . . . Notwithstanding, we must hearken also unto the law, but in place and time. Moses, while he was in the mountain, where he talked with God face to face, had no law, made no law, ministered no law. But when he was come down from the mountain he was a lawgiver, and governed the people by the law. So the conscience must be free from the law, but the body must be obedient to the law.'

It will be remembered that the law in Luther's use means emphatically the moral law of God. Strange, that Moses should be supposed to have gone up to God for any purpose but to receive the law from Him, and bring it to the people as from Him.

Again:

'A man beginneth to sigh, and saith in this wise: Who, then, can give succour? For he, being thus terrified with the law, utterly despaireth of his own strength; he looketh about and sigheth for the help of a Mediator and Saviour. Here then cometh in good time the healthful word of the Gospel, and saith: Son, thy sins are forgiven thee! Believe in Christ Jesus, crucified for thy sins. If thou feel thy sins, and the burden thereof, look not upon them in thyself, but remember that they are translated and laid upon Christ, whose stripes have made thee whole. . . . And here it is necessary that you know the true definition of Christ. The schoolmen, being utterly ignorant hereof, have made Christ a judge and a tormentor, devising this fond fancy concerning the merit of congruence and worthiness. But

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Christ, according to His true definition, is no lawgiver, but a forgiver of sins and a Saviour. This doth faith apprehend and undoubtedly believe, that He hath wrought works and merits of congruence and worthiness before and after grace, abundantly. . . . Here, then, it is to be noted that these three things—faith, Christ, acceptation and imputation—must be joined together. . . . This is the means, and this the merit whereby we attain the remission of sins and righteousness. Because thou believest in me, saith the Lord, and thy faith layeth hold upon Christ, whom I have freely given to thee that He might be thy Mediator and High Priest, therefore art thou justified and righteous. . . . We do therefore make this definition of a Christian: that a Christian is not he which hath no sin, but he to whom God imputeth not his sin, through faith in Christ. This doctrine bringeth great consolation to poor afflicted conscience.'

Luther's defenders have, of course, been able to produce out of his works many passages of clearer moral tendency than these. No one could declare himself indifferent to morality; especially not a reformer moved to indignation by the moral defects of the Pope, and who compels us to accept his teaching upon the matters of our salvation, mixed with never-failing contempt and reviling of Romanism. But these passages give the gist of the system. In it the object in which we believe is Christ as atoning for our sins; faith consists in understanding the scheme of atonement by imputation and approving its application to our own case; and good conduct has no immediate connexion either with Christ above or with our faith here below; it is an affair of the body not of the soul, of the base of the mount of God not of the summit; the whole business of justification must be concluded before we come to questions of conduct, and must ever after be kept out of any such connexion.

Erasmus professed himself unable to understand how good works were supposed necessarily to flow from the Lutheran doctrine of justification. We must confess our agreement with him. We cannot understand its moral tendency, either when we consider faith as existing in ourselves or as apprehending Christ. It is subject to the very charge of introducing human merit which its great author brought against the schoolmen, who taught that faith must be endowed with form in us by love before it can draw down its promised blessing from God. For Luther's faith must be endowed with form by the apprehension of the Atonement and by the renunciation of merit on our part. It is a mental work within us, consisting of thoughts and feelings distinctly separated off from the other acts of life; not properly meritorious, of course, but still, having a secondary merit as pleasing God by

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acceptance of His grace. And this, we may remark, is the only kind of merit which need be ascribed by any Roman Catholic either to congruity or condignity. Luther's notion of faith, as confidence in the Atonement of Christ has often produced noble and holy characters by the sheer force of the knowledge of Christ, whom they thus approached. But the holiness came, not from the doctrine, but from Christ's grace extending itself beyond the bounds of mere confidence and into parts of the soul less selfish than the desire of personal salvation. There is no reason offered by Luther why the comfort of transferring a sin to Christ, which he bids the soul apply to itself after a fall, should not be used habitually, as well as occasionally, and for the greatest offences as well as for the least.

When we regard the character of Christ, to which faith clings, we find Luther condemning the schoolmen with scorn for imagining that it apprehends Him in any other aspect than that of a Saviour. He must not be thought of either as lawgiver or as judge. Now, God forbid that a Christian teacher should forget to point to Christ as a Saviour, and the only Saviour. We cannot doubt that this is the leading notion of His Mission, for 'Jesus Christ came into the world to save sinners.' But to say that this is the only character in which faith must regard Him is to shut our eyes to distinct revelations and refuse our faith to things for which the Lord Himself demands it. How are we to refuse the character of lawgiver to the Author of the Sermon on the Mount? How are we to deny the character of Judge to Him who solemnly depicts His own judgment of all nations? How are we to have faith that the Lord suffered for us without believing that at the same time He left us an example that we should follow in His steps? If we omit from the sphere of our faith in Christ any of the truths which the New Testament reveals concerning Him, we are imposing a restricted and unauthorized sense even upon that truth of the Atonement which we profess to retain. The lawgiving, the example, and the judgment are not independent of the doctrine of salvation, nor it of them. In the law-giving and the example we find the tests of true acceptance of the salvation, and in the judgment we see the responsibilities under which it is offered.

Those who accept the Lutheran doctrine of justification seem to regard it as too plain for argument, that the faith which is required for free justification is that which acknowledges that we are freely justified. To apprehend the doctrine and consent to it seems to be obviously that which ought to be

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required of those who are to enjoy its benefits; and the grace of the Atonement comes by a sort of condignity on those who understand and consent to it. But if anyone will study the examples of faith given us in the New Testament he will be surprised to find how little this apparently obvious truism is supported by an induction of instances. The faith of Abraham, which was counted for righteousness, had not free forgiveness through Christ for its object at all. The examples of faith in Hebrews xi. seem to be deliberately chosen for their variety, and none of them have the character which Luther demands for justification. And when particular descriptions of the subject of saving faith are given in the New Testament, they seldom—if we may not say never—bear the character of an understanding on man's part of all the blessing which it draws down from God.

The correspondence between faith and the reward of faith in the New Testament does not lie in man's comprehension of the doctrine by which he benefits, but in the absence of proud self-sufficiency, and in the absoluteness with which he casts himself upon God. Every situation in life and every call of duty, of whatsoever kind it be, offers an occasion to man of throwing himself upon God, and to God an occasion of giving His aid. And if this disposition on each side is exemplified in any case, that is a proof of the working of the principle which prevails in all cases. Be it with regard to earthly things or spiritual, to the forgiveness of our sins or the purifying of our hearts, to the performance of duty or the endurance of pain, to the cure of a child or the salvation of a soul, he that casts himself upon the powers of the unseen world will find them come to his aid, bringing with them all kinds of blessings unthought of by him. Jesus Christ is of God made unto us wisdom, righteousness, sanctification, and redemption. And the man who, in search of any of these gifts, truly believes in Him as its giver, will have in Him not only that gift which he sought but the rest besides. This is the New Testament doctrine of faith.

But to recognize such wide scope for faith would not have suited Luther's purpose. For if faith have this wide scope, the absence of faith must have a scope as wide. A man who has not faith enough to follow Christ in action must thereby cast doubt upon the proof of his faith which the confidence of his feeling furnishes. The whole work of faith in man's life is, by this explanation, bound together in unity, and the work of faith ought to be found in every part of it. The simplicity of such a conception well suits the New Testament

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doctrine of the universal lordship of Christ over the dead and the living, and is wide enough to include all the various forms of earnest faith which the Christian centuries have displayed.

But Luther wished to separate the work of faith and justification from all the rest of life—to finish and write off that great transaction as complete, before talking of submission to God or acceptance of Christ in any other department. This restriction of the business of justification could alone furnish him with a message fit to be contrasted with the papal gospel and a war cry to hurl back defiance against all the Roman facilities for obtaining forgiveness. Trust Christ and give yourself to Christ in thought and action, for life and for death, is Christianity as the saints have read it. But that was too long and too spiritual a business to satisfy men who might buy indulgences from the Pope if they liked. It must be remembered that the Lutheran doctrine was not reserved for the comfort of the spiritually-minded or the refined. It was used as a rallying cry to the princes and peoples of Germany, of whom many were sensual and many lawless. And what was the argument for good living which Luther proposed to such men?—

'When God sees that truth is ascribed unto Him and that He is honoured by the faith of our heart with all that honour which is due unto Him, He in return honours us by imputing unto us truth and righteousness because of this faith only. For it is faith that does truth and righteousness [1] by ascribing unto God His own; and in return God rewards that, our righteousness, with glory. . . . Thus the believing soul, by the pledge of faith in Christ her spouse, becomes free from all sins, secure from death, safe from hell, and endowed with the eternal righteousness, life, and salvation of her husband Christ. . . . From these things you may again understand why it is that so much is attributed to faith, that it alone fulfils the law and justice without any works whatever. . . . Suffice it to have spoken thus concerning the inward man, his liberty and his glorious righteousness by faith, which needs neither law nor good works; nay, they tend to the destruction of anyone who should pretend to be

[1] We quote this passage from an extract from Luther's treatise on Christian Liberty, adduced by Principal Wace in the appendix to the *Bampton Lectures* for 1879, in order to defend the reformer against Professor Mozley's accusation that faith with Luther is 'a pure and abstract faculty of confidence.' But Dr. Wace (or rather Mr. Cole, from whose translation he quotes) is plainly in error in rendering *facit veritatem et justitiam* by 'makes truth and righteousness.' The meaning is as we have rendered it, and who can find any statement from Luther's opponents in which the forgiveness of God is made more dependent upon a work on our part?—only, the work by which Luther would have us do truth and righteousness is that of mentally ascribing His own to God.

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justified by them. Now let us come to the other part of our subject, the outward man . . . as to his spirit, which is free, he worketh not, but as to his body in which he is subject, he worketh all things. . . . For as the soul is purified by faith and made to love God, it would that all things were purified with it, especially its own body, that all things might join with it in loving and praising God.'

We find in this passage a separation between the spiritual and moral life, between the inward and outward parts of man, and between faith and goodness, which is most untrue both to the teaching of the New Testament and to the facts of human nature. And when once the business of justification is concluded and eternal life made sure, we find the reasons for holy living very weak and shadowy, and pure matter of discretion with any man whether he will obey them or not. We need not, therefore, wonder that the testimony to the immoral effects of the Lutheran reformation should be of so startling a character, and that its pious adherents should have been driven to despair by the licence of so many of their associates.[1]

Erasmus was more to be pitied when Luther took up the cause of reform in so wilful a spirit than Luther himself when the Anabaptists outran him. Erasmus was a friend of reform; not vehement or enthusiastic, for he was a literary man of delicate health, but still so steady in his reforming desires as to spend untiring labour in producing, one after another, those monuments of primitive religion which he believed to furnish the best models of reform. But he was so constituted that reform for him meant higher morality. Morality requires theology to maintain it, but no theology seemed to Erasmus so sure as the moral principles of the gospel, nor any theological teaching valuable except as better fitted to recommend them. It was trying, indeed, for him to see the rise of a leader endowed with all that popular power and vigour which he himself wanted, preaching reform and claiming his assistance to do so, yet so perverse and exaggerated as to leave it uncertain whether, in the supreme matter of Christian living, his success might not leave society as badly off as before, or even worse.

We must agree with Mr. Froude and Mr. Drummond that in these difficult circumstances the conduct of Erasmus towards Luther was on the whole good and true. He ever

[1] Quotations from Erasmus, showing his moral repugnance to the first effects of the Reformation in Germany, will be found in abundance in the opening chapter of v. Döllinger's *Reformation* (French translation by Perrot, Paris, 1848).

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did justice to the character of Luther; he dissuaded both pope and emperor from violent measures of repression. And if, when the progress of division obliged him to take the conservative side, his expressions of papal enthusiasm somewhat outran the cooler utterance of earlier times, that was perhaps an inevitable development for which the times were more to blame than Erasmus. He was forced against his will to assail Luther's doctrine, and when obliged to do so he chose a point of assault little fitted to excite the multitude. We believe that Professor Froude's view of Erasmus's reasons for assailing Luther's doctrine of the will is correct. But he does not notice the remarkable fact that the doctrine of the bondage of the will was greatly dropped by Luther in his later years, and has remained the inheritance, not of Lutherans, but of Calvinists: no small compliment to the discernment and power of Erasmus. Although Erasmus endured the reproach of half-heartedness from Luther, yet the principles which he advocated may well have done a more lasting and durable work of reform than the doctrinal radicalism of the German, which has shown itself so little capable of forming a permanent basis on which to build a Church. The spirit of Erasmus was more scientific, more inductive, of wider range. And proud though the Germans may be of their great reformer, there is probably more of Erasmus that is still alive and influential than of Luther.

The chief interest to English Churchmen in the life of Erasmus is his influence on the English Reformation, and upon this point the information to be obtained from Professor Froude is meagre and inadequate. No foreign reformer has had more power in the Church of England than Erasmus. The direct influence of Luther, Calvin, or Bucer may, indeed, be more heard of in the history of our reformation; Erasmus belonged to the earlier generation of Colet, whose wise and noble impulse, though not so plainly written in our formularies, yet represented better than any other the spirit into which the Church of England finally settled. But no reformer, whether of home or foreign origin, had so much to do with introducing the Bible to the English people as Erasmus. His New Testament in Greek was the hand-book of the learned, and his paraphrases, placed in 1548 with the Bible in every church, were the explanation of its difficulties both for priests and people in England.

We have pointed out in a former volume of this Review[1] the great importance possessed by the expositions of Erasmus

[1] *Church Quarterly Review*, vol. v. p. 274.

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upon the passages of Scripture which furnish the sentences for creating bishops and priests in the English Ordinal of Edward VI. At the very time when the Ordinal was published, the 'Paraphrase' of Erasmus was sanctioned for an authoritative use in the Church of England which has never been extended to any other uninspired work, and this enables us to feel quite sure that the sentences were intended to be understood as Erasmus expounded them: that is to say, St. John xx. 22, 23, as the best expression of the desire to make presbyters such as the Lord ordained, and 2 Tim. i. 6, as the best form for consecrating bishops like to those whom the Apostles made. It would be quite absurd to suppose that any scholar of the time could be ignorant of the work of Erasmus upon the Bible. And of all parts of Europe it would be most unlikely that such ignorance or disregard should exist in England with which Erasmus had been brought into such familiar contact; and of all living Englishmen it would be least probable that Cranmer should have been unmoved by Erasmus's influence, of which he had shown his value by continuing to the scholar the pension settled on him by Archbishop Warham.

The reader, therefore, will not be surprised if we should be able to show him an instance of Erasmus's influence upon the English formularies more important still, if possible, than that of the sentences of ordination. The actual sources of the first Communion office of Edward VI.'s reign form a subject of great interest, yet on which our liturgical writers have not perhaps afforded us much information. There is some justice in the criticism of our learned Roman Catholic contemporary, Father Gasquet,[1] that the parallels to the Prayer-Book which our scholars adduce from ancient liturgies are generally illustrations of our form rather than records of its genesis. This able writer himself furnishes no small assistance in filling the gap. He shows plainly and systematically what stores were open to the compilers of 1549 to give them assistance in their task. He notes, for instance, that the Greek Liturgies were well known; and, in particular, that Erasmus made a translation of the Liturgy of St. Chrysostom as early as 1510, which he communicated to Fisher and Colet. This translation, Father Gasquet informs us, was printed at least four times before 1549. His expression indicates his belief that it may have been printed oftener, and we are able to extend his list of editions by one, at all events—a little volume issued at

[1] *Edward VI. and the Book of Common Prayer* (London, 1890), chap xii. p. 187.

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Antwerp, 1544, with the following title: 'Sacri Sacerdotii defensio contra Lutherum per RD Joannem Episcopum Roffen. Ejusdem psalmi seu precationes. Item Missa S. Chrysostomi ab Erasmo Roterodamo in gratiam R. Episcopi Roffen. versa.'

However valuable may be Father Gasquet's information on the Prayer-Book of 1549, he casts little light upon the most important point in the whole—the Consecration of the Holy Eucharist. It is true that he labours to prove that the recital of the words of Institution in that book was taken from the Lutheran Liturgy of Brandenburg Nuremberg; but we need not consider this point, for the words of Institution were not in that book the words of Consecration. Of the Invocation which in 1549 preceded the words of Institution, Father Gasquet writes: 'There can be no reasonable doubt that this passage was suggested by the invocation of the Holy Ghost found after the words of Institution in the Greek Liturgies.'[1] And he names the Liturgy of St. Basil as probably the direct source of the wording of the passage. But he says nothing of the fact that the consecration was in the book of 1549 effected by the Invocation.

The form ran as follows: 'Hear us, O merciful Father, we beseech Thee, and with Thy Holy Spirit and Word vouchsafe to bl+ess and sanc+tify these Thy gifts and creatures of bread and wine, that they may be unto us the Body and Blood of Thy most dearly beloved Son Jesus Christ, who, in the same night that He was betrayed, took bread,' &c. This resembles the prayer which in the Sarum Use preceded the consecration only, with the significant addition of the Invocation of the Holy Spirit and the crossing of the elements in connexion therewith. No manual acts are directed in connexion with the words of Institution except taking the paten and cup into the hands. It thus seems plain that the act of consecration was in that book transferred from the words of Institution on which for so many centuries the Western Church had believed it to depend, to the sentence of Invocation introduced before their repetition.

Now, when we ask for the source of so momentous a change we must remember, in the first place, that the new form might well be regarded as corresponding best to the history of the Lord's acts recorded in the New Testament, where the natural meaning of what is told us would seem to be that the consecration was effected by His blessing of the elements after He took them into His hands, and that

[1] *Op. cit.* p. 204 *n.*

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the words 'This is my Body' and 'This is my Blood' were the statement of the change which had taken place rather than the words which effect it. Father Gasquet himself[1] furnishes quotations to show that this highly reasonable view was largely held at the time of which we treat.

But, as regards ecclesiastical precedent, Father Gasquet represents the testimony of the Eastern Liturgies by saying that in them the Invocation is found 'after the words of Institution.' It is to be observed that to place the words of Institution before the Invocation does not necessarily imply that the consecration is made by them; for they may be read as an authority for a consecration which is to follow, or the consecration may be regarded as a continuous act extending throughout the service, as Mr. Hammond so truly remarks of the Sacrifice. But still, to centre the consecration in words and acts not only different from the ancient English Use, but coming before the words of Institution, is so serious a matter that we cannot but think that a liturgical precedent must have existed for it in some document possessing authority with its framers. And this is precisely what is furnished to us by Erasmus's translation of the Liturgy of St. Chrysostom.

The Greek of that liturgy was printed by Erasmus from a manuscript of the twelfth century, and in the matter of the consecration its most important passages read as follows in his Latin version at pp. 186, 189, and 190 of the Antwerp edition above described. Before the words of Institution:

'Idoneos nos redde ad inferenda tibi dona et sacrificia spiritalia pro nostris peccatis et populi ignorantiis, et dignos nos fac ut inveniamus gratiam in conspectu tuo, ut acceptabile fiat sacrificium nostrum et ut obumbret spiritus gratiæ tuæ bonus super nos et super proposita dona hæc et omnem populum tuum. . . . Nocte qua traditus est, magis autem seipsum tradidit pro mundi vita, accipiens panem in sanctis suis et immaculatis et incontaminatis manibus, gratias agens, benedicens, sanctificans, frangens, dedit sanctis suis discipulis et apostolis dicens Accipite, comedite, hoc est corpus meum quod pro vobis frangitur in remissionem peccatorum. Similiter postquam cœnatum est, accipiens calicem et benedicens dixit Bibite ex eo omnes, hic est sanguis meus Novi Testamenti qui pro vobis et multis effunditur in remissionem peccatorum . . . (Surgens obsignat sacra dona et dicit) Et fac panem quidem hunc preciosum corpus Christi tui . . . (et in calice dicit) In calice vero hoc pretiosum sanguinem Christi tui, transmutans Spiritu tuo sancto.'

In the recensions of the Liturgy which have appeared in the works of St. Chrysostom since Savile's edition, the Invocation of the Holy Spirit after the words of Institution are

[1] *Op. cit.* p. 207 *n.*

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far more distinct than in that of Erasmus. They run as follows:

'Rogamus precamur et obsecramus, mitte Spiritum Sanctum in nos et in hæc proposita dona. . . . Fac panem hunc preciosum corpus Christi tui . . . Quod autem in hoc calice est preciosus sanguis Christi tui . . . Immutans Spiritu tuo sancto.'[1]

Thus Father Gasquet's statement that in the Greek Liturgies the Invocation comes after the words of Institution is quite true of the later editions, but not of the edition of Erasmus. There it would be more correct to say that the Invocation comes before them. And we offer it as a theory which, taking all things into account, reaches high probability, that the form of consecration of the Eucharist in the English book of 1549 was framed on the basis of the passages just quoted from Erasmus's edition of the Liturgy of St. Chrysostom.

The motive of the change in the case of the consecration of the Holy Eucharist, as well as in the case of the Ordinal, was that of clinging closely and exactly to Scripture records and examples, on the principle that, among all the difficulties and disputes of the time, it must be safe to do what Christ did, and say what He said. This must be the sure way of appealing to Him for the grace of an ordinance which He instituted, and no authority of later time and inferior position can have any right to question the validity of acts done and of words spoken in the closest imitation of Him.

It would require larger space than that of an article to trace the moderating influence of Erasmus in the Anglican statements of doctrine in the sixteenth century. But we shall venture to state that friends or enemies of Lutheranism will search in vain for any statements upon justification corresponding to those above quoted from Luther, or to the words of the Confession of Augsburg, which pronounce men justified by God for Christ's sake when they believe that they are received into grace and that their sins are remitted for Christ's sake, who, by His death, made satisfaction for our sins.[2] In our eleventh Article justification by faith is treated as convertible into the statement that we are justified by Christ alone, which no Christian will deny; and although, in the Homily of Salvation, the influence of Lutheranism is more clearly apparent, yet there is the most evident repugnance to representing sacrifice for our sins as

[1] *S. Chrysostomi Op.* ed. Bened., Paris, 1839, xii. 1039.
[2] *Sylloge Confessionum*, Oxford, 1827, p. 124; see too p. 168.

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the sole character in which faith apprehends the Saviour, or personal sense of forgiveness as the sole character of saving faith, or the act of faith as separable in man from the other characteristics of a holy life, or the business of justification as an exchange between God and us by which, on our acknowledgment of His all-sufficiency He endows us in return with His forgiveness. It is not possible to ignore these shrinkings of Anglicanism, even in the documents of its most Protestant period, from the extreme doctrines of Lutheran justification. And the influence of Erasmus, powerful as we know it to have been at the time, must be counted among the most probable causes of this result.

The tremendous excitements of the Reformation time produced an earlier and more pressing need in religious than in literary subjects to substitute the vernacular for Latin. Yet the 'Adagia' of Erasmus, or portions of it, were early rendered into English. They were a tempting source from which to draw a little volume for the use of English readers. But the rendering of the 'Paraphrases' into English, by Udall and others, which obtained so distinguished a recognition in the Church, preceded the complete translation of any of the author's secular works into the same language. In 1549 was published the *Praise of Folly* in English. That, indeed, also possessed some ecclesiastical reference, by reason of its satire upon the clergy and the friars.

The translator was a man of the time, and of great distinction—Sir Thomas Chaloner, an intimate friend of the Emperor Charles V., as well as of Lord Burghley. Readers of Froude's *History* will remember his exhortations from Brussels to Elizabeth, 'so only to trust the Spaniards as first and best to trust herself,' and his hope for himself, if England was armed and exercised, 'to toast a crab by the fire in his old days.' 'If I were God,' wrote he, 'I would swear by myself that I believe our trust is in God's defence only, and, by Him, in our foresight; so our professed enemies and faint friends, instead of cartels of defiance, will send us solemn letters of congratulation; otherwise *væ victis*.'[1] Sir Thomas did not obtain his wish to toast a crab by the fire in his old age, for the anxieties of an embassy to Spain, and the un-English diet and uncomfortable life of that country, brought him to an untimely end in 1565.[2] He was a specimen of the English public servant of the time; a religious man, but not with the religion either of Puritanism or Popery. We could

[1] Froude's *History of England*, cabinet ed. vi. 285, 313.
[2] *Ib.* viii. 45.

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hardly expect that a patriotic Englishman of that date should accept the Pope's ecclesiastical authority while busy in opposing the secular influence by which the Pontiff and the princes in alliance with him threatened the existence of England. As little could we suppose him sympathising with the peevish insubordination of Puritanism. Chaloner was an excellent scholar, and left behind him his social theories in a Latin poem in ten books, *De Republicâ Angliæ Instaurandâ*, and a Panegyric in the same tongue upon Henry VIII. He belonged therefore to the time when Latin was still a living language for the educated ; while his English rendering of the *Praise of Folly* shows how its English rival was advancing. The latter work, when we have regard to its date, is not without interest in the history of English prose, and as the little quarto, badly printed and wild in its spelling, is very scarce, an extract will not displease the reader. Here is one which shows how Erasmus knew the ways of the gaming-table, the same in the sixteenth century as in our own, and passes on to the defects of the religious world :

'Moreover, these dyse plaiers, though I doubt whether theyr madnesse be foolishe or furious, yet surely it is a foolish and ridiculous sight to beholde many of them so given to the plaie, that as soone as they but here ones the sounding of the dyse springing upon the boorde (Lorde) how by and by theyr herts beginne to lepe and throbbe in their belies. Further, through a certaine suckling hope of gayne, havynge made shipwrecke of all theyr good, when theyr shippe strikes upon the Dise rocke, a daunger farre more perillous than is the race of Britaine, themselves hardly escapyng in theyr hose and theyr doublet, yet sooner will they begyle theyr owne brother than him that nicked them of theyr money, lest els perchaunce they myght be counted foule gamesters. Yea, and beyng olde nowe and almost blynde, yet plaie they stil with glasen eies, and lastly, havyng theyr fingers so knobbed wyth the goute as rendreth them impotent, yet hyre they some other to cast the dise for them. In which kinde of madnesse (I wene) thei myghte passe theyr tymes right pleasantly if it did not for the most part burst into a rage, and so perteine rather to the Furies of hell than to Folie. But those men, no question, are wholy of my retinew that put theyr sole delyte in tellynge or hearynge of these feigned miracles or verilier monstrous lies, being never satisfied threrwith, as whan they feigne certaine terrible tales of gostes, sprites, fayries, and divels, with thousande suche other old wyves' inventions, which the further thei sounde from truth are the gladeier beleved and more pleasantly dooe fede men's eares. For surely such fables are not onely doulcet to passe the tyme with all but gaynfull also to theyr practisers, such as pardoners and limittours be. Than agayne next neyghbours to these are such as have a foolysh but yet a pleasant perswasion to themselves

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that what daie they see a graven image of Sainct Barbara, with some praier preserved for that use, they cannot but retourne hurtelesse from the warres. Or if upon the Sondaies they woorshippe Saincte Erasmus with certaine tapers and Paternosters thei shal in short space become rich men. For what speake I of others who with feigned Perdones and remissions of sinnes dooe pleasantly flattre theimselves, takyng upon theim to measure the space and continuance of soulls above in Purgatorie, as it were by houreglasses settyng out bothe the yeres, the monthes, the daies, the houres, and the leste minutes, without missyng, as if they had cast it by Algrysme: or what of those that under confidence of majike praiers and charmelyke Rosaries which some devoute deceivour invented fyrste, either for his pleasure or his profite, dooe promise themselves all gladde thynges, richnesse, honour, pleasure, good fare, long health, longer lyfe, greene age, yea, and the next seate in heaven to God Almightie, which seate yet by theyr willes they wolde not possesse to tymely. I meane that, when the pleasures of this life have left theym muche agaynst theyr wille; yea, holdyng theym backe as it were by the teeth, than are thei at last content to have those heavenly joies succede in the others' places.'

The works of Erasmus never enjoyed in translations the extreme popularity which they had in the original Latin during the time when the widespread knowledge of that language, and the immature condition of the native tongues, secured him a reading public. At that time the circulation of his works numbered hundreds of thousands of copies, and equalled that of the most popular moderns, even if we include the novelists. But even after the change of language the works of Erasmus never fell into the pit of darkness which has swallowed so many popular writers of every generation. Innumerable pocket editions of his minor devotional works were brought out in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries—the *Enchiridion*, the *Methodus Veræ Theologiæ*, the *Precatio Dominica*, the *Symboli Explicatio*, the *Præparatio ad Mortem*. We have before us the *Moriæ Encomium*, printed at Oxford, 1668; the *Enchiridion* at Cambridge, 1685; a translation of the *De Contemptu Mundi*, Paris, 1713 (on the title-page of which Cantbrige appears as the French equivalent for Cantabrigia); and *Colloquia Familiaria*, printed in Dublin, 1722, 'ad usum Juventutis Politioris Humanitatis studiis imbuendæ apud omnes Protestantes Britannos præsertim et Hibernos,' the venture of a schoolmaster evidently, for school purposes and self-advertisement, and with dedications to Archbishop King, the Bishop of Clogher, Sir Thomas Coote, and Mr. Molyneux. Wherever books were printed at all in Europe in the two centuries after his death, there some of those of

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Erasmus ~~were sure~~ to appear. That is popularity such as falls to very few among the workers with the pen.

What part Erasmus would have taken if he had lived into the controversies of the generations after Luther we cannot be sure. It is idle to take for granted that the saints and scholars of past ages could certainly have agreed with us if they had lived to our time; on the other hand, it is not wise to be sure that they would have retained the position which they held in their lifetime, no matter what changes of opinion it should require of them. No doubt Erasmus would have viewed with admiration not unmixed with criticism, the counter-Reformation, and the wonderful work of the Jesuits. But it is beyond dispute that the definitions of the Council of Trent, and the doctrinal developments of later times, would have required of him views of papal authority very different from the conservative dislike to change things established, or lend his hand to schism, which sufficed to retain him in the papal ranks of his time. Great as are the merits of Professor Froude and Mr. Drummond, we cannot but regret that the biography of this great ecclesiastic should have fallen into the hands of writers who view the development of Catholic doctrine with so little sympathy. We do not deny that there is in the letters of Erasmus a certain element which lends itself to the light treatment of Catholic theology which such biographers must needs approve. The Horatian vein in his literary style might easily persuade us that he himself was a self-indulgent *dilettante*, if the amount of his production did not remind us what an indefatigable labourer he was; and the subjects on which he spent his toil bear plain testimony that the contents of the Catholic tradition afforded to him the chief objects of his faith and affection. The friends whose characters he has drawn with inimitable power were men of earnest and orthodox religion; and it is some one like-minded with them that could best draw the portrait of Erasmus. Should such a biographer appear, he will not suppose that the influence of the Reformer over the English Reformation stopped short with the deaths of Colet, Fisher, and More. It will not seem to him too much to maintain that the reformed Catholicism of our land is the sphere in which the searching yet cautious spirit of Erasmus is most active to-day, filled with a practical courage and determination which adverse circumstances and constitutional weakness denied to him. Could he visit the scene of his labours at Cambridge, he would find a work of sacred scholarship in progress so earnest and so fruitful that the learned world

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could scarcely offer anything more to his mind. And we must not be blamed if we feel some assurance that Erasmus could hardly now find a Church more congenial to his Catholicity, more absolute in the liberty which it permits to men of learning, than the Church of England, in the development of which he had no small share, and which is still faithful to the traditions he delivered.

ART. III.—ARCHBISHOP LAUD.

1. *The Works of Archbishop Laud.* 'Library of Anglo-Catholic Theology.' (Oxford, 1853, &c.)
2. *Breviate of the Life of Laud. Hidden Workes of Darknesse brought to Public Light. Canterburie's Doome.* By WILLIAM PRYNNE (1644–6).
3. *Cyprianus Anglicus: or, The Life and Death of Archbishop Laud.* By PETER HEYLYN (1671).
4. *Life of Archbishop Laud.* By CHARLES WEBB LE BAS. (London, 1836.)
5. *Essays, Historical and Theological.* By J. B. MOZLEY. Vol. I. (London, 1845.)
6. *The Life of William Laud, Archbishop of Canterbury, and Martyr.* By J. BAINES. (London, 1855.)
7. *Lives of the Archbishops of Canterbury.* By W. F. HOOK. Vol. XI. (London, 1875.)
8. *William Laud, sometime Archbishop of Canterbury; a Study.* By A. C. BENSON. (London, 1887.)
9. *A Life of Archbishop Laud.* By 'A ROMISH RECUSANT.' (London, 1894.)
10. *Life and Times of William Laud, Archbishop of Canterbury.* By C. H. SIMPKINSON. (London, 1894.)
11. *William Laud.* By W. H. HUTTON. (London, 1895.)
12. *Waymarks in Church History.* By W. BRIGHT. (London, 1894.)
13. *The Church and the Puritans.* By H. O. WAKEMAN. (London, 1887.)
14. *Student's English Church History.* By G. G. PERRY. Second Period. (London, 1887.)
15. *The Romanes Lecture, 1892: an Academic Sketch.* By W. E. GLADSTONE. (Oxford, 1892.)
16. *The Laud Commemoration Lectures.* By the BISHOP OF PETERBOROUGH, Professor MARGOLIOUTH, Professor COLLINS, the Revs. W. H. HUTTON and C. H. SIMPKINSON. Reports in the *Guardian*, 1895.

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Part I.

Of all branches of literature none has made greater progress during the last fifty years than that of history. There are other departments in which improvement is not discernible. He would be a bold man who should argue that we have among us better poets than Tennyson and Browning, Keble and Wordsworth; or better novelists than Thackeray and Dickens. But in history we certainly have improved. Fresh sources of knowledge have been opened out or rendered more generally accessible; passion and prejudice have to some extent succumbed to an honest and sincere desire to discover the truth, whithersoever it may lead us. With this increased knowledge of history has come a better appreciation of historic Christianity; and, to come to our immediate subject, this has certainly led to a higher estimate of that man who, in his day, was above all things the staunch and uncompromising champion of historic Christianity, as against all innovations on the right hand or on the left—William Laud.

Laud has of course always had his admirers in the English Church, from Peter Heylin downwards; but the *general* student of history would, we think, have formed on the whole an unfavourable opinion of him until quite recent years. An amusing instance of this occurred at Oxford about sixty years ago. Oxford, before it became liberalized, was always a staunch supporter of its great benefactor, and one of its colleges gave as a subject for a prize essay, 'Laudii Laudes.' A more than ordinarily conscientious undergraduate, who proposed to compete, determined first to investigate every source of information to which he could find access; and the conclusion he arrived at was, that if the subject had been 'Laudii Vituperia' he could have written much, but on 'Laudii Laudes' there was very little to be said.

The conclusion was really not an unnatural one, as we shall see if we cast a rapid glance at some of the principal estimates of Laud, which were taken, say, before the middle of the nineteenth century.

We begin with Laud's own *Diary*. Thanks to Archbishop Sancroft and his industrious chaplain, Henry Wharton, we have, and the undergraduate of sixty years ago might have had, the original article, purged from the shameful mutilations and interpolations of William Prynne. But, after all, the *Diary* gives us no fair or adequate idea of what Laud was. It was never intended for the public eye; it was simply the record of the casual thoughts of the moment, jotted down

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just as they occurred. What man in the world could bear to be judged by such a standard? Then, again, it appeared just when the age of 'Diaries' was, as it were, setting in—of diaries which were intended to be published, or, at any rate, in which the idea of publication was contemplated. What a poor figure such an unstudied record must have cut when compared with diaries like those of John Evelyn, Ralph Thoresby, Denis Granville, and a hundred others! Once more, Laud wrote just before the new light of science, which he himself did so much to foster, had been shed. The Royal Society had not yet been, but was just on the eve of being, founded; the Baconian philosophy had not yet had time to make its influence generally felt, as it did very soon after. In short, Laud lived at the close of the pre-scientific age, and it is an anachronism to judge him by the scientific standard. It is easy enough for British Philistinism, of which that very superior person, Lord Macaulay, is the incarnation, to make merry over Laud's dreams and omens and conjunctions of planets; but the proceeding is about as reasonable as if one who had been accustomed to the Maxim guns were to make merry over those who used the bow and arrows with such deadly execution on the field of Senlac. Laud's *History of his Troubles and Tryal* does not touch the point, for it was his life, not his departure from life, that wanted vindicating; those who condemned most emphatically his life and policy still sympathized with his fate and thought that he was cruelly dealt with.

The first biographies of Laud were written by his bitterest and most relentless enemy. The *Breviate of the Life of Laud* (1644) was taken almost verbatim from his *Diary*. *Hidden Workes of Darknesse brought to Public Light*, and *Canterburie's Doome* (1646), by William Prynne, paint Laud in the blackest colours, without any relief whatever. Then came *Cyprianus Anglicus: or, The Life and Death of Archbishop Laud*, by his devoted admirer and chaplain, Peter Heylin. Next to Laud's own works this is still the most interesting part of the Laudian literature to the Laudian student; but we doubt whether it was ever likely to prove a triumphant vindication of Laud to the general public. In the first place, it is too long and too full of the worthy Heylin's reflections upon things in general and himself in particular. Again, it is on the face of it an *ex parte* statement. It is like a picture of the pious Æneas drawn by the faithful Achates; it is Robinson Crusoe as he appeared to the man Friday. The reader would naturally want to know what other people thought who did

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not, like Heylin, owe so much to the hero of the biography. How, then, is Laud represented in the magnificent portrait gallery in Clarendon's *History of the Rebellion*? Clarendon was a Churchman and a Royalist; surely he is not likely to be too hard upon Laud, who was, moreover, his early benefactor. But Clarendon's portrait is, to say the least of it, a blending of lights and shades, the shades being decidedly predominant. He duly brings out the piety, the honesty, and the consistency of the man; but he also brings out in full relief his roughness, his harshness, his injudiciousness; and he more than hints that these were among the chief causes of the disasters which befell the Church and the Monarchy.

If Laud fares thus doubtfully in the pages of the great Royalist historian, there is no doubt whatever about the estimate which Bishop Burnet takes of him in his *History of My Own Times*. Burnet and Laud were in every respect the antipodes of one another. Laud was a high-churchman, Burnet a low; Laud was a main supporter of the Stuart dynasty, Burnet of the dynasty which overthrew the Stuarts; Laud was the upholder of the divine right of kings and of the royal prerogative, Burnet of the parliamentary title of kings and of the supremacy of Parliament; Laud was the patron of learning, Burnet of busy work which left little time for learning. In fact, Laud and Burnet could as little coalesce as oil and vinegar; so it is no wonder that Burnet has nothing to say in praise, and much in dispraise, of Laud. Nor can we expect it to be otherwise with that foreigner who, oddly enough, was the first to write a complete *History of England up to the Death of Charles I.* Rapin was brought over to England by William III., and would of course reflect in his history the views of his patron; those views were diametrically opposite to the principles which governed Laud all his life long; so Laud naturally suffers much depreciation in the pages of Rapin. A far greater historian, David Hume, might, as a Tory and a defender of the Stuarts, be expected to view Laud in a more favourable light. But it is not so. Laud, to his credit be it said, was too religious-minded a man to please Hume, who can see nothing but childish superstition, formalism, and pedantry in Laud's religion, and appears glad to find a scape-goat in the Archbishop for the errors of the King. To the historian of the Puritans, Daniel Neal, Laud is of course an object of special abhorrence. Taking Prynne's account as if it were gospel, Neal represents Laud as if he were nothing more than a cruel persecutor of Nonconformists, and a Papist in disguise. A similar view is taken by a once

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very popular historian, Mrs. Catherine Macaulay, who, as a Radical and a hater of the clergy, condemns Laud emphatically. Of course Laud found his defenders among his own order; but these were not sufficient to turn the tide, which ran strongly in his disfavour all through the eighteenth century. The tale was taken up by the two most popular historians in the earlier half of the nineteenth. Hallam, in his cold, cautious way, and Macaulay, in his rushing, impetuous fashion, have both attacked Laud vehemently; and we are inclined to think that a vast number of Englishmen take their ideas of Laud simply from these two writers. But it is to be hoped that the public is now beginning to see that in this, as in many other matters, there is another side as well as that taken by Hallam and Macaulay. At any rate, it has a chance of doing so. For partly, but by no means entirely, owing to the Oxford Movement, a reaction has set in, and we have had numberless estimates of Laud, of varying merit and interest, but all doing more justice to him than had been done in earlier generations.

First came a *Life of Archbishop Laud*, by Mr. Charles Webb Le Bas, in 1836. This was part of a series called 'The Theological Library,' edited by H. J. Rose and W. R. Lyall. Mr. Le Bas had previously written Lives of Wiclif (1831), Cranmer (1833), and Jewell (1835) for the same series. In all four Mr. Le Bas is most fair and discriminating, duly recording the faults as well as the merits of his heroes; but all four *are* his heroes, and one cannot but feel that if Laud were right the other three were more or less wrong, and *vice versa*. The *Lives* were written for a purpose, viz. to commend the old-fashioned high-churchmanship, as high-churchmanship was before the Oxford Movement; and this was not quite Laud's attitude. So he suffers a little from the point of view from which he is regarded, but still Mr. Le Bas did excellent service by his contribution to the Laudian literature. The next Life came nearer the mark, though it appears to have fallen into unmerited oblivion. It is *The Life of William Laud, Archbishop of Canterbury and Martyr*, by the Rev. J. Baines, a member of Laud's own college, St. John's. It was published in 1855, and was also part of a series. But the company in which Laud now finds himself (Nicholas Ferrar, James Bonnell, Saint Boniface, &c.) is a more congenial one than that in which Mr. Le Bas placed him, and the stand-point from which he is regarded just marks the difference between the high-churchman before and after the Oxford Movement. In the interval between the two biographies (that is, in 1845) appeared

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Mr. J. B. Mozley's brilliant essay on Laud, which has been a *locus classicus* on the subject ever since. In 1876 the longest Life of Laud since that of Heylin was published. There is a melancholy interest about the last volume[1] of Dean Hook's *Lives of the Archbishops of Canterbury*, by far the larger part of which is occupied by Laud. It must have been written by a virtually dying man, and was only sent to the press just before his death. There is something heroic in the grand old man, after a life of ceaseless and splendidly successful devotion to the practical work of the Church, spending his declining days in his great literary work, and actually dying in harness so far as literature went. But sentiment must not blind us to the truth. Dean Hook was an amateur, not a professional, in the field of history. Whatever period he is writing about, he always seems to have one eye steadily fixed on the second half of the nineteenth century. By temperament and training he was not quite fitted to treat Laud satisfactorily; he is too narrow and too modern in his view. We are thankful for his Life of Laud as a testimony from an able man of noble character to the merits of the Archbishop; but that is all.

It is, however, in the domain of general history rather than in the professed biographies of Laud that the change of tone is especially noticeable. And, strangely enough, the turn of the tide is first marked in the writings of one who was not only a foreigner but a German Lutheran, and who cannot therefore be supposed to have had any prejudices in favour of Laud's distinctive Church views.

> Via prima salutis,
> Quod minime reris, Graia pandetur ab urbe.

It was simply as an honest searcher after truth that Leopold von Ranke came to a more favourable conclusion about the character of Laud than Hallam and Macaulay had drawn. Oxford did yeoman's service to the cause of historical truth, no less than to the cause of the English Church, when she put forth in 1875 a readable translation of Ranke's *History of England, principally in the Seventeenth Century*. It was by far the best history of the period that had then appeared, and gave a just account of the Archbishop. But England has redeemed her credit by producing since that time a native historian, who is far more full and accurate than any of his predecessors, and who has really treated the Stuart period exhaustively; it is hardly necessary to add that his name is Samuel Rawson Gardiner. He again, like Ranke, is led to do justice

[1] That is vol. xi.; vol. xii. is occupied with the index.

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to Laud rather from his desire to ascertain the truth and from his thorough knowledge of the subject than from his Church views. This fact renders the testimony of both writers all the more valuable and significant. The example has been followed in quarters from which we should have least expected it. Dr. Stoughton, that fairest of all Nonconformist historians, belongs to the same religious body to which Dr. Neal, the historian of the Puritans, belonged. But what a difference there is in the tone of the two Congregational writers in their treatment of Laud! While the earlier can find nothing but what is bad in him, the later can own that he was an extraordinary man, of wonderful activity, whose capacities for work were of gigantic magnitude, and to whose abilities his enemies have not done justice.

The year 1887 saw a curious contribution to Laudian literature entitled *William Laud, sometime Archbishop of Canterbury; a Study*, by A. C. Benson. Mr. Benson, inspired, as he implies, by the atmosphere and associations of Lambeth, felt it to be his mission to give the public a 'Study' of his father's predecessor. It is written quite in the *fin de siècle* style, and often tempts one to cry 'Alas, poor Yorick!'—but at any rate its tone is far more kindly than that of Hallam or Macaulay. As, however, Mr. Benson has subsequently found a more congenial occupation in studying the habits of doubtful *Dodos* and other *Details of the Day*, he would hardly thank us, perhaps, for calling attention to his youthful performance.

But within the last year or so there have been no less than three distinct Lives of Laud, all written from different points of view. We hope that we are not biassed by theological prejudices in saying that the one written from our own point of view is incomparably the best in every way. Regarded simply as a composition, the difference between Mr. Hutton's 'Life' and those of the other two is too manifest to escape the most superficial reader. Both in style and matter it is the work of a practised *littérateur*: the scholar, the gentleman, the Christian, the sound churchman is conspicuous in every page; and, what is most important in dealing with Laud (who was certainly one of those men who are apt to rouse people's passions and carry them out of the region of sober judgment), Mr. Hutton exercises a severe self-restraint, and never reminds us of Phaethon mounting the chariot of the Sun. Moreover, he is not only an Oxford man, but a distinguished resident fellow of Laud's own college. He is inspired with the *genius loci* in an eminent

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degree; he is permeated with Oxford ideas through and through, without which a man is hardly capable of understanding Laud; and in a thousand little details he shows minute accuracy where, alas! we have been only too used to find inaccuracy. In short, if a bewildered reader, or a busy man for whom life is too short to wade through all the mass of literature, good, bad, and indifferent, and to balance the conflicting accounts—this one representing Laud as a fiend incarnate, for whom decapitation was an inadequate punishment; that one, as an immaculate, if somewhat vapid, martyr for whom canonization would be an inadequate reward—were to ask where he could find the truth briefly told, we should reply, 'Read Mr. Hutton: mark, learn, and inwardly digest what he says; and you will gain a truer view of Laud than if you puzzled your brain with all the conflicting accounts and estimates with which the public has been favoured.' But those two words 'briefly told' indicate a grievance which we have against Mr. Hutton, or, rather, against the editor of the excellent series of 'Leaders of Religion,' in which the work appears. It is useless to contend against the law of supply and demand; if the public desires to take its biographies, as it takes its medicine, in homœopathic doses —why, the public must be supplied. But when a long and full Life of a man is a real want, we do protest against securing a writer who is eminently qualified to supply that want to write a short 'Life.' The process might be reversed with great advantage. The man who has written the long 'Life' well may be safely trusted to condense it into a short one, as Professor Fraser has done so admirably in the case of Bishop Berkeley; but we know no instance of a short 'Life' being expanded into a long one. Now there are two men who deserve and require long and exhaustive biographies—John Keble and William Laud—and there are two men who are thoroughly competent to write them—Mr. Lock and Mr. Hutton. But Mr. Beeching, wise in his generation, has pounced upon them both to write short biographies for his excellent series, and we fear the long ones will never follow. Nearly two years ago we entreated Mr. Lock in these pages to set about the task of expanding his 'Keble,' but we fear he has turned a deaf ear to our entreaties. We now entreat Mr. Hutton to expand his 'Laud.' There are many points which we should like to see more fully treated: notably, Laud's amazing want of perception of the direction in which matters both in Church and State were drifting, the causes of his intense unpopularity, the exact part which he took in the

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proceedings of the Star Chamber and the High Commission Court, and his relations with Buckingham.

And now we must turn to the other two recent biographies, both of which, though inferior in workmanship to Mr. Hutton's, have a certain value which, from the nature of the case, Mr. Hutton's cannot possess; for Mr. Hutton is, we imagine, a Laudian, while the other writers are not; so their estimate has an independent value without any suspicion of partisanship. Of Mr. Simpkinson's *Life and Times of William Laud, Archbishop of Canterbury*, it is enough to say that it is an honest attempt to vindicate the Archbishop from unjust charges by one who evidently does not share all Laud's views; but of *A Life of Archbishop Laud*, by 'A Romish Recusant,' somewhat more must be said. In the first place, Why does the writer call himself a 'Romish Recusant'? There *is* no such being in existence. The expression has a definite historical signification. It means a man who has been required by law to attend his parish church, and has refused to do so. But the penal laws have been abolished, or fallen into disuse; and, without having the least suspicion who the 'Romish Recusant' is, we are bold to say that he is *not* a 'Romish Recusant,' for he has *not* been required to attend his parish church, and has *not* refused (*recusavit*) to do so. Does he call himself so because he has hazy ideas as to what the term meant? The matter of his book intimates that this is not an uncharitable assumption, for accuracy is not his *forte*. Not once, but over and over again, so that it cannot be a printer's error, he calls Prynne's book 'Histrio-mas*tr*ix' (pp. 201, 203, 485, &c.), a word which sets a Greek scholar's teeth on edge, for 'mas*ti*x' (a scourge) is one of the commonest Greek words. He always speaks of 'Cyprianus Angli*can*us' (as, by the way, does Mr. Simpkinson), though 'Cyprianus Angl*i*cus' stares one in the face in black and white, or rather red and white, on the title-page of Heylin's book. He does not seem to know the difference between a prebendary and a prebend, for he tells us that Bishop Neile 'gave Laud the Prebendary of Bugden' (p. 54), that the Archbishop of Spalatro was made 'a Prebend of Canterbury' (p. 61), that 'Dr. Cozens [*sic*] was a Prebend of Durham.' We may, perhaps, expect to find a Roman Catholic speaking of 'the very founder of the Church of England as by law established' [Henry VIII.] (p. 15), of 'the newly-made Church of England' (p. 16), 'the new Anglican Establishment' (p. 21), and so on *da capo*; but this does not make the expressions historically accurate. A few elegant

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extracts will give the reader an idea of his charitableness, his reverence, and his good taste:

'Like not a few modern High-Church Anglicans, he [Laud] just a little over-reached himself in his endeavours to be popish; for, after his own fashion, he "consecrated" it [his chapel at Aberguilly]. Even his hagiographer, Heylin, writes that "it was objected that neither Gratian, nor the Roman Pontifical, conceive such Consecrations necessary to a Private Chappel." To be stormed at by Puritans, and to be stormed at by Catholics, for this performance must have been very trying to the temper of the High-Church bishop in his attempts to be ultra-orthodox' (p. 115). . . . 'The going through this performance [the consecration of St. Catherine Cree's] on the part of Laud, was surely very like "playing at church"; for it was quite unauthorized by his own religious body' (p. 156). . . . 'When two or three were gathered together in God's name, to worship in an unconformable manner, there would he [Laud], in the person of his pursuivant, be in the midst of them.' [We almost shrink from quoting the passage, remembering Whose Words it parodies.] 'By-and-bye, Laud could not resist the opportunity of showing himself off. He must needs become historical, biblical, and classical at poor Williams's expense' (p. 302). . . . 'A party of stalwart women soon had him in their close embraces, and carrying their Right Reverend Father in God down his own staircase, they took him through the door and delivered him to the crowd of she-saints waiting in the street, who rolled him in the muddy gutter' (p. 316). . . . 'Laud, as usual on such occasions, expresses his thankfulness for the patience which God gave him during this trying scene; as usual, too, it reads rather like a veiled piece of self-praise' (p. 408). . . . 'The little old man [Laud], still rather lame, hobbled to the bar of the House of Lords,' &c. (p. 428). . . . 'Poor old fellow [Laud]! he walked with great courage up to the forbidding structure [the scaffold]' (p. 460). . . . 'Perhaps, in his prayer, we cannot altogether defend Laud from what is vulgarly called "playing to the gallery," when he beseeches God to give repentance "to all bloodthirsty people," and, if they will repent, "to confound all their desires" and "defeat and frustrate all their designs and endeavour"; and, again, when he prays for "this distracted and distressed people," and tells his Maker confidentially that he is not guilty of treason. All this was carefully written out beforehand, and was probably intended partly for God and partly for the mob' (p. 468).

These extracts will suffice to show the tone of the book. It is satisfactory to notice that the writer never loses an opportunity of expressing his dislike and contempt for those whom he oddly calls 'High-Church Anglicans'; for we take this to mean that their position is least assailable (as it certainly is) by Rome; also that he utterly repudiates the idea that Laud was at all 'popishly inclined,' in which we entirely agree with him; and finally that he admits Laud to have

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been an honest man, though he is in grave doubts about his eternal destiny (p. 471, &c.).

Besides these professed biographies, there have also been of late years several scattered notices of Laud, written by men of a much higher intellectual calibre than any of the biographers, with the exception, perhaps, of Mr. Hutton. Mr. Offley Wakeman's account of Laud in 'The Church and the Puritans' is one of the best parts in one of the best volumes of that excellent series, *Epochs of Church History*. Nowhere does Archdeacon Perry show more conspicuously that fairness, outspokenness, discrimination, and accuracy which render his *Church History* so valuable a contribution to the department of literature than in his chapters on Laud; and Canon Bright's essay on Laud, in his *Waymarks in Church History*, is a perfect little gem, showing an all-round knowledge of the whole subject, and condensing it without losing that vivid interest which he knows so well how to impart to all his writings, in a way which none but a real Laudian student can fully appreciate. We have hinted that Mr. Hutton might well undertake a larger Life of Laud; but it would be still better if Canon Bright would undertake the task. There is a special value, both in Archdeacon Perry's and Canon Bright's account, because both boldly deal, in a way which none of the friendly biographers do, with the real defects of Laud, while at the same time they are in full sympathy with his Churchmanship, and do justice to the services which he rendered to the Church. Last, but not least, Mr. Gladstone, in his *Romanes Lecture* of 1892, brings out in a vivid light one aspect of Laud's theology which is apt to be lost sight of—its tolerance. Is it an accident, or has it something to do with the genius of the place, that all the best accounts of Laud—indeed, all those which have any real and permanent value, have been written by Oxford men, who have all been closely connected, in one way or another, with the University system?

Of the 'Laud Commemoration Lectures' we have as yet (March 1895) only the newspaper reports, but before the next part of this article appears it is hoped that the promised volume, which will contain them all *in extenso*, will have been published; it will be better, therefore, to postpone any notice of them at present.

We may now turn from his biographers and critics to the man himself. The keynote to Laud's object is intimated, though not directly expressed, in the very first sentence of the Introduction to the *Cyprianus Anglicus*: 'Before we come,' begins

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Heylin, 'to the history of this famous prelate it will not be amiss to see upon what principle and position the reformation of this Church did first proceed'; and three pages later, 'Nothing that was *Apostolick*, or accounted Primitive, did fare worse for being Popish; I mean for having been made use of in times of Popery; it being none of their designs to create a new Church, but to reform the old' (p. 4). Here we have the gist of the whole matter. The object of Laud was to restore the Church to what it was intended to be when the Reformation was first taken in hand. When England, after several more or less futile endeavours, extending over many years, finally broke off from the Roman obedience in 1634, the position she took was as plain as language could make it. It is admirably stated by Starkey in his 'Reply' to Cardinal Pole's *Defence of Church Unity*:

'Herein lies the sense of your book; because we are slipped from the obedience of Rome, you judge us to be separate from the Unity of the Church, and to be no members of the Catholic body. Weigh this cause yet a little, Master Pole; and despise not the consent of your country, and of all the learned men therein, with too much arrogancy. Though we be slipt from the obedience of Rome, yet we be not slipt *a fide Romanâ nec a Petri Cathedrâ*. We observe and keep the same faith which from the beginning hath been taught at Rome.'[1]

Some years later Dean Field takes up the same tale: 'At the Reformation we separated from a part which claimed to be the whole, that we might hold with the Church Catholic against the pretensions of the Church of Rome.'

This was theory; but in practice it had become far otherwise. Partly through the influence of foreign reformers, partly through the spread of a Puritanism of native growth, the Reformed Church was fast drifting away from its first moorings. It was not only being attacked from without, but, what was far worse, it was being undermined from within; and the man who above all others restored it to its first love, thereby bringing about his own ruin and the temporary ruin of the Church as a national institution, was William Laud. He was greatly aided in his task by the revived study of history, and especially of the Early Fathers, which marked the close of the sixteenth and the beginning of the seven-

[1] Quoted by Canon Dixon in his *History of the Church of England from the Abolition of the Papal Jurisdiction*, i. 442. It must be remembered that Starkey wrote before the Council of Trent had stereotyped doctrines, and had made articles of faith what were not *de fide* before.

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teenth century. His views were not original, and certainly not innovations. They were only what had been held quite as firmly by Hooker, and Bilson, and Bancroft, and Young, and Buckeridge, and Andrewes, and countless others; and the last two were probably his first instructors. At any rate, it was Buckeridge and Andrewes who influenced Laud, not Laud who influenced them. Andrewes he always took for his 'guide, philosopher, and friend.' Buckeridge directed his early theological studies, which were so remarkable for those days that Dr. Young, Bishop of Rochester, who in the vacancy of the see of Oxford ordained him both deacon and priest in 1601, said that he 'found his studies raised above the system and opinions of the age upon the noble foundations of the Fathers, councils, and ecclesiastical histories, and presaged that, if he lived, he would be an instrument in restoring the Church from the private principles of modern times.' The presage was abundantly verified by the event, though not, perhaps, quite in the way that the good Bishop, who made Laud his chaplain in 1608, expected. It was not that Laud had the courage of his opinions, while others who agreed with him had not. There was no mistaking, for instance, what was Lancelot Andrewes's attitude from first to last. And Laud found Buckeridge at Oxford manfully holding the same position, and rallying a small party round him. But the speciality of Laud was that he persistently pushed his principles until they became a real power; took measures which led to their adoption, and to the removal of the hindrances in their way; saw the real tendency of opinions and practices which were apparently innocuous or unimportant. He was perfectly alive to the antagonism between his own theory and that of Rome; and when he saw real danger from that quarter was ready to meet it, and to suffer for meeting it, as he actually did. But he perceived that at that particular time the peril to the Church lay on the side of Puritanism, against which he waged a lifelong war. He tracked it with a dogged persistency into all its ramifications, and used all his powers to stamp it out. Those powers were very great. So far as Church matters were concerned he acquired a complete control over the king, and, what was perhaps of more importance, over the favourite. He had no hesitation in using the secular power to the utmost possible extent to further his end. It is surely a strange perversion of the truth to say, as has often been said, that he made a sort of tacit bargain with the Crown to magnify the royal prerogative, on condition that it should be used to serve the interests of

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the Church.[1] Rather, he regarded the monarchy itself as a Divine institution, as sacred in its way as the episcopate itself, and really believed that it was the highest duty of God's vicegerent to help and defend the Church of God. His system has frequently been called Erastian; but it was a sort of inverted Erastianism. The (so-called) secular power was to have the most absolute control; but its office was to exalt the Church above the State, not the State above the Church. He was prepared to ride roughshod over every obstacle in his way to the end at which he aimed, and he certainly did not always combine the *suaviter in modo* with the *fortiter in re.* He had an ungracious manner, 'had no time for compliments,' as he told young Edward Hyde, afterwards Lord Clarendon, who rather audaciously played the part of a good-natured friend to a man five-and-thirty years his senior, telling him frankly of his faults and his increasing unpopularity; and he often gave offence without intending to do so. But it was not merely his manner that offended. The Puritans knew their enemy; *their* system and *his* system could not coexist. So they opposed him, as he opposed them, tooth and nail. And as England was then honeycombed with Puritanism, it is no wonder that he incurred a virulent and general odium, which could only be satisfied when it had brought him to the block. But he carried his point, though at the cost of his own life. He left the Church, though apparently ruined mainly by his action, in reality a far stronger power than he had found it. The Church of the Elizabethan era was uninteresting, and called forth no enthusiasm;[2] the Church of the Stuart period was interesting in the highest degree, a society which awakened such enthusiastic attachment that men thought it worth living for—ay, and dying for; and the man who of all others brought about the change was William Laud.

In the face of the numerous biographies, sketches, essays, articles which have dealt with Laud, it may seem a work of supererogation to give ever so brief an account of his life; but it is necessary to do so, in order that we may have a peg on which to hang our remarks.

[1] The writer observes, since he wrote the above, that Professor Collins makes a similar remark in his lecture on 'Laud as a Statesman' in the 'Laud Commemoration Lectures.' See the *Guardian*, January 23, 1895.

[2] 'It is well,' says the Bishop of Peterborough, in the first Laud Commemoration Lecture, 'to abandon all illusions about the sixteenth century. There were strong men, there were powerful minds; but there was a dearth of beautiful characters.'

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William Laud was born in 1573 at Reading, where his father was a clothier. His humble origin was often cast in his teeth when he was living, and dwelt upon as a reproach to him after his death. 'Libel after libel,' said Laud himself, 'raked me out of the dunghill.' W. Prynne's first accusation against him was that 'he was born of poor and obscure parents in a cottage.' But surely it was not unprecedented, nor, indeed, at all extraordinary for the son of an eminently respectable and substantial tradesman to rise to the highest offices of the Church. Laud's own friend and patron, Dr. Neile, who rose to be Archbishop of York, was the son of a tallow-chandler, Bishop Taylor (of Lincoln) was the 'son of a poor tailor in Cat Street, Oxford,' and a greater Bishop Taylor (Jeremy) was the son of a Cambridge barber. Becket probably, Wolsey certainly, was of no higher origin than Laud, and fifty years after Laud's death there was another occupant of Augustine's chair who was precisely of the same rank, for Archbishop Tillotson was also the son of a clothier.

After having received a good education at Reading Free (Grammar) School, Laud went in 1589 to Oxford, the place which, of all others, he loved best, and which still bears the traces of his munificence and of his organizing powers. It was at Oxford that his mind was formed. Successively commoner, scholar, fellow, 'grammar reader' (tutor), and President of St. John's College, and Proctor, Vice-Chancellor, and Chancellor of the University, he knew Oxford in all its phases. It was there that he learnt his Church principles under Buckeridge, there that he had his first experience of Puritan sourness under Abbot, there that he acquired that somewhat prim, stiff, formal manner, and perhaps also some of that arbitrariness, which made him to the end of his days the College Don. Laud was a type of man who is likely to make strong and lasting friends, and also strong and lasting enemies. While he was yet a young fellow of St. John's he had already found a life-long friend in Dr. Neile, afterwards successively Bishop of Rochester, Lincoln, Lichfield and Coventry, Durham, Winchester, and finally Archbishop of York, and a life-long enemy in Dr. Abbot, then Master of University College, afterwards Archbishop of Canterbury. Puritanism had permeated through England in Laud's early days, but it had gathered into a focus at Oxford. The authorities were Calvinistic and Puritanical almost to a man. Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester, the great patron of Puritans, though far from practising Puritan austerities himself, was for many years Chancellor of the University up to the time of his death,

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which occurred the year before Laud went up as an undergraduate. Lord Buckhurst, afterwards Earl of Dorset, the Chancellor in Laud's day, was of the same party. So were both the Regius and the Margaret Professors of Divinity, the former, Dr. Lawrence Humphrey, President of Magdalen, being a very influential man; thus the two chairs from which theology was taught both spake the same tongue. As if this were not enough, a new lectureship was founded for the express purpose of teaching Puritanism, chiefly through the efforts of Walsingham, who, like most of Elizabeth's advisers, leaned towards the Puritans. It was held by the most noted preacher and one of the ablest and saintliest men at Oxford, Dr. Rainolds, President of Corpus Christi College, who was a Puritan of the first water. So were the two Abbots, Robert, the elder brother, who returned to Oxford in 1609 as Master of Balliol, and George, the younger, who was elected Master of University in 1597, and held that office until 1610; so was Dr. Airay, Provost of Queen's from 1598 to 1616, and Vice-Chancellor in 1606, when he came into collision with Laud. In short, Laud found himself in a nest of hornets, and very characteristically he acted in a way that was sure to provoke them to sting him. He had formed his opinions, and he took every opportunity of publishing them. In direct opposition to the Puritan theory, he maintained in 1603, in some divinity lectures at St. John's, that the English Church 'traced its orders and genealogy, through the Roman Catholic hierarchy up to the Apostles and the primitive Church' (Mozley), to the great offence especially of Dr. George Abbot, who held that the English Church traced her descent through the Albigenses, Hussites, and Wiclifites, and in later years wrote a treatise in favour of this theory. In his exercise for his B.D. degree in 1604 he asserted the necessity of baptism, and contended that there could be no true Church without diocesan Bishops, and in 1606 he preached a sermon at St. Mary's for which he was called to account by the Vice-Chancellor for expressing 'popish opinions.' He became so marked a man that 'it was heresy to speak to him, and misprision of heresy to give him a civil salutation in the street'—so he told Heylin. But he took no notice; he felt it to be his mission to attack Puritanism in its stronghold, and he rallied round him a party which had already been formed under Buckeridge, but now became under Laud a dangerous rival to the dominant party of the place. So when, in 1611, he was elected President of St. John's, a violent protest was made against the appointment, chiefly through Dr. George Abbot, the most puritanical

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of all the Oxford Puritans. The king, however, supported Laud, and he held his ground. His advancement did not render him one whit the less outspoken, nor his adversaries one whit the less ready to oppose him. On Shrove Tuesday, 1614. he preached a sermon in which he maintained that a Presbyterian was as bad as a Papist, and on Easter Day, Dr. Robert Abbot, having taken all Lent to prepare himself, made a violent personal attack upon him in a sermon which, 'according to the ancient custom of the University' (Heylin), he repeated on the following Sunday, when Laud himself was present.

As this is not intended to be a full biography of Laud, but merely to notice such points in his life as illustrate his main characteristics, we pass over his preferments—chaplaincies, livings, and the Archdeaconry of Huntingdon—and also the unfortunate episode of the Devonshire marriage, the part he took in which he never ceased to regret, and come to the year 1616, when he was made Dean of Gloucester. King James, who was not at first inclined to look with favour on Laud, was perhaps induced by what he had learned of his character when the case of the Presidentship of St. John's was brought before him, to think that he was the sort of man to clean out an Augean stable. When he offered him the Deanery of Gloucester, he said, 'Scarce ever a church in England is so ill-governed and so much out of order.' James was not mistaken in his man. The new dean at once girded himself up to 'set in order what was amiss.' But he had to fight for it as hard as he had fought at Oxford. 'The city,' writes Heylin, 'was at that time much pestered by the Puritan faction, which was grown multitudinous and strong by reason of the small abode which the Dean and Prebendaries made amongst them, the dull connivance of their Bishop, and the remiss government of their metropolitan.'[1] The Cathedral was sadly out of repair, and the Holy Table, according to the Puritan custom, was placed in the centre of the church, instead of the east end of the chancel. So predominant had Puritanism become, that this was the usual place for it in parish churches, but it was unusual in cathedrals. Hence Laud had no difficulty in persuading his chapter not only to repair and beautify the church, but also to place the Holy Table 'altarwise' at the east end, and 'to make a reverence' towards it as they entered the church. The change, however, deeply offended the aged bishop, Dr. Miles Smith, one of the translators of the Bible; he declared that he would never enter the

[1] *Cypr. Angl.* p. 65.

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Cathedral again while the altar was at the east end, and, though he lived eight years longer, he is said to have kept his word. Commotions against Laud's 'innovations' were raised in the city, but Laud, as usual, quietly persisted and carried his point. And here it must be observed once for all, that it was for no mere point of external decency and order (much as he valued both) that Laud, at Gloucester and at countless other places, insisted upon placing the Holy Table at the east end, and railing off the Sanctuary in which it stood. This was, in fact, the field on which the battle was fought between the Puritan and the Anglican theory of Divine Service. According to the former, preaching held the first place; according to the latter, worship, and the highest act of worship was the Holy Eucharist. The pulpit typified the one, the altar the other. So it may be said without exaggeration that every instance of Laud's success in altering the position of the Holy Table was an instance of his turning a Puritan into an Anglican place of worship.

Laud was certainly now in favour with the king, whose chaplain he was. Immediately after the disturbance at Gloucester (which, *more suo*, he left to settle itself, having carried his points), he accompanied James on a visit to Scotland, on which occasion the king, with his usual *insouciance*, told the Scotch divines that 'he had brought some English theologians to enlighten their minds.' This implies that he had confidence in Laud's ability to meet the argumentative Scots on their own ground. The king had also shown his approval of Laud's work at Oxford by sending in 1616 instructions to the Vice-Chancellor respecting the theological studies of the place, which quite fell in with Laud's views and clashed with those of the Puritans. Preachers were to adhere to the distinctive teaching of the Church, and students in divinity were to be 'excited to bestow their time on the fathers and councils, schoolmen, histories and controversies, making them the grounds of their studies.'[1] Laud also began to win the confidence of the heir-apparent to the throne, and also that of the favourite, Buckingham. So that in every way he was the man marked out for preferment when the opportunity occurred. It is necessary to bear this in mind, because it throws light upon what soon happened. In 1621 he was appointed Bishop of St. David's by the desire of the king, who, in offering the post to him, said that he knew the Deanery of Gloucester was 'a shell without a kernel.' Prince Charles and the Marquis of Buckingham are

[1] See Hutton, p. 18.

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also said to have pressed his claims, as it is highly probable that they would. But Bishop Williams also claimed the whole credit of the appointment; and Laud has been accused of base ingratitude for afterwards turning against the man who procured his first elevation to the bench. The charge is sanctioned by the highly respectable name of Bishop Hacket, who recounts at full length a conversation between King James and Bishop Williams, in which the bishop urges upon the reluctant king the claims of Laud. That Hacket recorded accurately what Williams told him we have not the shadow of a doubt; but about Williams's veracity we may be permitted to have considerable doubt. He was notorious for drawing the long bow; and especially, according to Clarendon, for inventing and recounting imaginary conversations which never occurred. That he may have mentioned Laud to the king is very likely, but that he had to use all his powers to persuade the king, as he said he had, is most improbable. There was the best of reasons why Williams should desire Laud out of the way. The king had intimated his wish to have Laud Dean of Westminster, that he might be always at hand. Williams was now Dean of Westminster, but in this very year, 1621, he was appointed Bishop of Lincoln, and he desired still to hold the deanery *in commendam*. By procuring the appointment of Laud to St. David's he got rid of an obstacle, and succeeded in his design of holding both Lincoln and Westminster. There was, therefore, no question of gratitude in the matter. The deanery of Westminster, which Williams prevented Laud from receiving, was a more eligible piece of preferment than the distant see of St. David's, which Williams may have been partly instrumental in procuring for him.

Adhering to our plan of touching only upon the crucial points of Laud's career, we pass over his doings in his far-off diocese, and turn to his famous controversy with the Jesuit, Fisher. This was important in two ways; it brought him into closer relationship with Buckingham, and it gave him an opportunity of showing the strength of his position as against Rome—a position from which he never swerved one hair's breadth. The circumstances which led to this controversy in 1622 must be briefly told. The Countess of Buckingham, mother of the all-powerful favourite, was being drawn towards Rome by a Jesuit Father who went by the name of Fisher, but whose real name was Percy or Perse. In the extreme sensitiveness to danger from Rome which then prevailed, it would have been highly inconvenient if one so

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nearly connected with the Court had joined the Roman Communion. The king, always ready to air his controversial abilities, first tried to argue with Fisher himself, but found the Jesuit more than a match for him. Then he arranged two conferences, which were to be held in the presence of the Countess, between Fisher and Dr. Francis White, at that time rector of St. Peter's, Cornhill. The king seems to have thought Dr. White hardly a strong enough man for the work, and called in Laud as a stronger, who held a third conference with Fisher. The Countess was not permanently impressed, but her son was; Buckingham henceforth took Laud for his spiritual father, and was ruled by him in ecclesiastical matters until his death. Laud's *Relation of the Conference*, which he published with considerable enlargements in 1639 at King Charles's command, on purpose to show that his attitude had not changed in the seventeen years which had elapsed, is, in our opinion, one of the best and most convincing works on the tenableness of the Anglican position in relation to Rome that is extant. The 'Romish Recusant' is wise in his generation when, fortified by the opinion of Mr. Benson, he dissuades his readers from reading it. In support of an opposite view, we will give *our* readers a specimen, asking them to remark how characteristic it is of Laud in every way—of his exalted estimate of the part the king should play, of his firm belief in the *via media*, and his contempt for the cry of 'persecution':

'Let me be bold to observe to your Majesty in particular, concerning your great charge in the Church of England. She is in hard condition. She professes the ancient Catholic faith, and yet the Romanist condemns her for novelty of doctrine. She practises Church government as it hath been in use in all ages and all places where the Church of Christ hath been established both in and since the days of the Apostles, and yet the separatist condemns her for anti-christianism in her discipline. The plain truth is she is between these two factions as between two mill-stones, and unless your Majesty look to it, to whose trust she is committed, she will be ground to powder, to an irreparable dishonour and loss to this kingdom. And it is very remarkable that while both these press hard upon the Church of England, both of them cry out against persecution like froward children, who scratch, and kick, and bite, and yet cry out all the while as if they were killed. Now, to the Romanist I shall say this. The errors of the Church of Rome are grown now (many of them) very old, and when errors are grown by age and continuance to strength, they which speak for the truth, though it be of an older, are usually challenged for the bringers in of new opinions. And there is no greater absurdity stirring this day in Christendom than that the reformation of an old, corrupted Church, whether we will or not, must be taken for the building a new. And were not

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this so we should never be troubled with that idle and impertinent question of theirs, "Where was your Church before Luther?" for it was just there where theirs is now; one and the same Church still, no doubt of that; one in substance, but not one in condition of state and purity; their part of the same Church remaining in corruption, and our part of the same Church under reformation. The same Naaman, and he a Syrian still; but leprous with them, and cleansed with us—the same man still. And for the separatist, and him that lays his grounds for separation, or change of discipline, though all he says, or can say, be in truth of divinity and among learned men little better than ridiculous, yet since these fond opinions have gained some ground among the people, to such among them as are wilfully set to follow their blind guides through thick and thin, till they fall into the ditch together, I shall say nothing. But so many of them as mean well, and are only misled by artifice and cunning, concerning them I shall say thus much only, they are bells of passing good metal, and tuneable enough of themselves and in their own disposition; and a world of pity it is that they are rung so miserably out of tune as they are by those who have acquired power in and over their consciences. And for this there is remedy, but how long there will be I know not' (Introduction).

Admirers of Bishop Andrewes will observe in this passage the resemblance to Andrewes's cramped and jerky style. Perhaps it was a conscious imitation, for Laud made no secret of following Andrewes as his master. In life and doctrine he could not have done better; but in style perhaps he might. However, he makes his meaning perfectly plain. He could almost as easily have turned Puritan as Roman. And this was his attitude from first to last; he never changed. Most truly did Sir Edward Dering (a hostile and therefore an unexceptionable witness) say of him, that 'he was always one and the same man, that beginning with him at Oxon. and so going on to Canterbury, he was unmoved and unchanged; that he never complyed with the times, but kept his own stand until the times came up to him'—'as they afterwards did,' adds Heylin.[1] An able reply to Laud was published about the middle of the century, the full title of which is: '*Labyrinthus Cantuariensis*, or *Doctor Laud's Labyrinth.* Being an Answer to the late Archbishop of Canterburies Relation of a Conference between Himself and Mr. Fisher. Wherein the true grounds of the Roman Catholic Religion are asserted, the principal Controversies betwixt Catholiques and Protestants thoroughly examined, and the Bishops Meandrick windings throughout his whole worke layd open to publique view. By T. C.'

In the same year (1622) Laud dealt a severe blow to his

[1] *Cypr. Angl.*

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enemies on the other side; for there is no doubt that the 'Royal Injunctions' to the Clergy of that year were issued on Laud's advice. These 'Injunctions' forbade any preacher under the degree of a bishop, or a dean at the least, to preach the deep points of predestination, election, reprobation, or the universality, efficacy, resistibility or irresistibility of God's grace; they enjoined catechizing instead of preaching on the Sunday afternoons; and they required bishops to be more careful in licensing preachers. These 'Injunctions' were of course as applicable to Anglicans as to Puritans; but it was the latter alone who were practically affected by them; it was *they* who loved to discuss the 'deeper points' which their adversaries would have been content to leave untouched; it was *they* who magnified preaching above all other ordinances, and despised catechizing as mere food for babes, it was *they* who profited by the indiscriminate licensing of preachers who would be sure to be of their way of thinking. They raised, therefore, a vehement outcry against the 'Injunctions,' and laid the blame of them on the right shoulders, viz. those of Laud, who was now becoming one of the most unpopular men in the kingdom. His unpopularity was not decreased by the fact that the Lord Keeper, Williams, who had never been his friend, and was now less so than ever, was in the ascendant during the closing years of James I.'s reign. Laud's 'Diary,' from 1622 to 1625, is full of mysterious hints about the hostility of the Lord Keeper: 'I was with my Lord Keeper, to whom I found some had done me very ill offices'; 'I did dream that the Lord Keeper was dead'; 'I found that all went not right with the Lord Keeper'; 'My Lord K. met with me in the withdrawing chamber, and quarrelled with me *gratis*'; 'I was much concerned at the envy and undeserved hatred borne to me by the Lord Keeper';—these are some of the entries. Laud attributes Williams's enmity to his jealousy of the Duke of Buckingham's favour, and this may have been the occasion; but the fact is, Laud and Williams represented two very different lines of policy: Laud was all for 'thorough,' Williams for compromise; Williams did not altogether identify himself with the Puritans, but still less did he identify himself with the Anglicans; and the practical result of the line he took would, but for Laud, have undoubtedly been to keep Puritanism predominant. Laud's other great enemy, Archbishop Abbot, made no secret of his desire to puritanize England. He knew that Laud was the great obstacle to this design; and one of the last acts that need be recorded in connexion with this part of Laud's career shows how ready

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Abbot was to pick a quarrel with him. In the spring of 1624 the Clergy in convocation voted four subsidies to the king of four shillings in the pound. For the sake of the poorer clergy Laud wished that the money should be paid by instalments, and spoke to Buckingham about it. The Lord Keeper (for a wonder) approved, but the Primate did not:

'His G. was very angry.—Asked, what I had to do to make any suit for the Church. Told me never any Bp. attempted the like at any time, nor would any but myself have done it. That I had given the Church such a wound, in speaking to any L. of the laity about it, as I could never make whole again. That if my L. Duke did fully understand what I had done, he would never endure me to come near him again. I answered: I thought I had done a very good office for the Church; and so did my betters think. If his G. thought otherwise, I was sorry I had offended him.—And I hoped, being done out of a good mind, for the support of many poor vicars abroad in the country, who must needs sink under three subsidies a year, my error (if it were one) was pardonable.—So we parted.'[1]

The incident is worth recording, for it illustrates another phase of Laud's character; while he was stiff and unbending to his equals, he was kind and considerate to his poorer brethren among the Clergy—always supposing, that is, that they were not puritanically inclined. This will appear more markedly at a later stage. We now pause at the close of an era in Laud's life. On March 27 King James died at Theobalds. 'He breathed forth,' writes Laud, 'his blessed soul most religiously, and with great constancy of faith and courage.' Laud heard of it as he ascended the pulpit 'much troubled' at Whitehall; and 'Being interrupted,' he says, 'with the dolours of the Duke of Buckingham, I broke off my sermon in the middle.' The event changed Laud's position; it placed him at once in the possession of unrivalled power. How he used that power will, it is hoped, be the subject of a future article.

Art. IV.—THE LIFE AND LETTERS OF DEAN CHURCH.

Life and Letters of Dean Church. Edited by his daughter, Mary C. Church. With a Preface by the Dean of Christ Church. (London, 1894.)

The perusal of this volume is not free from disappointment. Much which might have been hoped for is not contained in

[1] *Diary*, March 29, 1624.

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it. Some readers may have looked for judgments on many theological or historical questions on which Dean Church did not express an opinion in his published writings. Some may have anticipated that in the freedom of private letters there would be an absence of the habitual under-statement and reserve which, while they supplied part of his peculiar influence, were also not seldom embarrassing. Some, again, may have expected fuller indications of the Dean's methods of study than are here afforded.

To call attention to this aspect of the present work is to bear testimony to Dean Church's greatness. The disappointment we have spoken of is the result of eagerness to know what he thought on any subject, and those who will feel it are those who have to some extent realized his wide knowledge, his singular cultivation, his great power of using in the formation of practical judgments what he had read and observed.

Yet, if the publication of the book has brought with it disappointment, and if the letters have not as compositions the brilliance of the work of some writers we have known, and do not contain the elaborate discussions which have been characteristic of others, it will be intensely interesting to a large number of thoughtful readers.

In trying to estimate the interest and value of this *Life and Letters* it is natural to notice first the personal history which it contains. And this personal history is throughout significant. The glimpses of the future Dean's early home life in Lisbon and Florence, Leghorn and Lucca, Lecce and Naples, recall influences on his mind and character which cannot have been small. The story of his school life at Redlands, and his doubts 'whether we really could be so cocksure about the absolute truth of the Evangelical formulæ,' or how, if the 'right of private judgment' is 'one of the great watchwords,' we can 'condemn the Socinians, who go wrongly by using it,' and the picture of the 'reserved, serious, studious boy, loving books and already beginning to collect them, and with an eye to editions, which he used to search for among the second-hand book shops in Bristol' (pp. 8–9) exhibit in the boy traits which it was easy to observe in the man. So, too, at Oxford, the wish 'to be properly acquainted with Butler,' the appreciation of 'Maurice and his master Coleridge,' the 'deep impression' made by Newman's preaching (p. 17), are all instructive, and it is of special interest to observe, in the light of many subsequent events, a passage in a letter written to Mr. (afterwards Sir) Frederic Rogers two

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years after Mr. Church obtained his Fellowship at Oriel,[1] and dated on the Vigil of All Saints, 1840:

'Pugin has been staying with Bloxam. . . . The only specimens of Oxford that Pugin saw must have edified him. Jack Morris had invited the rest of the "Mountain" (Newman's name for them), *i.e.* Ward, Bloxam, and Bowyer, to dine with him in the Tower and "talk strong": and to their delight Bloxam brought Pugin as his *umbra*. Ward is said to have repeatedly jumped up and almost screamed in ecstacy at what was said, and Bowyer and Pugin had a fight about Gothic and Italian architecture; but what else took place I know not. Morris is not pleased with Pugin, however: I wonder if he has humbugged Bloxam. Do you know Bowyer? I wish he would not come here so much; his line is to defend what everybody else gives up, and he took the side of O'Connell and his friends against Pugin. These theological συμπόσια up in the Tower, where they "talk strong," as Morris says, and laugh till their heads are dizzy, are ticklish things. I met Gooch up there yesterday, and had to defend myself for thinking Hooker not merely a respectable person, but a Catholic divine, and entitled to be looked up to as a teacher' (pp. 26–27).

A little later in life came the starting of the *Guardian* newspaper[2] and the many reviews which Mr. Church wrote for it.[3] During almost the whole of 1847 he was abroad, and the letters he wrote at this time (pp. 65–132) are full of vivid descriptions indicative alike of insight into character and

[1] We notice a slight difference in printing between Dean Church's letter to Dr. Liddon of 1885, describing 'the Oriel Fellowship examinations in the old times,' as given on pp. 18–21 of this book, and as it is in the *Life of Edward Bouverie Pusey*, vol. i. pp. 66–69. In the latter the passage 'It used to be said that when James Mozley was in for the Fellowship he kept on till the last, and when it got dark lay down by the fire and wrote by firelight, and produced an essay of about ten lines, but the ten lines were such as no other man in [Oxford] could have written' has the word 'Oxford' bracketed, implying that it is not in the Dean's manuscript. It is printed without the brackets in the book before us. Possibly the respective editors may have had reasons unknown to us for supposing that Dean Church accidentally omitted the word. In the absence of such reasons, we would suggest that the intended meaning was 'such as no other man in' (*i.e.* as a candidate for the Fellowship) 'could have written.' This suggestion is supported by the following sentence in an article entitled 'Dr. J. B. Mozley' in the *Guardian* of January 9, 1878, p. 53: 'The story goes that in the examination for the Oriel Fellowship he produced for an essay a fragment of a dozen lines, but a dozen lines which no other man in the examination could have written.'

[2] The first number of the *Guardian* appeared on Wednesday, January 21, 1846.

[3] He continued throughout his life to write for the *Guardian*. He was also a contributor to the *British Critic*, the *Christian Remembrancer*, and our own pages.

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appreciation of scenery. It is interesting to notice how, while he was in Italy, Dante was his 'unfailing companion,' and that the 'little well-worn volume of the *Divina Commedia*, which had been laid on Dante's tomb at Ravenna, is filled with marginal notes and jottings, bearing witness to its constant use, and to the associations which had grown up during the journey round numberless passages of the poem, the last entry at the closing canto of the *Paradiso* bearing the date, "Florence, Christmas Day, 1847"' (pp. 133–34).

Mr. Church had been ordained deacon 'at Christmas, 1839,' 'in company, among others, with A. P. Stanley, whose contemporary he was' (pp. 22–23). In 1843, two years before his famous veto in conjunction with Mr. Guillemard of the decree for the censure of Tract XC. (p. 56), 'he had been warned by the Head of his College that in the event of his applying for testimonials for Priest's Orders, they might in the present condition of affairs be refused him' (p. 45), and he was not ordained priest until 'the Christmas Ordination' of 1852 before leaving Oxford for the country parish of Whatley in Somerset, to the living of which he had been presented by Mr. Horner of Mells (p. 135).

It is easy to understand that 'a good deal in the life' in 'a little village of two hundred people, wholly agricultural in its occupations,' 'was at first unfamiliar and irksome' (p. 137) to one with the antecedents of Mr. Church. His *Village Sermons* have already shown the love for his work and his people which grew up at Whatley, and there are many indications of this in the present book. It has sometimes been the case that a great scholar and earnest and high-minded man has not been a good parish priest. The recollection of this fact adds to the pleasure with which we have read of the 'simple and unambitious' 'parochial method' which 'suited well the circumstances' of Whatley, of the daily visits to the 'parish school,' of the care for the 'Sunday school,' the 'night school,' and the children generally, of the 'sympathy which honestly and naturally entered into the familiar and homely details of' the 'everyday life' of the parishioners, and of the 'loyal and affectionate confidence' which succeeded to the 'hesitating welcome which' 'awaited' Mr. Church 'as a stranger' (pp. 138–9).

'By the old, and by the sick an dying, his visits were eagerly looked for. It was no uncommon request that he would come and sit by the bedside of the sick, watching with them until the dreaded "turn of the night" had passed; and in any case of sudden or urgent illness, or to a dying person, he would be summoned in

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haste . . . for they longed not to pass away without the help of his presence and his prayers. And among the men of the village his influence was not less remarkable. The roughest and most turbulent of them did not question his authority, or refuse a respect which was never forgotten even in the free and frank intercourse which had grown up in the night schools or the cricket-field. No one took liberties with him, and men were quick to recognize a power which on occasion could flash out in prompt and stern rebuke of faults of conduct in a way that was all the more impressive by its contrast with the gentleness of his usual manner. . . .

'One who was for many years a parishioner recalls the impression made by his manner in church. "The first thing that impressed us all was the extreme solemnity and devotion with which Mr. Church celebrated the Holy Communion. We had heard nothing then about the Eastward position, but I can see now his slight figure bent in lowly reverence before the altar, giving the whole service a new and higher and holier meaning by his bearing and entire absorption in the act of worship." His sermons, short and clear and practical, carefully written so as to avoid the use of long or difficult words, or of any lengthened thread of argument, had the same simple reality and directness of purpose about them. None could mistake his meaning; but simple as his words were, they had a force and sincerity which made their way to the hearts and consciences of all those who gathered weekly to listen to him in the little village church' (pp. 139–41).

The smallness of the parish allowed time for reading and writing; and 'for many years' Mr. Church wrote 'articles and reviews' 'weekly for the *Guardian* and the *Saturday Review*' (p. 141). Letters of great interest, including many to Dr. Asa Gray, 'the distinguished American botanist' (p. 142), belong to this period of the life.

As far as the place in the volume which mentions the appointment of Mr. Church to the Deanery of St. Paul's and his consequent resignation of Whatley, the narrative portion, which is wisely kept in subordination to the letters, is altogether the work of Miss Church, except for a preface written with the graceful skill which is characteristic of the Dean of Christ Church. A somewhat lengthy description of the Dean's work at St. Paul's, vivid and fascinating, and making it easy to realize some of his peculiar powers, is contributed by Canon Scott Holland (pp. 205–35), and serves as an introduction to the letters which belong to the period from 1871 to 1890. Those who wish to understand how St. Paul's has become what it is to London life, or the singular force of the Chapter of the Cathedral in the years following the Dean's appointment, will do well to read it.

From this description onwards the letters are again

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mostly left to tell their own tale, but there are some recollections of interest from the pen of Dr. Barrett, 'the President of the Congregational Union in 1894' (pp. 302–5), and Miss Church tells with touching simplicity the story of her father's death and burial (pp. 348–50):

'At Dover he passed the last few weeks that remained of life, waiting, as it seemed to those near him, under the shadow of a great awe, but with a patience, and gentleness, and simplicity which knew no failure. His thoughts turned still to his favourite books, which he had carried with him, Homer and Lucretius, Dante and Wordsworth, and Matthew Arnold; and he still followed, with something of his old keenness of interest, the course of public events. . . .

'On the 10th[1] of December, early in the morning and quite quietly, the end came.

'The Dean's love of Whatley had led him years before to choose a spot in the quiet country churchyard there for his last resting-place. And thither he was carried from St. Paul's, after the early Communion in the north-west chapel of the Cathedral, where his coffin lay in the midst, and the later funeral service, with its long procession, and solemn music, and gathering of many friends and colleagues. And there, in the snow-covered churchyard beside the chancel of the village church, and amid the farewell gathering of old friends and parishioners, he was laid to rest. He had left a strict charge that no memorial should be raised to him. Only one thing he had asked—that a stone like that which he had chosen to mark his son's grave at Hyères—and which, though he was spared the sorrow of knowing it, was also, within three years' time, to mark the grave of his youngest daughter there—should mark his own grave at Whatley, and that it should bear upon it the same lines from the *Dies Iræ*—

Rex tremendæ majestatis,
Qui salvandos salvas gratis,
Salva me, fons pietatis.

Quærens me sedisti lassus,
Redemisti crucem passus,
Tantus labor non sit cassus.'

Before we proceed to notice some features of the Dean's character which are strongly illustrated by the work under review, we must congratulate Miss Church on the skill with which she has selected the letters,[2] and written the thread of

[1] '10th' is evidently a slip of the pen for 9th, the day on which the Dean died.

[2] Some critics may perhaps be of opinion that the editor would have acted more wisely if she had omitted some of the 'series of letters written during a visit to Greece in 1847,' which she tells us she only included 'after some hesitation' (p. vi). We think her decision was a wise one, both for the reasons which she mentions as having led her to give the letters, and also because they exhibit traits in the Dean which may be new to some readers of the book.

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history which connects them. To say that we think the book a not unworthy tribute to her father's memory is to bestow on it no small praise.

Dean Church's judgment on several distinguished contemporaries will be observed with interest. Readers will mark the foresight which anticipated that Bishop Temple would 'make one of our best Bishops,' and the appreciation which saw in the same prelate, 'a man of strong, masculine earnestness, sympathising with the masses; and alive to, and perhaps even frightened by, the powerlessness of speculation to meet the difficulties of mankind in general,' and 'an energetic, high-souled,' and 'most religious Bishop' (pp. 182–84). It will be noticed that a 'firm' and 'generous' 'rule' was looked for from Bishop Fraser, when he was appointed to Manchester (p. 185), and that the Dean wrote of Bishop Lightfoot in 1879:

'If he goes to Durham, Bishop Butler will have a successor worthy of him, in the combination of innocence, simplicity, and pure nobleness of thought and purpose, with intellectual forces which make his fellows wonder and admire' (p. 273).

Dean Stanley was regarded as 'a prophet and leader; full of eagerness and enthusiasm and brilliant talent, all heightened by success, but without a creed to preach' (p. 169), as 'very delightful and attractive,' as 'sincerely longing to be in sympathy with every one for whom he could feel respect,' as having 'the basis of a very grand character,' but with the 'enormous disqualifications to a religious teacher' that, in addition to other 'intellectual defects,' he was unable to understand 'metaphysics and dogmatic statements,' and had no capacity 'for the spiritual and unearthly side of religion' (p. 293). While Bishop Wilberforce was 'a statesman,' and had 'a statesman's ways in great religious divisions,' he was also 'a man of very large sympathies,' 'thoroughly sincere,' with 'a great nobility of nature,' 'as genuine in his intercourse with the humble and poor as with those who responded to his own brilliant cleverness,' 'of all men of his time' coming 'next to Gladstone as a man of inexhaustible powers of work' (pp. 239–40). Mr. Gladstone himself is many times referred to:

'There never was a man so genuinely admired for the qualities which deserve admiration—his earnestness, his deep popular sympathies, his unflinching courage—and there never was a man more deeply hated, both for his good points, and for undeniable defects and failings' (p. 179).

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'No man we have ever had has matched Gladstone in the grasp and daring, combined with thorough detailed knowledge of his great legislative constructions. . . . Gladstone's weak point is what is most amiable in him, his strong vein of sentiment. It is the spring of what is noblest about his impulses; but it is a perilous quality too' (p. 188).

'Never for hundreds of years has so much honest, disinterested pains been taken to fill the Primacy' (p. 307).

'To my knowledge Mr. Gladstone goes from communion with God to the great affairs of State' (p. 305).

And we cannot refrain from quoting the singularly penetrating letter about Mr. W. R. Greg:

'I always read anything of his on moral or religious questions. It is like reading Lucretius or Horace, in the reality of the pathetic strain in which he writes. Other people, even * * *, cannot shake off what Christianity has planted in their blood, even if they deny it with all the violence in the world. They are unconscious believers in better things to come, and can no more help it than they can help thinking in English. But Greg always seems to me *really* to look on life as they did who had never heard of revealed religion. There is a genuine feeling about life, as without any knowledge beyond the mere auguries of nature. And the profound melancholy of it is expressed in words, the beauty and tenderness of which have rarely been equalled' (p. 263).

The judgments from which we have quoted, and those on individuals throughout the book, are marked by balance and fairness which it is very rare indeed to find in opinions expressed about great men in their lifetime, or shortly after their deaths.

This is but one illustration of the evenness and justice of the Dean's mind. Others may be seen in a letter on the French and German war, in his view of the Church of England, and in his estimate of one part of the Ritualistic controversy. The first of these is so striking, that we may be allowed to quote the greater part of it:

'With your wrath against the strange and scandalous lying with which the French have tried to help out their shortcomings I go with all my heart. That a whole nation, or at least all speaking in its name, should have suddenly disclosed such a rooted habit of falsehood and imposture, is a terrible bit of the modern natural history of man. One used to think Carlyle's account of Barrère's *Vengeur* a little over-coloured. But Barrère has been beaten by Gambetta. . . .

'But I think there is a good deal to be said for French obstinacy, and hoping against hope. I think that now the Loire army is at an end, as I suppose it is, the end of hope is come. But up to this

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point I think the French chances, though poor, were not worthless, and were such as to make continued resistance to be naturally felt the most sacred of political duties by a Frenchman.

'I think peace ought to have been made after Sedan, and it was the fault of Paris and its leaders that it was not made. But it was not only, nor I think mainly, their fault that it was not made. We must not say that France would not confess itself beaten. It was abundantly willing to do so. It had received the most cruel punishment and humiliation that any great nation had received, without being actually ruined, like Prussia after Jena; this surely was part of the penalty of the war, and in spite of the "not one stone of our fortresses," other penalties and humiliations might have been got, if negotiations could have been *bonâ fide* set going But the Prussians would not make peace easy; they determined to have the additional revenge of marching to Paris, and they were possessed with that fatal delusion about drawing the teeth of their enemy. And so, to their great surprise and against their calculations, Paris held out, and the war went on. And I think it would have gone on with us if, after a great naval disaster, the terms of peace had been the surrender of Ireland; and we should have been willing to suffer as much as France before we accepted those terms.

'You see my disgust at French lying and vapouring and vanity, abominable and astonishing as it is, is mixed with another feeling, of which I feel it difficult to express the strength. I have not words to express my admiration at the unequalled intellectual greatness of the Prussian success; its preparations, its magnificent uninterrupted march, its absolute unchequered triumph. It beats Napoleon hollow, for it depends so much less on imposture, and so much more on long, underground, patient headwork. But I also have not words to express my fear and detestation of the morality and political spirit and temper which has been the mainspring of this great achievement of human intellect. It seems to me the revival of the military barbarism of the kings and nobles of the old times, with all the appliances of modern knowledge to help them, and make them more horribly proud, arrogant, relentless in their will, contemptuous of right in their means, unmeasured in their claims. The French wickedness, their conceit and lies and chattering insolence, seem to me almost childish by the side of the deliberate pride of force of which the German nature is so capable, and which seems to me to have disclosed itself in such proportions since Bismarck and William of Prussia became its masters and have taught it its strength' (pp. 196–98).

In the Dean's view of the Church of England he is able to face with perfect honesty all that is 'inconsistent,' or perplexing, or disheartening, and to recognize the 'defects and anomalies' which have led some less balanced minds to despair. But this frank recognition does not make him lose sight of the 'vigour,' the 'power of recovery,' the 'increasing value for what is good and true' in the English Church, or of

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the existence of 'defects and anomalies' in 'every Church' that he knew of or had 'ever heard of.' It does not hinder him from the enthusiastic statement that 'in spite of disasters and menacing troubles' the English Church is 'the most glorious Church in Christendom' (pp. 257-59).

It is an invidious task to make comparisons between one part of the Catholic Church and another; but we are confident of the soundness of the main attitude of the statements to which we have referred. If English Churchmen are to fulfil their true position and to do their duty alike to their own branch of the Church and to Christians at large, it will be as they honestly acknowledge what is painful in past history and faulty at the present time, while they insist on the real merits and capacities which none the less exist. We have too much of blindness to failings it is unpleasant to see and of assumptions that because there are faults there is little or nothing that is good.

In the ritual troubles it was the unfairness of the treatment of the Ritualists that Dean Church cared about most. Of the Ritualists themselves he was, at any rate for a time, not without fear. In 1866, after Keble's funeral, he wrote:

'Besides the people *I* used to think of with Keble there was a crowd of younger men, who no doubt have as much right in him as we have, in their way—Mackonochie, Lowder, and that sort. Excellent good fellows, but who, one could not help being conscious, looked upon us as rather *dark* people, who don't grow beards and do other proper things' (p. 172);

and in 1873 he wrote to Dr. Pusey:

'I feel that some of these younger men, whom I cannot go along with, are so very much my superiors, and beyond my criticism, in their devotion and earnestness. But I dread to think what the end may be from self-will and ὕβρις, where otherwise, in spite of everything, there seems more hope than I can see anywhere else' (p. 243).

But whatever fears of this kind he might have, on the question of justice he spoke with uncompromising strength.

'It it a bad time when people get to feel that they really cannot get justice and fair play. . . . It is this determination, in courts of justice, to find a meaning and a direction where there is none, and to close questions which at the least are open ones, which is enough to drive fair and quiet men into savage thoughts and feelings' (pp. 147-48).

'Let the Ritualists have common justice in such a Church as ours, and not the Mackonochie and Purchas judgments expressed by Lord Penzance, on the motion of outsiders and the Church Association, and then it will be time to call on moderate people to protest

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against them. But I will never be a party to screwing up the Church extra tightly in one particular point, and leaving it as loose as it is in others which are as grave. I certainly do think that we have great cause to complain of the way in which law has been administered among us. . . . You cannot be more afraid of Disestablishment than I am. But I am sure of this, that the Archbishop's' (that is, Archbishop Tait) 'trust in such Church law as now goes under the name, and his forcing on men's minds, by a policy of coercion, how much Parliament, as it is, may claim to do with the internal interests of the Church, will not help to avert it. That it may be averted by any sacrifice except of justice and honour, I pray day and night'[1] (p. 256).

'The Bishops, frightened by a movement which they have not tried to understand or govern, have encouraged appeals to law. The law courts have roughly attempted to maintain existing usage. The Archbishop has aggravated the mischief by stirring up the country by a measure intended to facilitate the operation of this judge-made law, while he steadily discountenances any attempt to control it by the only constitutional organ of legislation left to the Church. And the end is, that while all sorts of liberties are allowed to parties in the Church which the public opinion of the hour sanctions, a tight screw is put on the one unpopular one, and a grotesquely one-sided and stiff conformity to minute legal interpretations of rubrics is enforced by penalties, and is preached and paraded as the crucial test of loyalty to the Church and honest obedience to the law.

'To me this seems to be unjust, unconstitutional, and oppressive. It is certainly exasperating and impolitic. But the only way in which I can show that I am in earnest in so thinking and speaking is by quitting the high position which I hold' (p. 259).

'While Mr. Bell Cox goes to prison for having lighted candles and mixed water with the wine, and refusing to give up such things, dignified clergy of the Church can make open questions of the personality of God, and the fact of the Resurrection, and the promise of immortality'[2] (p. 324).

The *Church Quarterly Review* will not be suspected of sympathy with 'self-will and *ὕβρις*,' and it may be feared that such frames of mind are not becoming less common among English clergy; but we are bound to observe how much of such temper that has been and is dangerous is due to a past necessity of resisting unjust treatment which was applied in

[1] This letter was written in 1877. In 1870 he had anticipated that a time would come when Disestablishment would be a necessity if the Church was not to abandon distinctive truth so as to be made 'co-extensive with what can be called the religion of the whole nation' (p. 187).

[2] This letter was written in 1887 to the present Archbishop of Canterbury. The judgment in the trial of the Bishop of Lincoln was delivered in November 1890, shortly before the Dean's death. It caused him 'happiness,' and 'seemed to come to him with a touch of reassurance and confirmation in' his 'steady trust in the English Church' (p. 349).

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the name of law. It is impossible to use legal processes as a means of injustice and to avoid Nemesis.

With the sense of justice which has been almost universally recognized in Dean Church, and which is, as we have noticed, strikingly illustrated by these letters, is connected the reserve which was scarcely less marked in his character. And of this reserve also the letters supply instances. Among these we may notice passages which deal with the human knowledge of our Lord and with the subject of pain. In a letter written in 1878 there is the following guarded statement on the former of these questions:

'I shrink much from speculating on the human knowledge of our Blessed Lord, or the limitations—and they may have been great—which He was pleased to impose on Himself when He "emptied Himself," and became as one of us. I have never been satisfied with the ordinary explanations of the text you quote, St. Matt. xxiv. 36. They seem simply to explain it away as much as any Unitarian gloss on St. John i. 1. To me it means that He who was to judge the world, who knew what was in man, and more, who alone knew the Father, was at that time content to have that hour hidden from Him—did not choose to be above the angels in knowing it—as He was afterwards content to be forsaken of the Father. But the whole is perfectly inconceivable to my mind, and I could not base any general theory of His knowledge on it. I think it is very likely that we do not understand the meaning of much that is said in Scripture—its sense, and the end and purport for which *at the time* it was said. But it would perplex me much to think that He was imperfect or ignorant in what He *did* say, whether we understood Him or not' (pp. 267–68).

We do not profess to agree with the treatment of St. Matthew xxiv. 36[1] in this letter. But the subject of the human knowledge of our Lord has been discussed so often in our pages in the last few years that it is unnecessary we should here reopen it, or the theological questions with which it is connected, except for a word of protest against the absence of explanation of the statement that He 'who alone knew the Father' was 'forsaken of the Father.' Our present purpose is to call attention to what we have described as the reserve of the letter. It is said that our Lord was 'content to have' the 'hour hidden from Him'; but such a position is at the same time declared to be 'perfectly inconceivable,' and is carefully guarded from being used to supply an argument for

[1] From the reference being to St. Matthew xxiv. 36, rather than to St. Mark xiii. 32, we assume that the Dean was of opinion that the words *οὐδὲ ὁ υἱός* were rightly inserted by the revisers in the former passage.

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a 'general theory of' the 'knowledge' of Christ. A caution is added that the meaning of Holy Scripture may often be hidden from us, and it is finally said, not that it is impossible to regard our Lord as 'imperfect or ignorant,' but that 'it would perplex' the writer 'much to think that He was' either.

A somewhat similar reserve is to be found in the passage on pain in a letter written in 1879:

'As far as I understand the difficulty it is this: How could our Lord *really* have sympathized in *all* human pain, when He could not, by supposition, have known that which gives it its worst sting—its apparent uselessness and its helplessness? Well, I can only say that I cannot form the faintest conception how, in the actual depths of that Divine suffering nature, all human pain was borne, and shared, and understood. I can only see it from the outside. I see the suffering; I am told, on His authority, what it means and involves. I can, if I like, and as has often been done, go on and make a theory *how* He bore our sins, and *how* He gained their forgiveness, and *how* He took away the sins of the world. But I own that the longer I live the more my mind recoils from such efforts. It seems to me so idle, so, in the very nature of our condition, hopeless, just in proportion as one seems to grasp more really the true nature of all that went on beyond the visible sight of the Cross, all that was in Him who was God and Man, whose capacities and inner life human experience cannot reach or reflect. But one of the thoughts which pass sometimes through our minds about the sufferings of the Cross is, what *could* be the necessity of such suffering? What *was* the use of it? How, with infinite power, could not its ends have been otherwise attained? Why need He have suffered? Why could not the Father save Him from that hour? Did that thought, in the limitations and "emptying" (Phil. ii. 7) of the Passion pass through His mind too?

'But I suppose that, after all, the real difficulty is not about Him, but ourselves. Why pain at all? I can only say that the very attempt to give an answer, that the very thought of an answer *by us* being conceivable, seems to me one which a reasonable being in our circumstances ought not to entertain. It seems to me one of those questions which can only be expressed by such a figure as a fly trying to get through a glass window, or a human being jumping into space; that is, it is almost impossible to express the futility of it. It is obvious that it is part of a wider subject, that it could not be answered *by itself*, that we should need to know a great many other things to have the power of answering. And what is the use of asking what we cannot know? Why we are what we are; how what was not came into being; what is the present life, the mode of action, the Presence of the Divine Being; what is eternity; what is going on in the fixed stars? It is one of those questions about our present condition of which, if we choose, we may ask any number, with the same chance of an answer. Why is Nature, being so

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perfect, yet so imperfect? Why, of all the countless faces which I meet as I walk down the Strand, are the enormous majority failures—deflections from the type of beauty *possible* to them? Why are there poisons, and what is the use of poisonous beasts? For a snake, a bee, a wasp, don't want their poisons to take their food. Or to take what to me is as much the crux of our condition as pain—the relation of the sexes, the passion of love; how strange, how extravagant, how irrationally powerful over all the world, how at the root of the best things of life, how at the root of its very worst! Strange, ambiguous, perplexing lot for creatures made in the image of God. . . .

'Our Lord came among us not to clear up the perplexity, but to show us which side to take' (pp. 274–76).

We can express our sense of the high value of this letter without committing ourselves to approval of every sentence in it. Behind all explanations of moral and intellectual problems further difficulties remain. If, for instance, the true doctrine of the Person of Christ shows that, in spite of His impeccability, and even in a higher degree because of it, He experienced suffering in temptation, and can sympathize with the tempted, the difficulty remains that the temptation to do what is wrong for the sake of a good end comes to a high-minded man because he has imperfectly realized that the course of duty is always, in the proper sense, expedient, while in the case of our Lord there could be no such imperfect realization. Or again, the valuable answers which apologists have given to the well-known problems about free-will, or the sufferings of the innocent, or the laws of life, or the source of evil, simply lead up to inscrutable puzzles, such as whether any general law of nature could be different and the Nature of God remain the same, or why the Being of God is as It is. There are few things that do more harm than superficial statements that all is made clear, while in reality that which is most fundamental in the difficulty is left untouched. And what Christian writers in some departments need more than anything else is the courage to face the fact that all has not been made clear, and to say: 'Our Lord came among us not to clear up the perplexity, but to show us which side to take.'

We think, as we have implied, that his reserve was, to at any rate a large extent, the result of the justice of Dean Church's mind. It is a rare thing for a human being to escape some weakness on his strong side. And, in our opinion, Dean Church did not altogether escape it. If we are not mistaken, it was this very sense of justice which led to a fear of dogmatism where he might rightly have been dogmatic. We may notice two instances of this in the present volume. The first instance is in his comments on

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Dr. Mozley's *Primitive Doctrine of Baptismal Regeneration.* Writing in 1855 he says:

'Mozley's book will no doubt make a great row, and accomplish the break up that J. H. N. began. I am very sorry for the result; yet it need not have come if our friends had not stuck up for so much dogmatic certainty, and drawn so narrowly the limits of liberty of thinking. In the Middle Ages, and much more in the early times of the Church, there was infinitely more free speculation than seems compatible with Church views now. I think it must be we who are wrong. The nature of things seems more in favour of the old way than of ours' (p. 145).

We are not going to assert that 'the limits of liberty of thinking' have never been too greatly restricted, or that too much has never been made of 'dogmatic certainty.' But the doctrine of Baptism is hardly one on which a teacher with his eye on the 'Middle Ages' and the 'early times of the Church' has any right to hesitate and abstain from dogmatic assertion.

The second instance is in a letter from which we have already quoted a passage on our Lord's human knowledge. The general subject of this letter, which was written in 1878, after the Dean's sermon on 'Sin and Judgment'[1] in the University pulpit at Oxford, is that of eternal punishment. This letter, as well as two others, which, though written nearly a year previously, the Editor has placed immediately before it, contains very much of the highest value on the 'ignorance' of man and the 'certainties of God's justice, mercy, and love.' But there is in it a paragraph which appears to us to shrink unduly from insisting on the obvious meaning of some Scriptural language:

'Scripture, though awfully plain-spoken and stern, seems to me very *general* in its language on this matter. I heard a sermon yesterday in the same sense as * * *'s, and, though it was forcible in its Scripture proofs, I can only say it simply worried and almost exasperated me, because it assumed all through that we knew the exact definite purport of the Scripture terms used, and that they were used in exact correspondence with our own on the same subject. I doubt the assumption, and if I am asked "What is the use of the Scripture language?" my answer is that the general aim intended—viz. the certain and terrible punishment of sin—may be attained without satisfying definite questions about *how*, and *how long*, and *what next*' (p. 267).

If we are right in understanding the words 'how long' to refer to the question of the eternity of punishment, this

[1] Sermon IV. in *Human Life and its Conditions.*

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passage appears to mean either that the Dean hesitated to affirm that the condemnation of the lost is everlasting, or that he based his belief in its everlasting character on philosophical considerations rather than on the language of the New Testament.

We do not know whether Dean Church wrote other letters which referred to the controversy which arose about the criticism of the Old Testament in connexion with the publication of *Lux Mundi* besides that which he sent to Dr. Liddon in reply to the latter's expression of sympathy with him at the time of Lord Blachford's death. But if we may assume that the Editor would not have withheld any letter of importance and general interest on this subject, we cannot but think that in this case also there was a hesitancy parallel to that in the two instances which we have given.[1] In this letter Dean Church, after thanking Dr. Liddon for his 'kind thoughts,' goes on to say:

'It gives edge to such trials when troubles and anxieties such as you speak of are added to them. Ever since I could think at all I have felt that these anxious and disturbing questions would one day or other be put to us, and that we were not quite prepared or preparing to meet them effectively. To us Church people the general answer was so clear that it made us think that they wanted no further trouble; and they have been left outside our sphere of interest, to be dealt with by a cruel and insolent curiosity, utterly reckless of results, and even enjoying the pleasure of affronting religion and religious faith. This was sure to be, from the intellectual and moral conditions of our time; but it seems to me that our apologetic and counter-criticism has let itself be too much governed by the lines of the attack, and that we have not adequately attempted to face things for ourselves and in our own way, in order not merely to refute, but to construct something positive on our own side. That, it seems to me, is the great triumph of Bull's *Defensio* and of your Bamptons, and we want something of the same kind, which has not yet been done, for the Bible—what it really is, how it came to be, who gave it us. That the difficulties about it have been forced, not on arrogant and conceited "experts," claiming monopoly of all criticism, but on deep-thinking and devout Catholic believers like * * *, and have given him trouble, seems to me to show that there is something unsatisfactory in the present condition of things—though I am the last person to know what ought to be done to meet it. All that I can say for myself is that for such men my trust is in patience and sympathy' (pp. 341–2).

[1] Such an attitude might be to some extent due to the Dean's humility as well as to his justice. His humility was characteristically illustrated by his unwillingness to accept the Deanery of St. Paul's (pp. 199–203, 207–8). His subsequent refusal to become Archbishop of Canterbury (p. 307) was probably justified by 'reasons of health.'

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Yet, though the letter appears to be to a certain extent in deprecation of the vigorous and uncompromising attitude which Dr. Liddon consistently assumed on this matter, it will be observed that its general tone is that of opposition to what we are frequently told are the certain and necessary results of the critical study of the Old Testament. And we may compare, in this respect, the somewhat stronger language of a letter written to Lady Welby a few months earlier in 1889 :

'But—apart from scholars and people claiming independence—when the ordinary mass of us have to choose between speaking of the Bible as the Church has hitherto done and the new language of criticism, it is fair to ask, "What *does* criticism say?" And here it seems to me that, while the questions have been innumerable, and the answers also, the crop of clear, certain, convincing answers has been a strangely small one. Nothing seems to me more remarkable than the contrast in our time between the certainties of physical science and the contradictory and uncertain results, the barrenness, as a whole, of criticism applied to the questions which most interest men.

'I certainly know no one who is capable of revising the received belief about the Old and New Testament' (p. 337).

These passages may well, in our judgment, be carefully considered by a numerous class of persons who, without adequate knowledge either of theology or of criticism, are boastfully adopting opinions about Holy Scripture which run counter to the traditional belief of the Church and are full of lofty contempt for all who do not agree with them. And the Dean's words have a lesson, too, for eminent scholars whose attitude towards the criticism of the Bible has been anything but cautious.

Nor is a reminder less needed in some quarters that the traditional way of regarding Holy Scripture will hardly hold its ground without patient and detailed and constructive study of the sacred text.

In writing of this book we have referred mostly to very serious subjects. It has a lighter side in the accounts of travel already alluded to and in many literary allusions, of which one of the most interesting is in the 'account of the Dean's experience as a student of Browning's poetry,'[1] while there are abundant signs of such a 'sense of humour' as that of which the Dean of Christ Church wisely says in the preface that it 'seldom gets due credit for the good work it does or helps to do' (Preface, p. xviii).

We have, we hope, shown that thoughtful readers cannot afford to overlook the *Life and Letters of Dean Church.* And,

[1] In a letter to Mr. Stanley Withers, dated 'February 9, 1890,' printed on pages 342–44. We regret there is not much more of what we may call 'literary correspondence.'

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even apart from its merits, it will be valued as a memento of the high and noble life of a teacher of the widest knowledge and the most fearless honesty, who has left a deep mark in many thinkers of his day.

Yet, deeply as he marked cultivated Christian thought in England, our knowledge of Dean Church's published writings is tinged with regret. There are reviews and essays, lectures and sermons, short historical books—all filled with deep thought, singular suggestiveness, and skilled writing; but there is no *magnum opus*. The student who could have luminously lighted up by-ways of history has not done so on any large scale; the writer who could have told with vivid power the rise or the fall of great empires has not left any book which can be put on the same shelf with Gibbon's masterpiece; the critic, philosopher, historian, and divine who could have given us a history of the Papacy which, by its insight into cause and effect, its grasp of great principles of human thought, its knowledge of facts, its entire impartiality and unsurpassed judgment, would not only have been a work of the highest interest, but would have supplied the rational basis for a just estimate of the Church of Rome and a right attitude towards the reunion of Christendom, has left this task undone. It is not only intellectually tantalizing, it is, we feel, a moral loss to the English-speaking races that the powers which the Dean's books most abundantly exhibit should not have found a wider scope and, it may be, a more permanent usefulness.

ART. V.—THE TEXT OF THE SYRIAC GOSPELS.

1. *The Four Gospels in Syriac, transcribed from the Sinaitic Palimpsest.* By the late ROBERT L. BENSLY, M.A., and by J. RENDEL HARRIS, M.A., and by F. CRAWFORD BURKITT, M.A.; with an Introduction by AGNES SMITH LEWIS. (Cambridge, 1894.)
2. *A Translation of the Four Gospels from the Syriac of the Sinaitic Palimpsest.* By AGNES SMITH LEWIS, M.R.A.S. (London, 1894.)

A GENERATION has passed away since the publication by Cureton of a Syriac text,[1] which has necessarily been noticed, for commendation or disparagement, by every subsequent

[1] *Remains of a very Antient Recension of the Four Gospels in Syriac, hitherto unknown in Europe.* By William Cureton, D.D., 1858. Dedicated to the Prince Consort.

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writer on the original text of the Gospels. The fortunate discoverer of the venerable remains then first brought to light predicted in his *Dedication* that they would take their place in the ranks of Christian literature. Different and contradictory opinions have prevailed as to what that place should be. While Cureton's text was unsupported it was difficult to criticize it, except on grounds of internal evidence. The aspect of the case has now changed. The publication last autumn of another recension, very closely related to Dr. Cureton's, has enlarged the field of observation, while the still more recent publication of the English translation of Mrs. Lewis's codex has brought the subject within the sphere of the ordinary reader. The spread of education has produced in these days a multitude of divinity students who are neither Orientalists nor scholars, but who will welcome a handy little volume. We note as a sign of our times, and what in a former generation would not have been essayed, much less accomplished, that it is a lady who has discovered the codex for scholars and popularized its contents for the masses. The story of two expeditions has been told by her sister,[1] and we hear that, even as we write, these intrepid ladies are making a third search in the Library of St. Catherine's Convent. We should not be surprised to see them return with other precious transcripts, but the publication of a 'Codex Ludovicus' is enough to shed lustre on a lifetime.

We hasten to place in the forefront of our remarks this sincere expression of our admiration of the courage and perseverance of the ladies as discoverers, because we must find serious fault with the work of one of them when she essays criticism and commentary. We have already, in our *Short Notice* in the January number, referred to the signs of haste in Mrs. Lewis's work, which are indicated by the inaccuracies in the Introduction to her *Translation*. Her first line is ambiguous, for she describes her manuscript as 'the lately-discovered Codex of Old Syriac Gospels.' Mr. Burkitt is an equal offender when, in a signed communication to the *Guardian*[2] (to which we shall refer again), he takes as his title *The Sinai Palimpsest of the Old Syriac Version of the Gospels*. These descriptions may, and ought to, be read in connexion with Mr. Burkitt's statement that the Sinaitic MS. contains what he calls 'Syr. vt.' in a purer form than the Curetonian, and with Mrs. Lewis's references (*Introduction*, p. xiii) to the 'Curetonian Gospels' and to 'the Old Syriac text;' but the unwary may be led to suppose that

[1] *How the Codex was Found.* By Margaret Dunlop Gibson, 1893.
[2] October 31, 1894, pp. 1707–8.

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Mrs. Lewis's Palimpsest and Cureton's Codex are copies of one text. They represent the same text, but yet they are rather recensions of it than copies, if the latter term be used in the sense in which we speak of a copy of Homer, or of St. John, meaning a transcript, more or less faithful, of the text of the writer. Mrs. Lewis's Introduction prefixed to the Syriac text is more carefully composed than her Introduction to her *Translation*. Her English book, while it will be useful to many, will also mislead some readers. We merely advert in passing to the strange statements in the philological arguments on pp. xv and xvii, which seem to imply that the vernacular of Mesopotamia was almost identical with that of Palestine in the time of our Lord,[1] and which apparently confuse the latter dialect with what is called technically 'Palestinian Syriac.'[2] We remind the reader that the Palestinian Syriac version is not 'extant only in the form of a lectionary,' for fragments have been published of what seems to have been a complete copy of the Pauline Epistles.[3] Passing to a more serious fault, we find that on p. xxvii Mrs. Lewis writes about the last twelve verses of St. Mark as follows: '[The omission] occurs in other ancient codices, notably in both the Sinaiticus [*i.e.* ℵ] and the Vaticanus . . . in the Greek Codices where these twelve verses do occur, the τέλος ("end") is always found after verse 8 and also after verse 20.' Would the reader suppose from this statement that the codices in which these verses are found number *many hundreds*, and that they are omitted by *two* only?[4] We invite the attention of our readers, and of Mrs. Lewis, to a certain monograph on the subject, and to the other works named below.[5] But it is easier to ignore arguments than to refute them.

On p. xviii we read: 'The Pĕshīttā, or "simple" version, . . . is one which underwent successive revisions in order to bring it into harmony with the Greek Codices.' This is in flat contradiction to the opinion of Mr. Gwilliam. Between him and Mrs. Lewis we will not attempt to interpose, except

[1] See Dr. Neubauer's *Dialects of Palestine*, pp. 53, 54, in *Studia Biblica*, vol. i. 1885.

[2] For this dialect see Schwally's *Idioticon d. Christ. palästinischen Aramäisch.*

[3] *The Palestinian Version* (Anecdota Oxoniensia), 1893, p. xix. Why does Mrs. Lewis seem to doubt what is the exact date of the Vatican Lectionary? 'About A.D. 1029' (p. xix). It was written in the year of the Greeks 1341; see *Versiones Syriacæ* (Adler), p. 139.

[4] See *Nov. Test. Gr.* (Delectus Lectt. cur. Gul. Sanday), Oxon., 1889.

[5] Burgon's *Last Twelve Verses*. See also his *Revision Revised*, pp. 422–4; Scrivener's *Introduction*, 4th ed., vol. ii. pp. 340, 341; Miller's *Textual Guide*, p. 126; Dr. Taylor, Master of St. John's College, Cambridge, in *Expositor*, July 1893.

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to remark that the latter by her hasty statements and actual mistakes has not raised a presumption in favour of her critical acumen, while the former has thoroughly investigated the facts, and has given the grounds for his conclusion.[1]

In the English translation of Mrs. Lewis's text we have a work very different in character from that of Cureton. Even in the many places where the underlying Syriac is practically identical in each manuscript the English renderings are in marked contrast both in style and in language; the reader therefore must not assume the existence of different Syriac readings on account of a divergence in the translations. The translators had different objects in view. Cureton said that he aimed at presenting as literal a rendering as the idioms of the two languages would allow.[2] Mrs. Lewis has adopted the phraseology of the Authorized Version, and seeks to place her text before the English reader in such form as it assumed to those for whom the Syriac was intended. Her plan is perhaps more difficult of execution than Cureton's, and sometimes demands the sacrifice of verbal accuracy. On the whole, Mrs. Lewis has attained considerable success, and the reader who has before him these two translations, together with Etheridge's rendering of the Peshitto,[3] will be well equipped for the investigation of some of the most important problems connected with the history of the Syriac Gospels.

So much we can honestly declare, alike for the satisfaction of the many who will only know the *Lewis Gospels* through the discoverer's version of them, and in commendation of the translator herself. Our praise would be more heartily bestowed if more care had been taken to reach a higher standard of perfection. In not a few passages a more literal rendering would have been compatible with the idiomatic style which Mrs. Lewis has adopted. The participle is too often rendered as an aorist, by which the narrative loses the graphic touches given by the imperfect tense and by the historical present.[4] The distinction between ◌ *and* and ◌̱ *but* is not consistently maintained. At Mark vi. 47 there is no need to leave out

[1] The collation of ancient Peshitto manuscripts on an adequate scale was commenced by the late Philip Edward Pusey, the son of Dr. Pusey, and has been continued by the Rev. G. H. Gwilliam, who has written on the text of the Peshitto in each volume of the Oxford *Studia Biblica*.

[2] *Antient Recension*, Preface, p. xciv.

[3] *The Syrian Churches, with a literal Translation of the Four Gospels from the Peschito*, J. W. Etheridge, 1846.

[4] We allow that, in the present state of the palimpsest, the diacritical point being constantly illegible, it is often difficult to distinguish the participle when not followed by the substantive verb, but even when it is the *imperfect* force is often neglected.

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the *and*, and say in the margin that the codex reads it.[1] Many other glosses are either unnecessary or inconsistent. If it was desirable to translate in the margin '*Ain Nun* (Ænon, John iii. 23) it is hard to see why other place names are left untranslated. The treatment of proper names is inconsistent. We have *Peter* and *Cepha*, *Thomas* and *Thoma*, *Iscariot* and *Scariota*, although the last pair are in part made one by the corrigendum, at Mark iii. 19 only, 'read Scariota *passim*.' If there is reason for writing *Catana* (John xxi. 2) why not *Galîla*? and why not extend the transliteration to *Jerusalem*, *Jericho*, &c. The information is given (Matt. viii. 9) that *under me* is in Syriac *under my hand*, but many other much more curious idioms are unnoticed.[2] The gloss at John xx. 23 is wrong. Not '*he* is retained,' but '*it* is retained'—*each sin*, or, perhaps, collectively, *the guilt*.[3]

We do not multiply examples, because we should much regret to detract unduly from the praise we have already bestowed, and rightly too, for the *Translation* will, on the whole, be found of great service to the English reader, provided he is content to derive from it a general impression of the contents of the codex, and does not employ it as an instrument for verbal criticism. For the latter use some provision is made in the two Appendixes, I. of Greek words omitted, II. of Interpolations.

We have felt it our duty to animadvert on the errors in the *Introduction*, lest the reader should be misled by the dogmatism which the writer at times assumes. We are glad to pass on, and to express most cordially our admiration of the beauty of the edition of Mrs. Lewis's Syriac Gospels. The printing is worthy of the best work of the Cambridge University Press. The arrangement in leaves and columns is a great improvement on the style adopted by Cureton, and is in harmony with the laudable desire for accurate reproduction of the works of antiquity which characterizes the scholars of the present day. The pages, in their very appearance, suggest accuracy and critical care in every line. Each page is attested by one or more of the transcribers, the initials of Mr. Burkitt

[1] Translate, 'But when . . . and he was . . . and when he saw . . . (then) he cometh . . .'

[2] *E.g.* Matt. iv. 1, there is no gloss to *devil*; but if *beaten* (Luke xii. 47) has an illustration from modern Egyptian, why not explain the idiom by which the Devil is called 'Eater of Pieces'?

[3] Mark x. 51: 'Lord' occurs in the text, 'Rabbuli' in the margin. John xx. 16: Rabbuli is retained in the text, and rendered in the margin 'my master.' The Syriac scholar will note the former place with interest. It shows that ܪܒܘܠܝ in the latter place (which in the Peshitto is ܡܪܝ. λεγ.) is not a mistake for ܪܒܘܢܝ. See Schaaf's *Lexicon*, p. 529.

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occurring, perhaps, most frequently. The difficulties of decipherment have not been overcome in every passage; some places remain doubtful, others might be read differently by other eyes. But on the whole we are induced to rely with much confidence on the accuracy of the text of this edition of a most interesting relic of Syriac literature.

The estimate which Cureton formed of the value of his discovery was naturally high. His opinion has in part been shared by a large number of scholars; in one direction, however, he has had, perhaps, no follower. These are his words:

(i) 'The Gospels of St. Luke, St. John, and St. Mark evidently have been translated directly from the Greek.' (ii) 'This Syriac text of the Gospel of St. Matthew which I now publish has, to a large extent, retained the identical terms and expressions which the Apostle himself employed; we have here, in our Lord's discourses, to a great extent the very same words as the Divine Author of our holy religion himself uttered in proclaiming the glad tidings of salvation in the Hebrew dialect.' [1]

(iii) Of the *Four Gospels* he writes:

'It seems to be scarcely possible that the Syriac text published by Widmanstadt, could be altogether a different version from this. . . . The more cultivated and improved edition [is] the result of revision and correction from a fresh collation with the original Greek . . . The language, also, of the four Gospels in the Peshito has undergone some modification from this text' (p. lxx).

The first of these propositions few would dispute; but, as the second has found favour with none, the view that three of these Syriac Gospels are translations may now be extended and include all four. The third proposition, that there is a relation between the *Peshitto* and the *Curetonian Fragments* is indisputable; it is only on the nature of that relation that controversy can arise.

The title of the edition of the text which Mrs. Lewis discovered is correct as a simple statement of the contents of the manuscript. Mr. Burkitt, in the *Guardian*, recognizes the differences between the palimpsest and the Curetonian, and quotes them by name, employing 'Syr. vt.' to designate the archetypal text which is the foundation of each. The term 'Syr. vt.' is borrowed from Dr. Hort, and, with the term, that writer's views of the relation of the Peshitto as a Versio Syriaca Vulgata to an older Versio Syriaca Vetus. Yet Dr. Hort is not the only authority on Syriac versions. We may refer the reader to Scrivener, whose views have been repeated

[1] Preface, pp. lxviii, xciii.

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in each edition of his *Introduction*, and to the writer in *Studia Biblica*, whom we have already named. We are not aware that the arguments of the latter have ever been refuted, and it would be unreasonable to expect Mr. Burkitt to make the attempt within the compass of a contribution to the *Guardian*. But we ask him to recognize that there is another side to the question. We do not admit that his view of the relation of the Peshitto to an older text is to be regarded as a postulate in the New Testament criticism.[1] To the name given to the palimpsest itself we object, because *Codex Sinaiticus* has already been taken, and is even used by Mrs. Lewis (p. xxvii), as the recognized name of the Greek MS. known as ℵ. Although we employ in this article the adjectives 'Curetonian' and 'Sinaitic,' we hope the palimpsest will hereafter be known as the *Codex Ludovicus*.

The value of an ancient manuscript, speaking generally, and without reference to special features of orthography or details of text, which may enhance the interest of particular codices, depends upon the contents and the antiquity in relation to one another. In spite of views which now prevail in some quarters, we maintain that for literary and critical purposes a manuscript which contains a carelessly written and corrupted text has not been purged of its offences by lapse of years, and that a copy which seems to represent more faithfully the original autograph is not necessarily discredited because it is young. At the same time, in the absence of criteria whereby the character of the contents may be tested, the antiquity of a manuscript would always raise a presumption in its favour; but where both can be considered, text and age together must determine the value of the codex.

Reference has already been made to Mr. Burkitt's opinion that the version which the palimpsest contains has been transmitted in a much purer form than that which the Curetonian exhibits. Mrs. Lewis,[2] after noticing some of the most interesting readings of her codex, says: 'Some of these readings indicate a greater antiquity for the Sinai manuscript than for Cureton's. But, on the other hand, there are a few expressions which may point to a later origin.' And a little below she continues: 'Dr. Nestle, of Ulm, and Mr. Rendel Harris have both expressed the opinion that it represents, not a duplicate of the Curetonian, but the very first attempt at rendering the Gospel into Syriac, of which Tatian and the Curetonian are both revisions.' It appears, therefore, that the

[1] See *Revision Revised*, pp. 275–7, where the writer's criticisms express the views of Hort's opponents.

[2] *Translation*, Introduction, pp. xxxi–ii.

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editors, though not without a slight but not reprehensible hesitation, are prepared to assign to the text of the Lewis MS. a very great antiquity. Mr. Burkitt (*l.c.*) justly remarks that 'the date of a manuscript is a small thing compared with the date of the text which it presents;' but it is clear that the editors are also disposed to assign a very early date to the codex itself, and thus to find some further support to their view of the relative antiquity of the Curetonian and Sinaitic texts. In her *Introduction* Mrs. Lewis writes:[1] 'I believe that the transcribers are willing to assign it to the beginning of the fifth century, that is, to an earlier period than Cureton's, or any other Syriac manuscript in the British Museum.' One of these manuscripts is dated A.Gr. 723 = A.D. 412.[2] We conclude that the transcribers agreed that the codex was written not later than some year in the first decade of the fifth century. Mr. Burkitt goes further, for in his article in the *Guardian* he says, 'it may very likely be half a century earlier.' A little lower down Mrs. Lewis writes: 'We observe from the final colophon that the manuscript must have been written at a period when prayer for departed saints had become a recognized custom.' By this test we might date the manuscript in the year of St. Paul's second imprisonment.[3] Though this is not the date Mrs. Lewis meant, yet she would doubtless concur in the opinion, almost universally held amongst scholars, that a Syriac version of at least some part of the New Testament was made in sub-apostolic times.

Two photographic illustrations of pages are prefixed to the edition of the text, but they are in reduced size; and, without access to the manuscript itself, it is hazardous to express an opinion on the age of the writing. The palæographer has to take account of the quality and substance of the leaves, of the colour and appearance of the pages, as well as of the general character of the hand and the shapes of particular letters, before he feels justified in pronouncing a decision on the date of the codex before him. We must now content ourselves with observing that the hand appears to belong to the era of the earliest with which we are acquainted. Mr. Burkitt[4] speaks of the hand as that 'of the earliest type of Estrangela.' He also appears to be influenced by the presence of some unusual grammatical forms; but these may

[1] P. xxxi.

[2] No. DCCXXVI., containing translations of the 'Recognitions,' 'Theophania,' 'Palestine Martyrs,' &c.

[3] See the prayer for the deceased Onesiphorus in 2 Tim. i. 18.

[4] *Guardian*, p. 1707.

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be dialectic. Mr. Gwilliam[1] has called attention to the statement of Mrs. Lewis, that the vellum was once stout, as indicating a later rather than a very early period.[2] We should certainly like to know what are the grounds for the opinion that the Sinaitic MS. is at least sixty years, and perhaps a hundred years, older than Cureton's.[3] In the problems which are now before us every detail of the evidence is important; yet the actual date of Mrs. Lewis's codex is not essential to any part of our main contention. Both her manuscript and Cureton's are copies of earlier manuscripts, and represent recensions, of which the original exemplars have perished, as far as we know. The editors are not able to tell us from the manuscript by whom or where it was written. A final column, which probably contains the information, is illegible, and this is to be regretted. In tracing the history of the Curetonian-Sinaitic texts, it would be helpful to know in what locality those types prevailed. It is suggested, on apparently good grounds, that the leaves were in the Sinai library when they were used for the eighth-century writing.[4]

The ancient codex, to which these leaves belonged, contained the Four Gospels from the first verse of St. Matthew to the last of St. John; St. Mark and St. Luke being placed in the familiar order. There are, however, many lacunæ, in consequence of the impossibility of reading the underlying writing in those places, and several leaves are wanting, which the scribe of the upper writing did not take from the original volume. The first page of St. Matthew is transcribed on the verso of the leaf. The editors say that the recto is blank. The want of a title to the whole work is compensated by the colophons to the several Gospels; and it is not probable, on the analogy of other Syriac Biblical manuscripts of the same size and similar antiquity, that the original volume contained more than the Gospels. The leaf which contained the colophon to St. Matthew is lost. At St. Mark xvi. 8 we have: *Here endeth the Evangelium of Markos . . . Evangelium of Luka.* Similar words conclude St. Luke and head St. John. Lastly we have: *Here endeth the Gospel* (*sing.* not *pl.*)

[1] *Expository Times*, January 1895, p. 157, referring to *Syriac Gospels*, Introduction, p. vi.

[2] See Gardthausen, *Griechische Paläographie*, p. 41; Scrivener, *Introduction*, 4th ed., i. 23; Maunde Thompson, *Greek and Latin Palæography*, p. 38.

[3] The age of this manuscript is not uncertain. Wright, a great authority, assigned it to A.D. 450–70. See for this, and the Syriac versions generally, his *Short History of Syriac Literature*, pp. 10, 11.

[4] *Introduction*, pp. xvi, xvii.

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of the ܣܦܪܐ (*Mĕpharrĕshĕ*) *four books. Glory to God, &c., Amen.* The editors read the word which follows 'Gospel' with the *ribbui, i.e.* in the plural; and, whatever the term *Mepharresha* may signify, of which we shall have more to say, it is applied in the Lewis MS. to the whole work, and is not confined to St. Matthew, as Cureton believed was the case in his manuscript.

The arrangement of the books in the familiar order is a striking difference between the Curetonian and Sinaitic texts. Another difference is the omission of the conclusion of St. Mark from the latter. The former has now, in consequence of mutilation, only vv. 17–20; without doubt it once contained the whole of the traditional ending. A third and very obvious difference between the two codices is found in the genealogy in St. Matthew. In the Curetonian three names are inserted in ver. 8, Ahaziah, Joash, Amaziah; while curiously enough, the number *fourteen*, which is the sum of the names in the Greek copies, is not changed in ver. 17. This insertion was an item in the evidence adduced by Cureton for connecting his Syriac text of St. Matthew with an Aramaic original;[1] but no such insertion is found in the Sinaitic palimpsest. It is unfortunate that folio 28 of the palimpsest, containing St. Matt. xx. 24–xxi. 20 is lost, so that we do not know if the Sinaitic had the addition which is found in the Curetonian after xx. 28.[2]

Mrs. Lewis remarks[3] that 'it is important to observe' (with Mr. Harris) 'that the division into paragraphs in our text and in the Cureton MS. is often identical.' This connexion between the two manuscripts may exist in several places; it may be true, on the whole, that the text is divided in both on similar principles; but we cannot infer that both are copies in this respect of an archetypal exemplar, for similarity of textual division does not exist throughout. Take the first five chapters of St. Matthew. Paragraphs are marked as follows: i. 11, Sinaitic MS.; 16, Sinaitic and Cureton MSS.; 17, S (blank line), C; 23, C not S; 25 as 17; ii. 2, C; 13, C; 15, C; 18, S (half line); 21, C; 23 C; iii. 12, CS; 17, S; iv. 11, CS; 16, C; 20, C; 24, S; v. 2, CS. At each 'Beatitude' a break is made in both manuscripts, also at 12 and 42 in S, and at 47 in C, with some other paragraphs common to both. Part of chap. v. is wanting in S. Some of

[1] *Op. cit.* Preface, pp. vii–xi.

[2] It is found also in D and in many Old Latin and some Vulgate MSS. The words are given by Sanday, *op. cit.*

[3] *Syriac Gospels*, Introduction, p. xx.

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these identical paragraphs are necessarily so marked in any division of the text with reference to the subject matter; and we suspect that others which Mrs. Lewis might cite as examples of outward resemblance between the codices have not the significance which at first sight they seem to possess. It may perhaps be thought that some of the paragraphs in C and S are connected with the division of the text into the 'Ammonian Sections,' as they are notated in Syriac MSS. These Sections are not given in any printed Syriac New Testament, but in the specimen of text in *The Materials for the Criticism of the Peshitto New Testament*,[1] St. Matt. v. 31–48, the Sections and Canons are marked in the margin, and are far more numerous than the divisions of C and S in the same passage. The writer of *The Materials* informs us (p. 81) that the text is often interrupted in the best manuscripts, and refers in a note to several systems of division.

But while an occasional, or even frequent, coincidence of paragraphs does not, in our opinion, prove relationship, clear evidence of the connexion between our two manuscripts is afforded by the special and peculiar readings in particular passages. One occurs in the verses which we are about to examine in detail. At Matt. xx. 11 both C and S read *When they saw* for *When they received.* Cureton *in loco* explains the difference through a confusion between ܚܙܐ (ḥzv) and ܐܚܙܐ (aḥzv), remarking that in his manuscript ܐ (aleph) before ܚ (ḥeth) is not unfrequently lost. However this may be, the reading was established before the transcription of either C or S. Another curious coincidence is at Luke xxiv. 32. For the Greek *καιομένη*, the Curetonian has *heavy*, and the editor supposed 'a mistake of the scribe confounding ܝ (rish) 'with ܕ (dolath);' but ܟܝܪ (ykîr) is also found in the Sinaitic palimpsest. At John xiv. 22 the Curetonian has the interesting reading *Judas Thomas* for Ἰούδας, οὐχ ὁ Ἰσκαριώτης, but the Sinaitic reads, '*Thomas* saith to Him.'

There is one reading which seems to be peculiar to the Lewis codex, and which demands full consideration, not on the present occasion because of its theological importance, but for the light it may throw on the history of the codex. The character of the version cannot be disregarded in the attempt to fix its true place in relation to other Syriac translations of the Gospels. On the first page of the manuscript we find

[1] *Studia Biblica*, vol. iii. and see 'The Ammonian Sections,' &c., in vol. ii.

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the words, 'Joseph, to whom was betrothed Mary the Virgin, begat (ܝܠܕ) Jesus, who is called the Christ.'

Various ways have been proposed of dealing with a reading that concerns so intimately the Incarnation of our Lord. An attempt made from the orthodox side in the *Academy*[1] to remove the passage entirely by supposing, with some confirmation from *k* and other Old-Latin MSS., that St. Matthew's Gospel originally began at v. 18, has naturally failed, and, as we understand, has been withdrawn by its ingenious and fertile author. Mr. Rendel Harris suspects that the form of this verse belongs to 'a non-Catholic text, in which Joseph was represented as the husband of Mary in a different sense from the Catholic acceptation,' and in opposition to 'the accepted and almost universal Greek tradition'[2] Mrs. Lewis pleads that the version, when taken as a whole, is not the work of a heretic, and that this peculiar reading must be explained upon some other hypothesis.[3]

There might be some colour in Mrs. Lewis's plea if the passage stood alone, even though its literal meaning could not be justified, the verb being in the masculine, and therefore incapable of referring to anyone except St. Joseph. But the peculiar readings found both in the rest of the account of our Lord's Birth in St. Matthew, and in other parts of the Gospels,[4] prove the verse in question to be only a portion of a general attempt made in the version in this manuscript to exhibit the Incarnation of our Lord under a different aspect from the view given in all other manuscripts. When we turn to the great passages which might correct such an inference, such as the openings of St. John and St. Mark, the account of the Annunciation in St. Luke, the close of St. Matthew, the narrative of St. Peter's confession in the same Gospel, and well-known detached expressions,[5] we find that parts of the text

[1] *Academy*, December 1, 1894, and following numbers. The marks alluded to as found in some MSS. meant that the *reading part* of St. Matthew's Gospel for lectionary and other purposes began after the genealogy thus separated in a preliminary section, but also being the grand and inalienable commencement of the Gospel.

[2] *Contemporary Review*, November 1894, p. 665.

[3] *A Translation of the Four Gospels*, Introduction, pp. xxiii–xxv.

[4] Matt. i. 21, 25; xiii. 55 ('Son of Joseph'); xxiv. 36; Luke ii. 5 ('Mary his wife,' omitting μεμνηστευμένῃ); iii. 23 ('being according as He was called the Son of Joseph'); John iii. 13 ('Who is *from* Heaven'); viii. 57 ('Before Abraham was, *I have been*'); vi. 47 ('He that believeth in *God* hath life'); vi. 59. Also omission of μονογένης in John iii. 18, and in other places, and omission of the Ascension in Luke xxiv. 51, and in Mark xvi. 9-20.

[5] In Mark v. 27–vi. 5; John v. 26-45; xvi. 26–28; xviii. 32–xix. 39.

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are lost. There are also evident traces of Gnosticism. Immediately after His Baptism our Lord is called 'the chosen one of God,' instead of 'the Son of God,'[1] 'My Son and My beloved,'[2] the Holy Ghost 'abode upon Him,' and later on He is addressed from Heaven, 'This is My Son the chosen,' *i.e.* out of the rest of mankind.[3] At His death we read, 'And Jesus cried with a loud voice, and *His spirit went up*.'[4] A Gnostic interpretation is also probably to be affixed to the expressions in the latter part of the first chapter of St. Matthew, which at first sight seem to be inconsistent with a tenet of the human paternity of Joseph. As we read, 'When they had not come near one to the other, she was found with child of the Holy Ghost' (v. 18), and 'He who is born from her (ܒܗ cf. ii. 2) is of the Holy Ghost' (v. 20), we must bear in mind that, according to a Gnostic tenet, the soul and body were so separated that the former might be held to come possibly from the Holy Ghost and the body from a human father.

Our view of the character of the text preserved in Mrs. Lewis's codex is confirmed by the later history of the manuscript itself. In such a monastery as that of St. Catherine it could hardly have been doomed to furnish vellum for lives of saints if it had been a work of high repute. There is something suspicious in the evident traces of determined destruction of the manuscript. Seventeen leaves have disappeared,[5] which doubtless would not be a remarkable phenomenon but that they include some of the leading doctrinal τόποι in the Gospels. Many parts have been rendered, as if intentionally, undecipherable. On one, at least, a knife was used to eradicate the writing. Is it too much to infer that the manuscript was condemned on the score of its heretical record?

The use of the epithet *Mepharresha* in both the Curetonian and the Sinaitic MSS. suggests a connexion in origin; and such was undoubtedly the case, in spite of the great and obvious as well as the more minute divergences of the one from the other. It is well known that the Curetonian text in many places differs considerably from the language of the Peshitto version, although it is identical with it in other passages. The Sinaitic form of text is of similar character, but where it differs from the Curetonian the change is not always an approximation to the Peshitto. In illustration,

[1] John i. 34. [2] Matt. iii. 17; Luke iii. 22; Mark ix. 7.
[3] Luke ix. 35. [4] Matt. xxvii. 50.
[5] *The Four Gospels in Syriac*, Introduction, p. xix.

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we have sought for a passage which is extant in its entirety in both manuscripts, of sufficient length, and occurring in only one Gospel, so as to be free from the corruptions of harmonizing tendencies. St. Matt. xx. 1–16, which we have chosen, is so entirely undogmatic in character that no difference of reading between the Curetonian (C), the Sinaitic (S), and the Peshitto (P) can possibly be due either to heretical corruption or to orthodox emendation. We quote the passage as it stands in Cureton's translation, with a few alterations, giving the differences of reading in S and P,[1] as far as these can be expressed in English; but the full statement of the case will only be apparent when the passages are compared together in the Syriac.

St. Matthew xx. 1–16.

1. But like is the kingdom of heaven to a man, the lord of a house, which went out in the morning to hire labourers for his vineyard.

S om. *but*, P *for*. *Morning* in CS ܫܦܪܐ (*shaphra*), in P ܨܦܪ (*tsaphra*), which form P commonly employs, but has ܫܦܪܐ (*shaphra*) three times. P ܕܢܓܘܪ (*d'negur*) *that he might hire.*

2. And he agreed with them, with the labourers, from one denar for one labourer on one day, and sent them to his vineyard.

P *But he*, and om. *with them*; S om. *with the labourers*. P *from a denar on the day.*

3. And he went out at three hours, and saw others, while standing in the street, and idle.

SP *who* (were) *standing.*

4. And he said to them; Go also ye to the vineyard, and that which is right I will give to you. And they went.

S om. *And*. *Right*, CP ܘܡܕܡ ܕܫܦܝܪ (*v'medem d'vole*), S ܘܡܕ ܕܨܕܩ (*v'ma d'zodek*), with identical meaning. *give*, CS ܐܬܠ (*ettel*); P ܢܬܠ ܠܗܘ (*yoheb'no*), a verb of somewhat more frequent occurrence in the N.T.; but the meaning is the same, and this and the preceding change, on whichever side made, seem arbitrary.

S om. *And they went*; P *So those went.*

5. And he went out again at six hours, and at nine hours, and likewise did.

S om. *hours* alt. loc., P om. pr. loc., and transposes the last two words of the verse.

6. And he went out at eleven hours, and found others while standing, and said to them, Why are ye standing and idle all the day?

[1] From *Nov. Test. Syr. c. Vers. Lat. cura Leusden et Schaaf.* In the full collection of *Varr. Lectt.* Schaaf has noted nothing in Matt. xx 1–16 except two variations of spelling.

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S *and saw others who* were *standing, he said . . .* P *And about eleven hours he went out, and found others who* were *standing and idle.* S *ye standing here.* P trs. *all the day and idle.*

7. They say to him, No man hath hired us. He saith to them, Go also ye to the vineyard : and that which is just I will give to you.

Here C has ܕܝܢ ܟܫܪܐ (*v'ma d'zodek*) as S ver. 4. S *my vineyard* ܠܟܪܡܝ (*dili*) and om. remainder of ver. P *Because no man . . .* P ܘܡܕܡ ܕܠܐ ܐܫܬܘܠ (*v'medem d'vole*) as ver. 4 ; *ye shall receive.*

8. And when it was evening, the lord of the vineyard said to the master of his house, Call those labourers, and give to them their hire, and he began from the last until the first.

P But when it ; S And when also it. S And begin (imperat.) P even until.

9. But when those came who [were hired] at eleven hours, they received a denar, a denar (C ܐܚܕ ܕܝܢܪ, SP ܕܝܢܪ, and so ver. 10).

S *And when.* P *And there came those. Those* ; S has the common form ܗܢܘܢ (*honun*) with P, where C has the very rare ܗܠܘܟ (*holuc*).

10. And when the first came, they were supposing that to them he would give more ; and they also received a denar, a denar.

P They supposed that they [should] receive more. 'Receive ;' in CS ܢܣܒ (*nsab*), in P bis ܫܩܠ (*shkal*) ; the former *capere*, the latter *tollere*, but they are used interchangeably. P has a transposition in the last clause, which emphasizes the *they also.*

11. And when they saw, they murmured against the lord of the house,

S *But when ; they murmur.* P *And when they received.*

12. And say to him, These last one hour have cultivated, and thou hast made them equal with us, which have borne the burden of all the day, and the heat.

SP om. *to him.* S *'tis one hour they have . . .* S om. *and* before *thou.* S om. *all* ; S *in the heat.* 'Cultivated,' P *worked.* P *the burden of the day and the heat thereof.*

13. But he answered and said to one of them, My friend, do not wrong me ; was it not for a denar thou agreedst with me ?

P *comrade*, but in usage the terms in P and CS differ little. *Wrong* ; Cureton translates, do not trouble me, comparing the Peshitto of Luke xi. 7 ; but 'wrong' suits S better. S *I do not wrong thee* ; P (stronger) *I do not act wickedly in thy case.* S *I agreed with thee.*

14. Take thine own, and go ; and if I wish that I should give to this last, as to thee,

S *Take up thy denar,* ܫܩܠ *shkal*, as P in ver. 10 ; S *but if I . . . .* P *but I wish that I . . . .*

15. Am I not authorized that I should do with mine own that which I wish ? Or why is thine eye evil, because I am good ?

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PS om. *why*; Cureton has neglected it in his translation.

S slightly varies the Syriac of this verse, but the meaning is identical. Mrs. Lewis's alternative 'within my own' applies to P and C as well as S, and is permissible.

Translate P *Or it is not lawful to me* . . . but the same Syriac word ܫܠܝܛ (*shalit*) is used in PCS.

16. So shall be the last first, and the first shall be last; for many are the called, and few the chosen.

SP om. 2nd *shall be*, om. *for*.

If we sum up the variations between the three forms of text as we have set them out above, we obtain the following results: S differs from C 30 times—25 times it stands alone, 5 times it is supported by P. The latter differs from C 32 times—5 times in combination with S. Yet here, as is often found, mere figures do not convey a perfect expression of the state of the case. There seems to be as great a divergence between the Curetonian and the Sinaitic as there is between the former and the Peshitto. But the divergences, at least in this passage, are of different kinds. In verse 1 the trifling differences of *but* or *for*, or the omission of the particle altogether, are more than balanced by the combination of C and S in reading ܐܓܪ (*shaphra*) against the ܐܓܪ *tsaphra*, the infinitive *to hire* against the subjunctive of P. In verse 2 C and S agree in amplifying the shorter text of P. Again, the different readings *ye shall receive* (ver. 7) and *when they received* (ver. 11) are peculiar to P, C and S being in agreement in those places. On the other hand, it must be admitted that in verse 13 there are some remarkable differences between C and S. It may perhaps be said that our example from St. Matthew xx., which we chose for the reasons already given, has shown the differences which undoubtedly abound between C and S and P altogether, and in their various combinations, with an excess of illustration. Mrs. Lewis shall give us the opposite side. In the Introduction to the *Gospels in Syriac*, § 4, she enumerates twenty passages, all taken from St. Matthew and St. Luke, in which there is 'a line for line agreement.' For a test we may take Luke vii. 34–38. The two texts C and S are not absolutely identical. In verse 35 S reads '*all* her children.' In verse 37 S has 'while he was,' C '*and* while,' S 'and when she,' C 'when she.' In verse 36 C has ܠܒܝܬܗ (*l'votheh*) *apud eum*, S ܥܡܗ (*'ameh*) *cum eo*, besides a few other trifling differences in the other verses. But the text of the two passages is the same, with only such *variæ lectiones* as are found on comparing even the most carefully written copies of an ancient author. Now if we compare

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S with the Peshitto we find at least twenty-one differences—omission or insertion of particles, change of order, change of terms, difference of expression. P has the *all* in verse 35, which C omits. Further evidence for the connexion between the texts of C and S may be elicited from Cureton's Preface. In a note on p. lxx he gives a long list of places where there is some interesting difference between the Peshitto and his text. S, if extant, usually sides with C against P. Down to the first large lacuna in S (St. Matt. vi.) there are twenty-seven differences noted between C and P. In eighteen of these S is almost, or quite, identical with C. Such facts are conclusive. The Curetonian and Sinaitic belong to a class of manuscripts which, for some reason, have preserved a different text from that of the Peshitto, unless there are ancient Peshitto MSS. with readings widely different from the printed text. But if we may accept the statements of those who possess first-hand knowledge of the facts we need not suspect that such is the case.[1]

In further comparison of the texts, we subjoin a passage of a different character, and from another Gospel. We here set out the Peshitto first, using as much as possible the language of Mrs. Lewis's translation of the Sinaitic.

St. Luke ix. 51.

51. And it was that when the days of his assumption were fulfilled, he prepared [2] his face that he should go to Jerusalem.

C om. *that* bef. *when*, S *And when.* CS *his going up*; both words are referred to the same root, but the form in CS is more general, that in P is often used of the Ascension into Heaven. 'Go,' C idiomatically, ܙܠ ܠܗ (*d'nêzal leh*), cf. Luc. viii. 37 in P—a sign of grammatical revision, and therefore later date.

52. And he sent messengers before his face; and they went, entered into a village of the Samaritans, so that they might prepare for him.

CS *he was sending*, P the aorist, as the Greek. S *and they came and entered.* C *one* [a certain] *village*; an emendation for readers unacquainted with Palestine. P = S, and might mean *the village of the Samaritans.* CS om. *so.*

53. And they did not receive him, because his face to Jerusalem was set to go.

[1] See *Studia Biblica*, i. 153, iii. 73, 85–87, 154, 161.

[2] 'Prepared' is read by CS and P. We note this for the guidance of the reader, because Mrs. Lewis, in pursuance of her plan (Introduction, p. xxxii), frequently quotes 'Cureton' in the margin when P, which is not quoted, also agrees with her Sinaitic text.

In ver. 52 she does not express the readings we note, but has 'sent . . . they went.'

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C *receive them*; one of C's peculiar and unsupported readings;[1] an accommodation to the sense of the preceding verse. The position of *Jerusalem* in CSP is against the Greek, while it is not required by the Syriac idiom. It is a Syriac reading.

54. And when James and John his disciples saw, they say to him, Our Lord, wilt thou that we say, and there shall come down fire from heaven and consume them, as also Elias did?

CS ܘܐܡܪ ܕܢ (*v'cad den*) = et quum autem. 'Saw,' Mrs. Lewis inserts 'this,' and remarks that *unto him* is in Cur.; it is also in P. CS trs. *his disciples James and John.* CS *they said.* 'And there . . .' a harsh construction which in CS is modified to ܘܐܡܪܘ (*d'theḥuth*), like the εἶπωμεν πῦρ καταβῆναι. CS om. the last clause 'as also . . .'; they agree with one Greek reading, P with another.

55. And he turned and rebuked them, and said; . . . C, ܘܗܘ (*v'hu*) *And he himself . . . said to them.*

56. Ye know not . . . but to save; P and C, but S om. And . . . village; PCS.

C has ⁘ after the verse, but not S; another instance of difference in marking paragraphs.

57. And as they go in the way, a man said to Him, I will come after thee, whithersoever [*lit.* to the place that] thou goest, My Lord.

C *there came a certain man, said to Him.* 'Man'; SP here, and ver. 62 CSP, ܐܢܫ (*ānosh*), here C ܓܒܪ (*gebra*); the former is *homo*, the latter *vir*. CS om. *My Lord.*

58. Saith Jesus to him, The foxes have holes, and the birds of heaven nests; but the Son of Man hath not where that he may lean his head.

S *verily*[2] *the foxes.* 'Nests'; in S ܩܢ (*kenne*), the proper term, but without *ribbui*; the word in PC (ܥܠܠܝܐ) is also used of a tent, &c.

C *and the Son.* 'Where' CS *a place that.*

Without going into details, it will suffice to note that inferences may be drawn from the verses above similar to those we drew from the former passage. The Peshitto, the Curetonian, and the Sinaitic are connected with one another through the possession of much common matter. The relation of C to S is a subject for an interesting inquiry, but it does not fall within the scope of the present article. Minute details of resemblance and difference between these codices do not affect the main parts of our argument.[3] In treating of the text of

[1] See the list in Baethgen's *Evangelienfragmente*, pp. 32-35. Many are now to be found also in S.

[2] 'Verily' (ܐ̣ܡ̣ܝܢ); we take the form which Mrs. Lewis thus translates, as ܕ (*d*) = ὅτι recitantis and ܐ̣ *ēn* = *sane*; see Dr. Payne Smith's *Thesaur. Syriac.* 250 mid.

[3] As the two texts resemble one another so greatly, many passages

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the Syriac Gospels a more important question is, what is the relation of the Peshitto to the other forms of text? Cureton has stated the case from his point of view.[1] We presume his arguments would be allowed by those who accept his conclusions. They apply to the case of the Sinaitic as much, or as little, as they did to Cureton's text. We will consider his chief points:

(i) He gives a large number of passages where, in his opinion, the translator misunderstood the Greek, and has been corrected in the Peshitto. Granting that this is so, how would he then account for the passages, some of which we have noted, where the Curetonian, or the Sinaitic, or both, are better representations of the Greek than the Peshitto is? Thus one inference is neutralized by another.

(ii) He remarks on the number of Greek terms which are retained in the Curetonian in contrast with the proper Syriac expressions, which are found in the Peshitto. The value of this argument may be estimated by a reference to the texts of the Philoxenian and Harkleian Versions. Macaulay's (Syriac) schoolboy knows that these abound in Græcisms. Are they then anterior to the Peshitto? Historically, we know that they are not; and this is a fact by which we can weigh Dr. Cureton's theory.

(iii) Much is made of looseness of rendering, ignorance of the niceties of the Greek, &c. Be it so; but what shall be said of the harmonizing renderings, the exegetical translations, the doctrinal alterations, which also abound? If loose rendering be a mark of antiquity, the other marks are those of a later age.

(iv) Certain archaic forms, which are read in the Curetonian text, have been supposed to be indications of its antiquity.[2] Such forms are also found in the Sinaitic. They afford no data for comparison of the Curetonian-Sinaitic and the Peshitto as *texts*; they only indicate that the Peshitto was printed from manuscripts of a more recent epoch than that to which C and S belong.[3] We have already seen that

indeed in the one being practically identical with the same places in the other, it will suffice to refer to Baethgen, whose exhaustive commentary on the language and characteristics of the Curetonian will provide the reader with a criticism on the Sinaitic text. See *Evangelienfragmente*, Einleitung, 6–30.

[1] Preface, pp. lxviii–lxx.

[2] See Rödiger in the *Z. D. M. G.*, 1862, p. 550.

[3] This was recognized by Cureton in reference to purely grammatical forms—'the more antient the MSS. [of the Pesh.] be, the more nearly do they correspond in this respect with [the Curetonian],' *op. cit.* lxxiii.

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Pusey (one of the few able to speak from first-hand knowledge) recognized that about the beginning of the eighth century, the Peshitto codices were subjected to a certain amount of grammatical revision. This we should have expected, considering the labours of the Massoretes and others.[1] But this revision was limited in extent, and had no relation whatever to a reconstruction of the text, whether in the fourth or in any other century.

Space forbids a complete examination of the passages in which, as Cureton held, the Peshitto has undergone some modification from his text. His arguments would equally apply to the Sinaitic, as, in the majority of cases, the readings are the same. To show how little they really avail to establish Cureton's contention, we will criticize the first ten, St. Matt. i., ii., where S is also extant.

St. Matthew, i., ii.

i. 17. C *even unto David*, twice in the three times the expression occurs; so S, though Mrs. Lewis does not notice it. P om., and there is certainly no *καί* in the Greek; but the presence or absence of the ○ (*v'*) in a Syriac manuscript is a mere *var. lect.*, and not worth the editor's notice here. 18. P *before they associated*, altered in C to *when they had not come near one to the other*, in order, as it has seemed to us, to emphasize, by paraphrase, the fact of the virgin birth. We now find the same paraphrase in S, and this is remarkable, as it is inconsistent with the heretical alteration of verse 16, which, as now read in S, teaches that 'Joseph, to whom was betrothed Mary the Virgin, begat Jesus.' 19. CS *quietly to repudiate her* (Cur. *divorce*); P *privately to release her*, which, at least as regards the *λάθρα*, better represents the Greek. 20. The variations here mark three stages. P *in a dream*; C, exegetically, *in a vision* of the night; S om. *of the night*, either by error, or an approximation to the Greek. 25. P *and knew her not*; C *and purely was dwelling with her*, an expansion to emphasize the doctrinal teaching of the passage as in ver. 18. S, *and took his wife and she bore to him a son*, consistently with the translation in ver. 16. ii. 9. P *and behold the star*; CS *and there appeared to them the star*; in the latter part of the ver. CS differ from P, and from one another, in terms. The renderings of C and S are to make clear to the reader that the star reappeared, and what was the position it

[1] Such as Jacobus Edessenus († 710), Birkett, *Conspect. rei Syrr. Literariæ*, pp. 11, 41. For a specimen of the work of the Massoretes see *Studia Biblica*, vol. iii. ('The Materials,' &c.), pp. 93-6.

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took. 13. *And after them* CS. This is not a translation, but looks like a mere connexion between two incidents on the part of a writer, who here is describing rather than translating. P translates the Greek, *but when they had departed.* 16. CS *to the likeness of the time which those* (S om. *those*) *Magi had said to him*; P *according to the time which he inquired*, etc.; the former an exegesis, the latter literal. 22. For ἀντὶ P *pro*, CS *in loco*, which more plainly asserts the accession of the new ruler. 23. P *so that it might be fulfilled which was spoken by the prophet*; CS *and there was fulfilled the word which was spoken by the prophet.* The latter rendering has a rationalizing tone, as though there was only a chance accommodation to ancient prediction in the event. P asserts plainly the Divine foreordaining of the course of the history.

The differences between PCS may thus be summarized: Unimportant 1, in i. 17; dogmatic changes 2, i. 18, ii. 23 in CS; exegeses 4, i. 20 in C, i. 25, ii. 9, 22 in CS; approximations to Greek 4, i. 20 in S, i. 19, ii. 13, 16 in P. And so on for the remainder of Cureton's list. It does not prove his contention. If P is often nearer the Greek and a better translation, C and S are loaded with exegeses and alterations, which are surely marks of a later age. Their texts are not genuine and primitive, but have been manipulated.

We write deliberately, not forgetting that in some quarters a different opinion has prevailed, and has been advocated by eminent writers. First, nearly a century ago Griesbach and Hug[1] thought they saw in the Syriac marks of revision, and that there had existed an Old Syriac as well as an Old Latin. This was an hypothesis. About forty years afterwards Cureton published his newly-found text. This was hastily dubbed 'an Old Syriac Codex,' and was held to confirm the hypothesis. A generation elapses, and Dr. Hort writes:

'Even this [the Curetonian] partially corrupted text is not only a valuable authority, but renders the comparatively late and "revised" character of the Syriac Vulgate a matter of certainty. The authoritative revision seems to have taken place either in the latter part of the third or in the fourth century.'

An hypothetical opinion, by means of a fact of dubious significance, is converted into a certainty, and an historical event, which the theory necessitates, is imagined to have occurred and assigned to a definite period. Now, since there is no historical record of such a revision, since in the copious remains of Syriac Christian literature no allusion even to

[1] See the quotation from Westcott and Hort's 'Greek Testament' in *Syriac Gospels*, Introd. p. xxii.

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such an important undertaking has yet been traced, the evidence for this 'evidently authoritative revision' must be circumstantial, and can only be found in the conclusions which are necessarily to be inferred from the analogy of Jerome's work on the Vulgate and Old Latin, and from the characteristics of the Curetonian and Peshitto Texts, when seen in contrast to one another.

We have already shown that the opinion that the text of the Peshitto is the result of successive revisions is absolutely groundless. We have also shown that the variations of its text from the Curetonian are not to be described generally as attempts to improve the diction and approximate to the Greek. We have given examples sufficient to convince the unprejudiced reader that in a large number of passages the text of the Peshitto has been deliberately altered by the hands which produced the Curetonian and the Sinaitic texts or their archetypes.[1] It remains to inquire whether there is any real analogy between the Syriac texts, in their relation to one another, and the dependence of the Vulgate on the Old Latin Version.

The history of the recension in which the Vulgate was produced is well known. Both from St. Jerome's dedicatory Epistle to Pope Damasus, who entrusted him with the revision, and from St. Augustine's remarks in his *De Doctrina Christiana*, we learn that the need for revision was found in the disagreement with one another existing in the large number of Latin manuscripts. 'Tot sunt pæne [exemplaria] quot codices' was Jerome's description:[2] 'Latinorum interpretum infinita varietas,' 'interpretum numerositas,' 'nullo modo numerari possunt,'[3] were the words of the eloquent Augustine. The administrative instinct of the Roman Pontiff pointed towards a uniform use for those who conversed in the Latin tongue. Accordingly Damasus in the year 382 committed to St. Jerome, who was then at Rome, the office of comparing the various Old Latin texts with one another and with Greek manuscripts, and of producing a version which should bear the Pope's authority, and should also from its own intrinsic excellence be accepted universally among Latin Christians.

From the manuscripts which have come down to us we

[1] So at length Dr. Waller *ap.* Scrivener, *Textual Criticism*, 4th edn., vol. ii. pp. 21–24.

[2] *Epistola ad Damasum*; see Wordsworth's *Evangelium secundum Matthæum*, p. 2.

[3] *De Doctrina Christiana*, ii. 11, 14.

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know what several of those Latin texts were, and we are probably acquainted with the chief among them. Those which have survived range from *f* the Brescian MS., which is most like the Vulgate, and therefore has been supposed to be a representative of the 'Itala' recommended strongly by St. Augustine,[1] to *k* the Bobbian, which, being most like the quotations in Tertullian and Cyprian, has been taken to represent a class thence termed 'African.' But there are signs that the threefold division into 'Italian,' 'European,' and 'African' is not so much in favour as it once was. When worked out in detail it is found not to be so helpful as was anticipated. Tertullian seems to have made his own translations direct from the Greek, and he and St. Cyprian occupy pretty well the whole ground as the earliest Latin writers in the Church, and may therefore represent the entire Church of their time, or some large part of it instead of Africa alone. At all events there are no other contemporaneous writers to interfere with their authority, or to shed light with them upon early usage. Besides this, some of the manuscripts belong to more than one class, or shade off from one another with differences so imperceptible and so sporadic as to render such classifying difficult. Thus *q*, one of the treasures of Munich, is removed by Mr. H. J. White, after elaborate examination, from being the faithful colleague of *f* in the Italian class, for it is pronounced in view of the evidence to be more in agreement with the 'European' *b*; and 'the fact that *q*, if we take all its readings into consideration, cannot be classed with any one definite branch of the Old Latin family, but has come under the influence of every group in turn, may be considered to be established.'[2] The object of the present remarks is, not to enter into the questions relating to the origin and grouping of the Old Latin manuscripts, which are now before textual critics, but to exhibit in the field of the Four Gospels (for it is best now to confine attention to that) the manifold variation that existed in the texts from which the Vulgate was mainly constructed. The chief intermediaries between *f* and *k* are *h*, *c*, *b*, g^2, ff^2, g^1, *l*, *i*, *a*, ff^1, and *e*. From such Latin texts, including the comparison with Greek copies of the Gospels, as was directed by Damasus, and as is also evident in the results, St. Jerome made up the text of his Vulgate.

It is, therefore, clear that there were here both a need and a case for revision. Latin writers, previously to St. Jerome's work, must have been quoting inconsistently even to a greater

[1] *De Doctrina Christiana*, ii. 15. [2] *Old Latin Biblical Texts*, iii. p. l.

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extent than we know, and the standard of reference was in confusion. But the parallel breaks down when we place the supposed Syriac revision side by side with the Latin. There is, in the latter instance, no trace of confusion, except between the Curetonian and the Lewis Codex, and these two are obscure documents both in their history and as to any prevalence of their use. No Damasus or Augustine are known in Syria in Ante-Nicene times; no complaint of perplexity because of conflicting texts has been heard from the first four centuries in those parts.[1] It is true that the fragment and the palimpsest varied from the Peshitto, but, according to all tradition and to all teaching before 1842, the last has kept its place from the time of its very early introduction in the unchangeable East. The contrast, therefore, between Syrian and Latin proceedings is manifest, and critics should be on their guard against being led by a parallel which turns out to be imaginary. And there is another contrast. The Latin Vulgate, in course of time, took the place of the numerous texts previously in vogue, but the Peshitto has ever reigned predominant so far as external history has testified from the time when, the veil being first raised, it was seen in possession upon the hills of the impenetrable past.

The argument from the analogy of the Latin versions is found to be fallacious, but appeal is made to the evidence of early Syriac writers,[2] to the translator of Eusebius *On the Theophania*, to the *Homilies of Aphraates*, to the *Acts of Judas Thomas*, and to Tatian's *Diatessaron*. 'It was observed,' says Mr. Burkitt, 'that the Gospel quotations in all these works presented a text allied to the Curetonian.' He had written before, 'The quotations found in Ephraim Syrus gave at best an uncertain sound.' We shall consider the important question of the text of the *Diatessaron* at greater length; of the other works, it must suffice to remind the reader that opinions are divided. Thus Wright[3] says 'Aphraates seems to have employed a text which Baethgen calls a slightly revised form of Sc [the Curetonian]; we would rather speak of it as a mixed form of the Old Syriac Gospels of the second

[1] The Greek recensions of Lucian, of Hesychius, and of Pierius, were chiefly of the Septuagint, though they included also the New Testament. Only Lucian was Asiatic. Though educated at Edessa, and afterwards at Antioch, there is no evidence of his having interfered with the Syriac translation of the Bible. Hesychius and Pierius were Egyptians.

[2] As by Mr. Burkitt, art. in *Guardian*, par. 2.

[3] *Op. cit.* p. 10, quoting Baethgen's *Evangelienfragmente*, p. 85. This monograph is indispensable, even to those who, like ourselves, do not accept the writer's opinions about the origin of the Peshitto.

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century.' Again, 'Ephraim made use of a more thorough Edessene revision, closely approximating in form to, if not identical with, P.' Zahn and others have maintained that Aphraates quoted, not the 'Old Syriac,' but the *Diatessaron* of Tatian. The works of St. Ephraim have been carefully examined by Mr. Woods, who has published his conclusions in *Studia Biblica*, vol. iii. He says, 'The great bulk of Ephrem's quotations [are] those which are in exact or practical agreement with the Peshitto.'[1] This confirms Wright's view. In reference to the translations of *The Theophania* and of *Judas Thomas*, we are not concerned to dispute the statement that the translators made use of extra-Peshitto readings, but we dispute the inference which has been drawn from what is believed to have been their custom. If it be true that their renderings of Gospel quotations resemble the Curetonian-Sinaitic text rather than the Peshitto version, this would imply (*α*) either that the Greek they had to render was such Greek as underlies the Curetonian-Sinaitic, which needs no refutation; or (*β*) that the authors of those translations preferred the Syriac words which they used to those of the Peshitto.[2] Who those translators were, is unknown. To quote their practice as evidence of the custom of the Syriac Church at large is to contradict the official evidence afforded by the indisputable custom of St. Ephraim. On the whole, then, it cannot be denied that the Peshitto was a great and recognized version in the middle of the fourth century. There is no evidence that it was viewed with suspicion; no reason to suppose that Ephraim regarded it as a new work, although, according to the period supposed for the 'authoritative revision,' it had been published shortly before his birth, if not during his life, for he died about 370 A.D.

The *Diatessaron* of Tatian, both on account of the early date of the compiler,[3] and because some have held that it was the first attempt to render the Holy Gospels into Syriac, is of

[1] *Op. cit.* p. 116. For Aphraates see pp. 118, 119, and Rev. F. H. Woods in *Classical Review*, December 1889. See also *Church Quarterly Review* ('Tatian's Diatessaron'), January 1891, p. 348, and for Ephraim's citations pp. 358–9. If there is a connexion between C, S, and Tatian, it is not remarkable that Ephraim should sometimes cite C S readings.

[2] Bar-Bahlul cited the ܦܫܪܝܫܐ (*Mepharresha*) in the tenth century, and Bar-Salibi in the twelfth seems to refer to the Curetonian (*Thes. Syr.* Payne Smith, col. 579; Cureton, Preface, p. xi). Yet in the eighth century this text was so little esteemed that one of our codices was covered with other writings.

[3] He was the friend and disciple of Justin Martyr. Mr. Burkitt's (*Guardian*) date of 170–180 as the probable period of the introduction of the *Diatessaron* into the Syriac Church is about correct.

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great importance to the inquiry on which we are now engaged. It is not, indeed, known, however probable, that Tatian composed his work in Syriac, but its widespread popularity amongst Syriac-speaking Christians is proof that a Syriac form of the *Diatessaron* existed. Unfortunately our knowledge of the book is mainly derived from other than Syrian sources.

The only complete form in which we have it is found in two Arabic manuscripts now at Rome, one in the Vatican (MS. xiv.) dating from the twelfth to the fourteenth century, and the other referred to the fourteenth, which was sent from Egypt in 1886, as a present to the Borgian Museum from its owner Halim Dos Galî.[1] A text has been edited from these two by Agostino Ciasca to commemorate the jubilee of the priesthood of Leo XIII., with a Latin translation, and an English translation has been made by Mr. G. Buchanan Gray, and is given in Mr. Hamlyn Hill's useful book.[2] It appears that, after the removal of the *Diatessaron* from use in the services of the Church, by direction of Rabbula, in order to give way to the *Mepharreshe* Gospels, after the drastic measures of Theodoret, and even after the forced supersession of Syriac for Arabic under Mohammedan domination, the *Diatessaron* still held a place as a literary document giving the connected account of our Lord's career.[3]

But we are enabled to get closer to the Syriac original in two other ways. A Latin translation of the commentary on the *Diatessaron* by Ephraim Syrus was found in the possession of the Mechitarist community established on the island of San Lazzaro in the lagoon of Venice, and was published in 1876 by Dr. Moesinger, Professor of Theology in the University of Salzburg. The passages commented on by St. Ephraim have been placed in connected order after the arrangement of the Arabic Version under the care of Professor Armitage Robinson, and can be found in one of Mr. Hamlyn Hill's Appendices. And in any notice of the *Diatessaron*, the very ingenious work of Dr. Zahn [4] cannot be omitted in which he extracted chiefly from the *Homilies of Aphraates*, but also from the *Discourses* of Jacobus Nisibenus, and from quotations in the works of St. Ephraim, passages

[1] Hamlyn Hill, *The Earliest Life of Christ, being the Diatessaron of Tatian*, 1894, Introduction, p. 2. Wright, *op. cit.* p. 10.

[2] *Ibid.* pp. 41–263.

[3] See Hemphill's *The Diatessaron of Tatian*, 1888. Introduction, p. xxviii. *Four Gospels in Syriac*, Introduction, p. xxiii.

[4] *Forschungen*, i.; see also the article in *Church Quarterly Review*, January 1891.

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which, from internal evidence, appeared to be cited from Tatian. The assemblage of passages from Ephraim's *Commentary* is fragmentary, but the collection made by Zahn, from the nature of the case, is unavoidably much more so.

Light is also shed upon the subject by the *Codex Fuldensis*, which was constructed upon the lines of the *Diatessaron* under the direction of Victor, Bishop of Capua, but with a Vulgate text.[1]

Such, then, is the present *apparatus criticus* as regards the actual text; but unfortunately the verdicts of the several documents do not agree. The Arabic text, if we may trust Mr. Hamlyn Hill's letters,[2] with allowance for the fact that the Curetonian includes only 1,848 verses of the Gospels out of the 3,780,[3] sides with the Peshitto as against the Curetonian in a full ratio of 3 : 2; whereas the Ephraim fragments agree with C as against P, according to Professor Hemphill, in the proportion of 26 : 7.[4] The verdict of the passages from Aphraates is said to lie on the same side. Whether these figures are correct or not, it may be held that the balance of evidence sinks against P. In fact, it appears that after, as Dr. Hort admits, the traditional text of the New Testament settled down from the time of St. Chrysostom onwards, the *Diatessaron* must have met with recension. We should infer that in its original form it was a third variant from the Peshitto in company with the Curetonian and the Lewis *Codex*.

But in one point it stands in remarkable contrast with the last of the three. We have already (p. 152) shown that the *Codex Ludovicus* is marked with Cerinthian heresy:[5] the birth of our Lord is described as having come from Joseph instead of from the Holy Ghost. Except in a Gnostically spiritual sense, He is represented as having been Joseph's son. On the contrary, if we may believe Theodoret, bishop of Cirrhus, Tatian, in consonance with his Encratite opinions,

[1] Rev. H. J. White in Miller's edition of Scrivener's *Plain Introduction*, ii. 75; and for the entire subject see Rendel Harris, *Diatessaron of Tatian*, *passim*, Hamlyn Hill, *Introduction*, pp. 1–20, W. Elliott, *Tatian's Dia Tessaron and the Modern Critics*, Plymouth, pp. 86–113, Hemphill, *Introduction*, vii–xxi.

[2] *The Earliest Life*, pp. 292–317.

[3] Scrivener, 4th ed. ii. 14.

[4] It does not, however, seem certain that Hemphill's list, pp. 74–77, is exhaustive.

[5] 'We are entitled to say of the leading changes of text which appear in our copy that "an enemy hath done this," and to apply the adjective Cerinthian to the readings' (Rendel Harris, *ibid.* p. 673; see also *Church Times*, January 11, 1895).

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'cut out the genealogies and whatever other passages show that the Lord was born of the seed of David according to the flesh.[1] In fact, one deviated from the true text on one side, and the other in the opposite direction.[2] Thus, religious doctrine definitely influenced the text, and Dr. Hort's sweeping denial of the occurrence of such a phenomenon in early manuscripts is proved to be unsound, as has been already shown. And a proof is also supplied that these two documents could not have been links in the succession of the true texts of the Gospels; else, how are the introduction and subsequent elision of such alien elements to be explained?

We have seen that the title ܡܦܪܫܐ (*Mepharresha*) is found in connexion with the only two extant codices of extra-Peshitto text. It is not found as a title of Peshitto Evangelia,[3] and its absence is another distinction between the two classes. The usage of the term demands careful notice, the more so as an inference has been drawn through a particular interpretation of the meaning of it in the Curetonian and Sinaitic MSS. It is a passive participle, from a root 'to separate,' which is of very common occurrence,[4] with the result that the participial adjective is found to have been used in widely different applications. Confining our attention to its employment as a title, we find that it is sometimes used of the Peshitto Psalter,[5] though not of the Peshitto Gospels. It is used of an Evangeliarium,[6] which partakes of the nature of a harmony of the narratives, and is applied to complete and continuously written copies, like the Curetonian and Sinaitic. Cureton considered that ܡܦܪܫܐ (*Mepharresha*), which he thought was only predicated of *St. Matthew* in his

[1] *On Heresies*, cap. i. 20. The entire passage (translated) is given in Hamlyn Hill, p. 324, and in Elliott, p. 44.

[2] Thus of τῇ μεμνηστευμένῃ γυναικί (St. Luke ii. 5) Tatian leaves out γυναικί and the Sinaitic rejects μεμνηστευμένῃ. But why does Mr. Burkitt (*Guardian*, *l.c.*) say that 'in the *Diatessaron* Joseph and Mary are never spoken of as husband and wife'? In the Arabic (c. 2) we read, 'Joseph her husband,' and 'took unto him his wife.' The evidence of Aphraates and Ephraim does not permit the predication of any such universal negative.

[3] At least we find no instances in the British Museum Catalogue of Syrian MSS.

[4] Mrs. Lewis (*Translation*, Introduction, p. xxii) says:—'It is generally allowed that the word *parash* sometimes means "to transcribe" in Hebrew.' This remarkable statement is confirmed neither by Gesenius's *Thesaurus* nor Buxtorf's *Lexicon*.

[5] Nos. clxviii, clxix, clxx, in the *British Museum Catalogue*, also *Hunt.* 109 in the Bodleian Library.

[6] The usage is copiously illustrated in *Thes. Syr.* (Payne Smith), coll. 3303-4.

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manuscript, indicated a *distinction* in the origin of the translation of that Evangelist.[1] Bernstein said that it referred to the *division* of the text into paragraphs for the purpose of public reading in the Church Services.[2] Gildemeister, assuming, with Cureton, that the adjective belonged to *St. Matthew*, took it as a title of the writer, 'Matthew the chosen.' The word has also been translated 'explained,' and it has been pointed out that the text of the Curetonian shows traces of attempts to explain the language of the Peshitto. Wright, although he translates *Evangelion da-Mĕpharrĕshē* (ܕܡܦܪܪܫܐ) 'the Separate Gospels,'[3] yet in the case of the Psalter says, 'the word seems here really to mean "of the interpreters" or "translators."'[4] We have seen that the Sinaitic, no less than the Curetonian, abounds in readings which are of the nature of exegeses, or are amplifications of the Peshitto. In view of the ambiguity which attends the use of the term, the inquirer will hesitate to assume that the ܡܦܪܪܫܐ (*Mepharreshe*) Gospels, as we now have them, are so called, as having been 'separated' from a Harmony. The term, of course, denotes as much, in the order of Rabbula, to which we have already referred, but there is no proof that the copies he prescribed were *Curetonian-Sinaitic*. When we consider the familiarity with *Diatessaron* language[5] which the wide circulation of that work would produce, and the prevalence of corruptions in the Greek copies of the time, we recognise causes sufficient to account for the appearance in certain localities of texts such as are now preserved in the manuscripts discovered by Cureton and by Mrs. Lewis.

To conclude. The Syriac New Testament has come down to our times in two forms. (i) There are manuscripts of a text which was revised and adapted to Greek exemplars by Thomas of Harkel, in A.D. 616. This was based on the older revision by Philoxenus in 508, the manuscripts of which have been almost superseded by those of the Harkleian revision. Early in the fourth century Rab-

[1] Preface, p. vi.

[2] For this and the next two see *Journal of Sacred Literature*, viii. (1858), pp. 140*f*, 216*f*; x. 154, 377.

[3] *Syriac Literature*, quoted in *Four Gospels in Syriac*, Introduction, pp. xxiii–iv.

[4] *Catalogue Syr. MSS.* in the British Museum, i. 116 *n.*

[5] So Mr. Burkitt (*Guardian*, p. 707), describes the 'Separate Gospels' as 'written by scribes who very probably were accustomed to hear a Gospel Harmony read in the services of the Church.' Only Mr. Burkitt and his colleagues do not recognize the existence of the Peshitto at that date.

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bula,[1] the friend of Cyril of Alexandria, occupied himself in some critical labours on the text of the New Testament. What precisely he did is not known. Probably he revised the Syriac in accordance with Alexandrian MSS. and was thus the precursor of Thomas and Philoxenus. Their labours resulted in the Harkleian-Philoxenian or Syriac Vulgate. The records of these revisions also suggest that when others are not recorded they were not made. Rabbula and his successors imitated the work of Jerome. The theory of an earlier recension requires us to suppose that the Syrians, who showed little originality in literature, set Jerome the example. This Syriac Vulgate is one form of text.

(ii) There are also extant a large number of manuscripts[2] of the other form of text, the Peshitto version, which preceded the revised Harkleian-Philoxenian text. This is the Old Syriac, and has never been superseded amongst the Eastern Syrians, nor wholly supplanted amongst the Westerns. Its text can be traced back to the days of Mar Ephraim, and there is absolutely no hint, much less record, in Syrian literary history, that it was revised in the third or fourth century; nor is there any proof that it was derived from the extra-Peshitto text which has been found in two fifth-century manuscripts.

It is admitted by all that a Syriac Version of the New Testament has existed from (perhaps) the second century. The place of this version has been taken by the Peshitto from the earliest times. Its text stretches back into the farthest regions of Syriac literature. It is a witness to the best form of the Greek text of the New Testament, that text which has been preserved in all parts of the Christian Church, and is more attested by the earliest Greek Fathers than any other. On the other hand, the Curetonian-Sinaitic text is a witness to the corrupt form of text which prevailed in the West and in Syria, amongst those to whom Greek was not a familiar language. It may be an ancient witness. The corruption of the Greek Testament dates back to very early days,[3] and almost from the first the pure line was accompanied by lines of depraved tradition. Manuscripts like the Curetonian fragments and the Sinaitic palimpsest are valuable for

[1] Wright, *op. cit.* p. 11.

[2] The number of ancient codices is so great that, in this respect, the Peshitto rivals even the Greek Testament. See Scrivener's *Introduction*, 4th ed. vol. ii. pp. 12, 13.

[3] As appears from the statements of Caius of Rome, only about a century after the close of the N.T. Canon, quoted in *Revision Revised*, pp. 323-4. See also Scrivener, vol. ii. chap. ix. §§ 2-5.

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the help they supply in tracing the causes of textual corruptions, and the history of the transmission of the text through successive ages. But we must not look to them in their connexion with the text of codex B [1] (or to any other limited class of documents) for the true text of the New Testament. That text is to be found in the contents of the vast number of codices which are the representatives of various streams of tradition, and is supported by collateral evidence of Versions and Fathers, of which some of the best and clearest is that which is afforded by the testimony of the ancient Syriac Peshitto Version.

ART. VI.—THE TROPER AND THE GRADUAL.

1. *The Winchester Troper, from Manuscripts of the Tenth and Eleventh Centuries, with other Documents.* Edited by WALTER HOWARD FRERE, M.A., of the Community of the Resurrection, Radley. (London: for the 'Henry Bradshaw Liturgical Text Society,' 1894.)
2. *Graduale Sarisburiense.* Reproduced in facsimile from a manuscript of the thirteenth century, for the Plainsong and Mediæval Music Society, by W. H. FRERE. Two Parts, folio. (London, 1892–4.)
3. *Graduale ad veram et integram preclare ecclesie Sarum consuetudinem.* Folio. (Paris: N. Prevost, 1527–32.)
4. *Missale Sarum.* Paris, Regnault, 4to, 1527. *The same,* Burntisland, ed. Dickinson, 1861–83.
5. *Music Loan Exhibition,* 1885. Catalogue of Manuscripts, &c. By W. J. H. WEALE. (London, 1886.)
6. *Bibliotheca Musico-Liturgica.* List of Manuscripts drawn up by W. H. FRERE. For the Plainsong Society. Fascic. i. (London, 1894.)

THOSE who had the good fortune to visit the Historical Music Loan Exhibition in the gallery at the Albert Hall in the summer or autumn of 1885 may remember, among the greatest treasures there exhibited, seven manuscripts from the Library of St. Gall, the home of Notker Balbulus, the father of the German school of Sequences. These were one Gradual of the ninth and two of the eleventh century, an early tenth century Troper, a tenth century Troper, Gradual, and Sequences in one, with the letter of Notker to the Bishop of

[1] On the real character of this ancient, but often solitary witness, see Miller's *Textual Guide,* pp. 54–9.

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Vercelli, and an Antiphonarium written at the close of the thirteenth century, with an office and sequence for St. Francis added in 1323, besides a sixteenth century choir-book of Masses with sequences, written at a time when four-part singing had been introduced.

The earliest St. Gall Gradual, set in such a striking manner

'twixt board and board of oaken tree'

each an inch and a half thick, and one of them containing a pair of ivory plaques, at least four centuries old when Notker wrote, and three hundred years older than the ancient music book which they now contain, will not easily be forgotten. And the Tropers, with their lines of music in neumes which an uninformed spectator might mistake for old shorthand or for a representation of some strange telegraphic code, have impressed themselves upon our memories.[1]

So many of our readers as chanced to see certain of these books from St. Gall, or who may remember a Troper which is, or was, displayed in a show case in the great library at Paris, will have at least some general notion of what a Troper looks like, even if they feel that their ideas of its contents are somewhat indefinite, and they will not make the mistake of confounding it with the Greek hymns and hymnals called *troparia*, with which it has no connexion beyond a common derivation from the Greek word for 'turning,' although the Western Tropers contained some curious specimens of Greek and had something to do with singing.[2]

It is only natural, and indeed inevitable, that some perplexity about these volumes should prevail. Even when Sarum Use was almost unknown, or hardly formed, Tropers had ceased to have a living existence.[3] Specimens were to

[1] Specimens of neumes and Latin musical notation will be found attached to the late Recorder of Sarum's (J. D. Chambers) article in Julian's *Dictionary of Hymnology*, pp. 654–5. The St. Gall MS. 359 (*cir.* 900) has been edited (facsimile) at Paris (Lambillotte, 1851). And MS. 339 (late tenth century) in *Paléographie Musicale*, i., Solesmes, 1889.

[2] According to Arcadius, the εἱρμος takes its name from *drawing* the *troparia*, or short hymns, after it. The τροπάρια are so called because they *turn towards* their model hymn, the *hirmos*. See Neale, *Eastern Ch.* pp. 830–33, *nn.* According to Sicardus of Cremona (*cir.* 1200) the Western '*Tropalis* vel *Troparius* est liber in quo *tropi*, id est hymni [et *Kyrie eleison*] cum prosis et sequentiæ continentur; et dicitur a τρόπος, quod est *conuersio*; quia conuertitur ad introitum,' *Mitrale*, lib. 5, prolog.

[3] The name 'troparium' continued for some time in use, but the book to which it was applied was merely a collection of Sequences. (F. E. Warren in Julian's *Dict. Hymnol.* p. 1186 *a.*)

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be found in the Churches here and there, but they were the books cast off by a generation that had passed away. The tropes were discredited by those in authority (and *who* shall altogether blame those powers that *were*?), and by the thirteenth century those elements of the old Tropers which had life remaining in them, had transfused themselves into more modern service-books. So thorough had been the clearance that it is only astonishing to us that so many as sixty Tropers are reported to have been seen in Christendom within the observation of modern students of music or liturgiology.

Those which Mr. Frere has introduced to our notice in the volume which he has recently edited for the 'Henry Bradshaw Society,' are as follows: two Winchester Tropers, the earliest of them being contemporary with St. Dunstan and St. Ethelwold; the Canterbury Troper in the Cottonian collection; and the Dublin Troper (now at Cambridge) in the same volume with Dr. Todd's famous manuscript of the Sarum Custom Book, besides twelfth or thirteenth century Graduals of Worcester and St. Albans containing tropes, and some Continental specimens introduced to give the reader some notion of the French and German schools of music books, and particularly the former, with which our Tropers had the closer affinity.

As the book has been edited for a society whose business is with liturgical texts, the 'Winchester Troper' and the 'other documents' appear shorn of their musical accompaniment, if we may for a moment adopt this phrase. It is historically most inappropriate, since, as will presently be seen, the text was in this case the accompaniment to the music. However, by dint of producing admirable collotypes and a lucid Introduction, Mr. Frere has provided a volume which has its attractions for those who are interested in the history and archæology of music as well as for the student of service-books, whose principal care is for the rites or words recited. The collotype plates consist of thirty-one leaves and three smaller pieces attached, all of them containing musical notation as well as words. Three leaves (slightly reduced) containing Sequences are derived from *E*, the (Ethelred) Winchester Troper, which, as we understand, was written in the year 979.[1] Twenty-three plates (the size of their originals) represent various sections of the other (eleventh century) Winchester

[1] Ethelred succeeded King Edward the Martyr († March 18) 979. Dedication of Winchester changed by addition of St. Swithun's name, October 20, 980.

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book, and four pages considerably reduced, but not so as to be illegible, are gathered from a fourteenth century Processional now in Archbishop Marsh's library, but formerly belonging to St. John the Evangelist's, Dublin. Facing the three earliest specimens (tenth century) and three of the later Winchester tropes for *Eduxit Dominum*, *Pascha nostrum*, *Cithara*, *Benedicta*, and *Fulgens preclara*, are six excellent specimens of modern (old-style) music-printing in black and red, executed at St. Mary's, Wantage, which is as clear as anything which we have seen from Desclée's famous warehouse in recent years, and has not the heaviness of some of the sixteenth century music.

But we must attempt to give some notion of the characteristics of a Troper to those who have never seen one of these rare books, or who have not had the opportunity of investigating their contents. We suppose that if Henry Bradshaw had been asked where any vestige of the Troper might be found at the present day, he would have replied, 'In your Book of Common Prayer[1]—only of course you go to church at St. Præposterus's, where they shorten the service by leaving out the Ten Commandments, and so produce a liturgy without any vestige of the Kyrie.' It may certainly be said that if only the revisers in 1552 had written '*Christ*, have mercy upon us, and incline our hearts to keep this law' after the fourth, fifth, and sixth commandments, they would have produced in their treatment of the decalogue a 'Kyrie cum farsura' on the same lines as those which once were in the Troper, and were afterwards preserved on the last pages of the Gradual and the Missal. For instance, we have on the last leaf but one of a small quarto Sarum Missal, printed by F. Regnault at Paris, July 27, 1527, an appendix, 'de cantu Kyrie eleyson,' and on the last page of all a 'Prosa' or, as we should commonly say, a Sequence by Adam of St. Victor, laureate of the French school, for Easter Monday. Of those nine Kyries '*cum versibus*' found in the late Sarum book, five are in the tenth century Troper, and the others appear in one or more of Mr. Frere's 'other documents,' as may be seen in his index to the greater Tropes (to *Kyrie*, *Gloria*, *Sanctus*, and *Agnus*), a list which comprises about thirty-six Kyries, and a few duplicates with a varied opening. In like manner Proses and Sequences are proper material for the

[1] We might add, 'in Hymns Ancient and Modern, Dr. Neale's *The strain upraise*, and less properly, "At the Cross" (the "Stabat Mater"); as well as "That day of wrath" in Scott's *Lay of the Last Minstrel*.' But none of these came direct.

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Troper, although the Sequence at the end of the 1527 Missal, 'Zyma vetus,' does not chance to be old enough to have been included in the Tropers of the eleventh century.

'A *Troparium*,' said Mr. Bradshaw, 'is by rights the complement of the *Graduale*.'[1] The phrase '*by rights*' is important, for the Troper and the Gradual each admitted things to which they had no claim, somewhat as a railway-guide will admit tables of steamers, or a prayer-book Articles of religion.

Mr. Bradshaw continued:

'The Graduale contains what may be called the Gregorian or Scriptural portion of the choral part of the *Missale* : the Introit and Psalm, Gradual and Respond, Offertory and Communion.[2]

'The *Troparium* contains on the other hand the non-Gregorian or non-Scriptural additions, which having been mostly developed in the far West, and having been crushed out—at least the most extravagant elements of them—by, if not before, the thirteenth century, no separate *Troparia* seem ever to have been written after that date, the matter which was left being always contained in the Graduale.

'The Sequences (words or prose set to the prolonged notes of the repeated *Alleluia* before the Gospel) and a few of the farsings to the *Kyrie* and *Gloria in excelsis* still are to be found in the Sarum books as we have them.' [See for instance the *Gloria in excelsis* farsed ('*cum farsura*,' as it is styled in Caxton's pie) with *Spiritus et alme orphanorum paraclite* in the *Sarum Breviary*, ii. 483, or *Missal*, pp. 585-6.]

'But of the genuine *tropi* or farsings to the Introit, and the similar expansions of the *Sanctus* and *Agnus Dei*, &c., all trace seems to have been swept away by the thirteenth century.[3]

A brief summary of the contents of the Mass will serve to show how largely tropes and their congeners entered into the liturgy at one period, and at the same time in what manner the Troper and the Gradual were mutually complementary. Leaving out of the question such parts as the *Confiteor* and private or semi-private devotions of the priest, and using *italics* to denote portions of the service which, like our Collect, Epistle, and Gospel, were *variable*, while we enclose in paren-

[1] *Breviarium ad usum Sarum*, ed. Cantab. 1886, fasc. iii. p. lxxxix (introductory). 'No one acquainted with the barbarous *Kyries* found in the English Missals can wonder at our reformers substituting something more practical while they grudged the destruction of the old familiar form.'

[2] In like manner in his introduction to *Grad. Sarisburiense*, pp. xi–xii, Mr. Frere enumerates 'Office, Gradual, Alleluia or Tract, Offertory and Communion,' as the original and practically unaltered Gregorian nucleus of each Mass.

[3] H. Bradshaw in Introduction to *Brev. Sarum*, iii. p. lxxxix.

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theses ( ) those parts which were liable to omission at certain seasons or occasions, we may give the following order from a Missal of English use.

*† *Officium*, *i.e.* the introit, an antiphon, with its *Psalmus*.
*§ 'Kyrie eleison' cum *versibus*.
(*§ 'Gloria in excelsis.'†)
Oratio, *i.e.* Collect or Orison.
(§ *Prophetia*, *i.e.* Old Testament lection.)
§ *Epistle*.
(* *Gradale*, a Respond.)
(* 'Alleluia' † *Verse*†.)
† [* *Sequence*, or the
* *Tract*, a Psalm sung 'in directum.'][1]
Gospel.
(* 'Credo in unum.')
*† *Offertorium*, an antiphon, with *† *Verses*.
'Suscipe' and other prayers. 'Munda me.'
'Orate fratres' and *Secreta*, a collect.
Preface: 'Vere dignum . . . Æterne Deus,' *variable clauses*.
*§ 'Sanctus.'
'Te igitur.' 'Imprimis.' 'Memento.'
'*Communicantes*.' 'Hanc igitur.' 'Quam oblationem.'
'Qui pridie.' 'Unde et memores.' 'Supra quæ.'
'Supplices Te.' 'Memento etiam. 'Nobis quoque.'
'Per Quem.' 'Per omnia.'
'Præceptis.' 'Pater noster.' 'Libera.' 'Da.' 'Per omnia.'
'Pax Do✠mini.'
*§ 'Agnus Dei.'
'Hæc sacrosancta.' 'Pax tibi.' Priest's communion.
'Quod ore sumpsimus.' 'Hæc nos.'
*† *Communio*, an antiphon.[2]
Postcommunio, a collect.
*§ 'Ite missa est.'
*§ 'Benedicamus.' } (alternatives).
'Requiescant.'
'Placeat tibi.'

In the foregoing list an obelus (†) marks the parts where *lesser tropes* are found. The sign § indicates those portions which were liable to be sung or recited *cum farsura*—that is,

[1] *In directum*, without repeat. *Grad. Sarisb.* p. xxxii.

[2] An *antiphona ad communicandum* (p. 19) finds a place in the Tropers in England as well as in France. It was used apparently on the three great festivals, when communicants were most numerous (p. xxvi). Mr. Frere tells us (*Grad. Sarisb.* p. xxxi) that the Communion Antiphon was attached to a psalm. The rubrics annexed to the Ordinary of the Mass in the Roman Missal are reticent about the '*Communio*' and '*Postcommunio*.' See its General Rubrics, xiii. 1, and 'Ritus Celebrandi,' xi. 1, for the rules concerning them.

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with interpolations interrupting or glossing the portion of the liturgy—whereas the other tropes may be considered as musical rather than textual excrescences, coming as they do on the outskirts of the liturgical passage to which they were annexed.

Thus the portions marked † and those marked §, *taken together*, make up the proper text of the Troper music-book.

The asterisk marks those portions which we find in the Sarum *Graduale*. Where it occurs in close juxtaposition with one of the other signs, as *† or *§, it may be inferred that when Tropers were generally exterminated, about the end of the twelfth century, the Grayles gave shelter and protection to those ejected members which had in them some vitality. In some cases only the efflorescent melodies survived; in others (as the nine farsed *Kyries*) the non-Scriptural words continued to be sung on special occasions up to the sixteenth century. We mark the *Sequences* in a special way, because they are not originally a portion of the ordinary service, but are themselves a developed trope, growing out of the 'Alleluya.'[1] The 'Gloria in excelsis' has an obelus in addition to its other mark, because the Easter trope itself came in course of time, as Mr. Frere points out,[2] to exhibit the strange phenomenon of 'a trope troped,' or *a trope upon a trope.*

The Sarum customs were written down, and the cathedral church in Salisbury itself established, about the time when tropes had fallen out of favour. It is interesting to notice what provision for books was made when the new church was being designed.

So far as the high altar at Salisbury is concerned we unfortunately have no record of books provided, excepting texts of the Epistles and Gospels in 1222. The record of provision made for the projected minor altars is likewise fragmentary—that is to say, it breaks off abruptly; but a record for six of the altars is complete.[3] Each of these six altars had one Missal (St. Stephen's altar, south of the Lady Chapel, having also a second copy, and moreover a pair of copper candlesticks, when most of the other altars had none), and the Missals were the only books in the treasurer's charge for three of the altars (viz. St. Peter's, St. Stephen's, opposite it, and

[1] Mr. Frere is inclined to class the Alleluia, technically, as a Respond, which he defines as a duet between soloist and choir, as the Antiphon is a duet between choir and choir. *Grad. Sarisb.* p. xxxii.

[2] *Winchester Troper*, p. xv, cf. p. 55.

[3] Rock, *Ch. of our Fathers*, tom. iv. pp. 107–10, last pagination. See also p. 106.

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St. Mary Magdalene's in the south-east transept). The other three had each one book of Epistles or Gospels; St. Nicholas, between the last-named altar and the vestry, having only two books, a Missal and one volume of Epistles and Gospels. The altar of St. Thomas the Martyr, near the old door at the end of the great north transept, had a grayle, or *graduale*, besides a Mass-book and a book of Epistles, two brass candlesticks, silk cushion, lectern, pair of tin cruets, &c. This was an important altar, at least in later times, for the weekly commemoration Mass of St. Thomas and the votive Mass of the Blessed Sacrament were said here, on Tuesday and Thursday respectively, in the latter half of the fifteenth century. At that time the ornaments were naturally more numerous, but among them were still two little brass candlesticks, (five) pewter cruets, &c., and the books there were a Missal and Legenda, both in good condition, some hand tablets (*tabulæ manuales*) in triptych and diptych form, two psalters and a mattins-book or Legenda, chained, and two volumes containing the Life and Letters of St. Thomas chained together. The Gradual of the thirteenth century list perhaps had become obsolete, and in 1389 had not been replaced. There was also a little book with the Seven (penitential) Psalms and the Litany, chained.[1]

But returning to the early thirteenth century list, we find the remaining altar (of those six whose ornaments are still on record) to be the best furnished, as was fitting. For the altar of All Hallows, which was dedicated September 28, 1225, became at once the altar of the daily Mass of the Blessed Virgin, founded there by Bishop Poore, from which circumstance the alternative name of the '*Salve* Chapel' or Lady Chapel was derived. Here, besides a pair of silver cruets, the gift of the succentor John (*i.e.* before 1213), a liturgical fan (*flabellum*), a cushion of silk and another, a lectern, two wooden forms, and various vestments and other furniture, there were the following books in 1222:

a Missal
a Grayle
a book of Gospels and Epistles, and three quires with 'Alleluya,' &c.

and in 1225 two silver candlesticks were added.[2] It is of the Grayle ('Gradale') and the three parchment music books that we have presently to speak.

The former, no doubt, was a book of some bulk, though

[1] *Sarum Muniments*; 'Dunham' Register, fo. 55 b.
[2] Rock, *u. s.*; and *Osmund Reg.* (ed. Jones), ii. 39, 139.

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not so large, it may be, as the printed books which were its immediate successors.

Next to its sister, the Antiphoner, printed in 1519–20, and its cousin, the Legenda, printed in 1491 by Higman, and in 1518 (like the Antiphonale) by Hopyl for Byrckman, the Graduale is the rarest among the principal service-books of Sarum use. Unlike these, it has not hitherto been described in modern times, as Mr. Maskell contented himself with discoursing on a manuscript copy, and Mr. Dickinson had not observed the difference between the various printed copies until it was too late to give an account of them in his edition of the Missal (p. xix).

As had been the case with the Antiphonarium and the Legenda, Paris was the place where the Sarum Gradual was printed, and in one instance Francis Byrckman was again the merchant who procured it for customers in England. It was printed three times at least, and always by Nicolas Prevost, in folio, for the music desk. The second edition, in 1528, was not a line for line reproduction, but we may almost call it a page for page reprint of the former edition of the preceding year. In 1532 Prevost brought out a new edition (the third now known to us), and the account which he gives, 'ut res ipsa indicat,' is more trustworthy than the self-praisings of some other sixteenth-century printers upon their titles and their colophons. The former editions consisted alike of just 300 folios.[1] The musical type was of a fair size, but not particularly elegantly or clearly cut. In 1532 the printer tells us that the music in the new edition is executed in bolder fount, so as to be legible at a greater distance by the rulers and the singers—'Crassioribus quam antea notis (vt longius videri ac percipi possint).'[2]

[1] The contents of the editions of 1527 and 1528 alike are *Kalendar* and *Bened. aquæ* sig. ✻[8]; *Temporale* a—x[8], y[10] = 178 leaves, the last of them being blank; *Sanctorale* A—E[8], F[12] (Gothic) = 52 leaves not foliated; and *Commune Sanctorum* &c., A—G[8], H[12] (Lombardic) = 62 leaves; total, 300. The parts corresponding in the third edition, 1532, are 8; 196; 58; 72 = 334. Consequently 1532 runs to 32 more leaves than its predecessors.

[2] A fair notion of the *style* of the music of this folio may be gathered from the somewhat smaller, 8vo, music-fount facing facsimiles 1—5 and 22 at the end of Mr. Frere's Troper, and printed, as we have mentioned already, under the auspices of the Mother and Community of St. Mary's, Wantage. The title-page of 1527 is distinguished by the 'arms' or emblem of the Trinity ('pater non est filius . . . est Deus,' &c.) enclosed (at the top) by the prayer 'Sancta Trinitas vnus deus miserere nobis, and (at the bottom) the motto, found often likewise in Byrckman's books, 'Fortuna opes auferre non animum potest.' Down the sides are small woodcuts of St. Hierome, St. Thomas of Canterbury, St. Augustine

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The title-page of the third edition is like the second in having the motto 'Fortuna' at top and bottom, but between them is the title (in which the italics denote letters in red)

¶ *Graduale ad vsũ ecclesie Sarisburiensis* / ad verorũ exemplariũ fidẽ diligẽtissime recognitũ : et a mẽdis omnibus tam in cantu q̃ in litera expurgatũ. Crassiorib' q̃ antea notis (vt lõgius videri ac ꝑcipi possint) solertissime Parisijs excusũ *M.D. xxxij.*

In the centre a block 4 in. × 2⅞ in. with the 'intersignium elephantis' bearing on his castle the initials and streaming F of 'Francoys Regnavlt.' Below which,

¶ *Uenundantur Londonij apud Robertum Redman. Et Parisijs apud Franciscum Regnault.*

The last page but one of this latest edition gives the date 'Sexto Calendas Julias' 1532, but it has also, like the others, a distinctive final page. The three editions here, as on their titles, show Prevost's fertility of design.[1] In the third edition

(dexter), and St. Ambrose, Ven. Bede, and St. Gregory (on the sinister side). At the top of all is the title

¶ *Graduale* secundũ morem & cõsuetudinem preclare ecclesie *Sarum* politissimis *formulis* (vt res ipsa ĩdicat) in alma *Parisiorũ Academia* impressum.

The second edition has at the top (under 'Fortuna opes,' &c., on a flying ribbon)

¶ *Graduale* ad verã et integrã preclare *ecclesie Sar*ũ consuetudinẽ / nuper *Parisijs excussum.*

Then comes the three-tier picture of the Adoration of the Magi, St. Ursula and her Company, and the Martyrdom of the Maccabees, with other surroundings, as described in the account of other Sarum folio books in the Introduction to the Sarum Breviary, iii., pp. liii, lxii. Below this are the words in red,

Venundatur Londonij a Francisco Byrckman : apud cimiterium diui Pauli. M.d. xxviij.

with the same motto and a shield left vacant for an owner's arms.

[1] In 1527 he has on his last page, between two trees, and supported by two eagles betwixt beak and claw, two roundels (the upper one crowned) containing a statement that 'Graduale ad cõsuetudinem insignis ecclesie Sarum.' &c. &c. was printed 'In alma Parisiorum Academia . Anno domini virtutum/ conditorisq*ue* mundi . Millesimo quingentesimo vigesimo septimo Cale*n*das Januarias.' The preceding page, which mentions W. de Worde and others, appears to have been in the

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the letterpress which appeared in the middle of the last page of the intermediate edition, is in 1532 *mutatis mutandis* cast into the effective form of a *chalice*, covered apparently by paten and host—a design appropriate to the class to whom it is addressed. A similar shape, but not so cleverly executed, may be seen in the colophon of a quarto 'Pupilla Oculi,' printed in 1522 (June 26) by J. Petit at Paris, of which a copy was in the possession of the late Canon William Cooke, whose loss is deeply felt by not a few of our readers.

From the last page of the Sarum Gradual, 1532.

¶ Habetis viri celeberrimi /
insignis *ecclesie anglicane sacerdotes*: hoc vestrū
Graduale nuper *Parisijs* diligenti *Frā-*
cisci Regnault bibliopole vestri
solertia efformatum: qui
et de vobis *bene*
mereri non
destitit
vnq̄
Cum profecto is sit
qui non modo hoc ipsum
Graduale integri-
tati
restituere
curauerit: verū-
etiam vt nitidis *chara-*
cteribus cuderetur: non quē-
uis impressorem / sed *Nicholaum Pre-*
uost calcographum imprimis industrium delegerit.
¶ Fortuna opes auferre : non animum potest.

Below is a device of François Regnault's Elephant and Castle, rather smaller than that upon his title-page.

press ten days earlier (xvij 'Calendas Januarias'). The edition of the following year had also two roundels, but with letterpress in red and black between them; the top one represents a hen and chickens encircled by the text, in uncials which have something of an Italian appearance, '⚹Quoties volui congregare filios tuos . quemadmodum gallina congregat pullos suos .' and the lower one bears the monogram A. W. surmounted by an inverted figure 4, crosslet, and the name Fr. Bir[ckman], surrounded by the motto '⚹. Fortuna cum blanditur . tunc vel maxime metuenda est.' The preceding page gives the date 'Sexto Calendas Julias' 1528.

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Like the Missal, the Gradual consists of four principal portions to which (in the printed books, at all events[1]) a Kalendar, with form for blessing holy water, is prefixed. These parts are:

(*a*) The *Temporale*, giving the proper service of the seasons from Advent to after Trinity.

(*b*) The *Sanctorale*, giving the like service proper for holydays from St. Andrew's Eve onward for the year, exclusive only of the Saints' days near Christmas, which, as in our Common Prayer Book, are attached to the 'Temporale.'

(*c*) The *Commune Sanctorum*, to serve for those Saints who had not an entire 'proper' service of their own, but were beholden to some common form: *i.e.*, as Mr. Frere has pointed out in his Graduale (p. xxi), *originally* the service proper to *one* (old established) Saint which, becoming in time adapted for a class, presently lost its individuality through its wider usefulness. To the 'Common' services are attached votive Masses for week days and other particular occasions, and, last of all,

(*d*) for the *Ordinarium Missæ*, music belonging to the *Kyrie*, *Gloria in excelsis*, *Sanctus*, *Agnus*, *Benedicamus*, and *Ite missa est.*

Speaking of the 'Gradual' in general, we may say that it contains, with the musical notes attached, those parts of the Mass which we have marked with an asterisk in our list given

[1] The following is a list of the editions and surviving copies of the Gradual.

GRADUALE SARUM.

Date.	Size.	Leaves.	Place.	Printer.	Merchants.	Owners.
1527 (title 17 Kal. Jan. col. Kal. Jan.)	Folio.	300	Paris.	Nic. Prevost.	W. de Worde, Jo. Renis, Lud. Suethon.	Bodleian, Gough 35.
,, ,,	,,	,,	,,	,, ,,	,, ,,	Christ Church, H. 3. 1. 7.
1528 (title 16 Kal. Jul. col. 6 Kal. Jul.)	Folio.	300	Paris.	Nic. Prevost.	F. Byrckman of Köln; sold by him in St. Paul's Ch. Yd., London.	Univ. Library, Camb., E. 1. 18.
,, ,,	,,	,,	,,	,, ,,	,, ,,	,, G. 1. 6.
,, ,,	,,	,,	,,	,, ,,	,, ,,	Dean and Ch. Salisbury.
,, ,,	,,	,,	,,	,, ,,	,, ,,	Sir W. Turner's Hospital, Kirkleatham, Redcar.
1532 (6 Kal. Jul.)	Folio.	334	Paris.	Nic. Prevost.	F. Regnault; sold by him in Paris, and by Ro. Redman in London.	British Museum, case 35, l. 5.
,, ,,	,,	,,	,,	,, ,,	,, ,,	Bodleian, Gough, 34.

Mr. Dickinson in 1850 mentioned a copy of the last edition belonging to the Earl of Shrewsbury.

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above, and has become, especially in its appendix, or part (*d*), and in its store of Sequences, the 'residuary legatee' of the extinct Troper of centuries ix.–xii.

The rubrics of the Gradual are for the most part derived from the Missale, or from some common sources such as the Sarum Custom-Book and 'Directorium Missae.' Mr. F. H. Dickinson has pointed out, in notes to the Burntisland edition of the Sarum Missal, several places in which the Grayle is independent, and the facsimiles produced for the 'Plainsong and Mediæval Music Society' contain some other instances: *e.g.* the rubric for the Christmas Mass at Dawn, where the duties of the acolytes are detailed (Plate E.). The Graduale (under whatever title)[1] being the altar-antiphoner provided to contain the music of Introits, Psalms, *Graduals* (from which it took its name), and Responds, Offertory Anthems, and Communions—in other words, the 'Gregorian or Scriptural portion of the choral part of the Missale'—then, when a collection of non-Scriptural additions had come into being, other music-books were provided for the latter non-Gregorian additions or insertions, and these books for liturgical interpolations were known as Tropers.

It was, we presume, as a makeshift for the discarded Tropers, that the three little copy-books or 'quarternions' of 'Alleluyas, &c.,' were, as we have seen, provided for the projected 'Salve' or Lady Chapel, with its altar of the Ever Blessed Trinity and All Hallows, early in the thirteenth century.

On a great festival the concluding vowel of 'Alleluia' before the Gospel for the day will run on for forty or fifty notes. In old times it might number hundreds. There may be truth in the saying of certain ritualists, that this was done with a purpose—namely, to occupy the time while between Epistle and Gospel the deacon's procession was meeting the sub-deacon's recession to or from the 'pulpit' or ambon by the rood at the entrance of the choir, somewhat as the organist in our churches now will play the reader to the lectern after Magnificat or Nunc Dimittis. We do not, however,

[1] Mr. Frere says (*Grad. Sarisb.* p. xxxi): The Sarum Gradual is 'in its contents marvellously the same as the first Antiphonale which came with St. Gregory's mission to England; and St. Augustine, could he have come to life in the sixteenth century, and been given the latest Sarum Gradual from the Paris press, would probably have had some difficulty in finding his place, and greater difficulty in following the Guidonian notation, but he would have known almost every piece in the book.' As early Graduals, we may mention those of the Treasury of Monza, early eighth century (Thomasii, *Op.* v. 257–66), and St. Albans, Benedictine, twelfth century (*Brit. Mus. Reg.* 2 B. iv.)

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think that this utilitarian consideration was half so powerful a factor in the case as the natural propensity of the singer's voice to outrun the words allotted to him. It is not only 'your clowns' in Hamlet, who are apt to recite 'more than is set down for them'; but Ophelia, when her poor heart is set on singing, is true to nature when she will not stop with the poet's verses—'You must sing *Down a-down-a*, an you call him *a-down-a*,' and she exclaims, in genuine admiration of the refrain, 'O how the *wheel* becomes it!' The simple ballad is always apt to run, in singing, to a 'fal-a-la-la-la' or 'tra-la-la-la-la-la' prolongation of its lines or stanzas. In the Church service these prolongations by the voice—*jubila* or *jubili*, as they were called—continuing long after the prescribed words had been expended by the singers, were introduced at every conceivable point from Introit to 'Ite missa est'; every portion of the musical service, variable or invariable, all came alike to the chorister of eight or nine centuries ago; for, like Hudibras,

'he could not ope
His mouth, but out there came a Trope.'

The Gradual or 'Responsorium' alone seems to have been exempt, but they made up by taking the fullest liberty with the Alleluia. But inasmuch as in the Church things must be done 'decently and in order,' and the voices of the singers, no less than 'the spirits of the prophets,' must be subject to their power,[1] the notes of the *jubila* were very precisely defined, even where the ruler of the choir might occasionally have some discretion in choosing this one or that for a specific service ('*pro dispositione cantoris*,' as the Graduale rubric said).

It probably occurred to several choir-men independently to make a *memoria technica* for these 'crafty notys,' *i.e.* to fit metrical words to the protracted melodies. Such adapted '*prose*,' sung at first under their breath by the inventors and their intimate friends, were sure, sooner or later, to be overheard. Choir-masters and precentors first inquired into them, then approved and definitely adopted them. The story has been often told how the French monk, escaping when the Abbey of Jumièges was sacked by the Normans in 851, came into Switzerland after wanderings almost as long as those of Ulysses; and how Notker Balbulus, after examining the foreigner's Antiphoner, was stimulated to compose his famous Sequences. In two or three of his facsimiles Mr. Frere shows us how in the Westminster Tropers *prosulæ* were written to

[1] 1 Cor. xiv. 15, 32, 40.

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follow a Sequence: *e.g.* the 'Alleluya,' with its six-fold *Prosula* 'Rex in æternum suscipe [*al.* 'tribue'] benignus præconia nostra . . . Victor ubique morte superata atque triumphata . . .' &c., &c. These six pieces appear to have been interpolated in the body of the Alleluya, apart from the regular *Sequence* 'Fulgens præclara rutilat per orbem' which has sixteen strophes, the author whereof is (says Dr. Julian) unknown.

Certain characteristics must have been obvious to those who are already acquainted with the Sequences in the mediæval service-books of the great English Uses which have been made accessible by Mr. Dickinson and Dr. Henderson, and in the collections of Daniel, Weale, and others. As to form, some are in stanzas like hymns: such are the later compositions from the French (and English) school—

'Verbum bonum et suäue
Pandit intus in conclaue,
Et ex 'Eua' format 'Aue,'
Euæ verso nomine.'

(from 'Missus Gabriel' ascribed to a Cluniac prior of Montacute in Somersetshire), 'Salve mater Salvatoris,' and indeed the poems of Adam St. Victor generally. A very few Sequences are in hexameter lines:

'Alma chorus Domini nunc pangat nomina summi.'

'Alma Dei genitrix æterni luminis aula.'

See Henderson's *York Missal*, i. 154, ii. 208.

Others again, and these are of the earlier or German type, are *sermoni propiora*, or run in strophes as perplexing to the uninitiated as the chorus of a Greek play is to the ordinary schoolboy. In fact they are, as their name indicates, words or *prose* set to wild melodies. In another respect also the Sequences of the last-mentioned class betray their specific origin as being connected with the prolongation of the Alle-lu-y-a-a-a: they are full of vowel sounds, and run especially upon the letter A. For example, in a common Sequence for an Apostle, 'Alleluya nunc decantet,' we find such lines as

'O quanta quam præclara quam iocunda celebrantur hac mensa conuiuia;
Iam palma, iam corona, iam promissa olim mensa illis est apposita,' &c. [1]

[1] For an instance of the A termination in the Winchester Troper see the *Prosa* ad Sequentiam 'Laus harmoniæ':

'Post tanta talia per eum patrata Christi magnalia,
Nonagenaria nouena addita transacta iam vita,' &c.

This, however, Mr. Frere (p. 233) does not print *in extenso* as it may be

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The same cause may partly account for the inclination to use a certain class of words with a Greek origin manifest in these earlier rhythms:

'*Theologa categorizant symbola* nobis hæc
ter tripertita per priuata officia;
Plebs angelica, *phalanx* et archangelica,
principum turma, virtusque *uranica*,
ac potestas almi*phona*.'

And in other parts of the same Sequence ('Ad celebres') we notice 'symphonia,' 'odas,' 'pneumatum' (of the angels), and (of the Trinity),

'Eiusdem *Sophia*, compar quoque *Pneuma*, una
permanens in *usia*,'

besides 'dragma,' 'agalmata,' 'harmoniæ,' 'hyperlyrica,' 'thymiamata,' and some naturalized Græco-Latin words. Many other of the earlier Sequences have words of the same class, and one of these in hexameters has the line

'Athanatos, Kyr[i]os, Theôn pantôn cratôn, et Ysus,'

and ends with 'doxa.'

Many years ago, when we showed the last-mentioned composition ('Alma chorus') to Mr. Henry Bradshaw, he remarked, '*That* is such a Sequence as Dunstan may have sung.'

Turning to the Winchester Troper we notice, accordingly, that the hexameter, so rarely found in sequences, is the most common form for the tropes: *e.g.* (p. 32)

'Inter apostolicos stōla splendente [h]ierarchos: . . .
Ad'elwolde pia prece nos defende misellos: . . .' &c.

interlarded in the Introit; and the like in many an Introit, 'Gloria in excelsis,' Communio, &c. It is not the only metre. There are elegiacs for St. Swithun (p. 29); and see, for instance, verses prefixed to the 'office,' and other tropes on St. John's Day (pp. 8, 9), where hexameters are mixed with other verses, as also in the Christmas services earlier in the book, where the jubilatic line introducing the Introit of the Mass at Dawn (in the alternative form) breaks out in something looking very like a Græco-Latin cheer:

'Hodie inluxit nobis dominus eya:
ypane ypane ypane et cia.'

found in *York Missal*, ii. 289, or in Misset and Weale, No. 435, vol. ii. p. 27. Each *line* of this Prose, and many others, ends in A.

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As to Greek words : 'spermatis,' 'sophia,' 'pneumate,' 'paraphoniste,' are not far to seek. The 'Christi nomina summi' of the Sequence cited above are paralleled in the Kyrie (p. 48):

'Adoneus *kyrrius* dominus *kyrrion* christeleison.
Hel, *sother*, saluator, messias, *christus*, unctus, rucha, *pneuma*.'

More interesting, perhaps, is the entire 'Gloria in excelsis' in Greek (p. 70); parallels to which may be found in the Greek Creed in the tenth century Troper at St. Gall, and the 'kiri ipile' (χαῖρε ἡ πύλη) and 'ymera agiasmini' given by Mr. Frere (pp. 89 *n.*, 97), and the peculiar bilingual rites of catechumens and the dedication of a church, and in the Reproaches. He cites other examples from the Troper at p. xxvi.

Upon another very interesting point the editor likewise touches in his Introduction—namely, the Dramatic Dialogue of the Easter Sepulchre ('Quem quæritis'), mentioned in the *Regularis Concordia* of St. Ethelwold. This may be considered to be one of the forerunners of the Miracle Play, the representations at Oberammergau, and of the Western Drama generally; and its counterpart at Christmas no doubt explains the charges in the Lincoln accounts in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries: 'For gloves bought for the Mary, Angels, and Prophets on Christmas morning *in aurora*, 6*d*.'[1] The dramatic element has now, happily, been transferred from the churches almost entirely to the secular stage, and perhaps the only vestige of such performances which can be found in the later Gradual is the semi-operatic arrangement of the long Stories of the Passion in Holy Week, where the part of our Saviour is assigned to the bass, the evangelist's narrative to the 'mean,' or tenor, and the voice of the Jews or the disciples is the alto. Where the Latin Mass is now sung, the contralto is called *ancilla*, because to it are assigned the words of the maid in St. Mark xiv. 67, 69, &c. (which go to the alto in Sarum books); and the choir represent the multitude.[2]

The Troper, besides dealing with the Mass, contained some passages relating to Responds and other portions of the Divine Office of the Breviary, partly by right as tropes, partly for convenience (*Winchester Troper*, pp. 93–8). Also the Easter 'Laudes' or acclamations, following the Collect, and beginning 'Christus vincit,' which are known also as the

[1] *Lincoln Dio. Magazine*, October 1894, pp. 150–1.
[2] In *Graduale* 1528, fol. 89, five voices are distinguished for the Passion. For the three, see *Missale*, p. 264.

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Coronation Litany of Q. Matilda (*ib.* pp. 130, 174).[1] There were tropes for the 'Responds' or 'Proses' in certain festal processions, which last are marked in the Breviary (cf. *ib.* p. xi *n.*), and here the old custom survived of singing the melody over once with the words or Prose supplied, and then *repeating* it with the old *jubilum* or music, as a song without articulate words. The old manuscript Graduale included also the processions before Mass; but by the time when the Gradual began to be printed there were many Processionals in type, so that the new Graduals were able to dispense with 'ad processionem,' 'ad introitum chori,' &c. Another thing which it was found convenient to combine with the Troper was the 'Tonale,' or conspectus of the eight modes or 'officiales toni,' wherein the 'authentic' and 'plagal' modes were arranged for the Introits belonging to them. Such a Tonale, 'secundum usum Sarum et universalis ecclesiæ,' is combined with the fourteenth century 'Breviarium Divini Officii' and 'Directorium Missæ' which belongs to the Dean and Chapter of Salisbury.[2] The tones (summarized by Mr. Frere, p. 62) have the queer artificial words 'noeagis,' 'neane,' &c. &c., forming a *memoria technica* for the inflexions.'[3] Mr. Frere explains at p. xi. the 'Romanian letters' which are found in his facsimiles, and draws attention to another system of letters employed in the *Winchester Troper* (Plates 22, 25), 'side by side with the neums, to fix accurately the pitch of the notes.' But we recall the timely warning uttered once upon a time by a veteran liturgiologist in a company of Ritualists, when they showed signs of straying into a discussion on ecclesiastical music, 'Let us not touch *pitch*!'[4]

[1] England's *Explanation of the Holy Week*, 1833, p. 42.

[2] Maskell, *Mon. Rit.* ii. 85; and see *Missale Westmonast.* ii. 714 *n.*

[3] See Mr. Lunn's article on Music in *Dict. Christian Antiq.*, Smith and Cheetham, pp. 1351, 1361–2. For a specimen of the use of the letters a–p for the two octaves of the diatonic scale, see a facsimile (from the *Hereford Noted-Breviary*) issued with the first fasciculus of Mr. Frere's 'List of English Manuscripts of Music and Liturgy' (*Bibliotheca Musico-Liturgica*), which we have mentioned at the head of this article, and which we are glad to welcome.

[4] We little thought when we penned these words last Advent, that before they could be in the reader's hands the loyal and genial Lucullus of Liturgies, the Rev. William John Blew, editor of the *Breviarium Aberdonense*, scholar, liturgician, and hymnologist, would have passed away.

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ART. VII.—EVOLUTION AND MAN'S PLACE IN NATURE.

1. *Christianity and Evolution.* By JAMES IVERACH, M.A., D.D., Professor of Apologetics and Exegesis of the Gospels in the Free Church College, Aberdeen; author of *Is God Knowable?* &c. (London, 1894.)
2. *Evolution and Man's Place in Nature.* By HENRY CALDERWOOD, LL.D., F.R.S.E., Professor of Moral Philosophy, University of Edinburgh. (London, 1893.)
3. *The Lowell Lectures on the Ascent of Man.* By HENRY DRUMMOND. (London, 1894.)

IT is with a deep persuasion of the difficulties involved in any attempt to solve the mystery of creation and of man that we approach the study of these three volumes. Their appearance almost simultaneously is not a little remarkable, as testifying to the influence which the Evolution dogma exerts, and to the anxiety felt in different directions to reconcile or to adjust its claims with those of Christian truth. Nor is this any cause for astonishment when we consider how vast are the pretensions of Evolution, and how largely contemporary thought is saturated with its technical phrases. In a former article [1] we dealt with the extraordinary confusion of thought which is generated through the attempts to trace, not merely a growth which bears some analogy to that of biological development throughout the various provinces of human knowledge—the world of inorganic matter, the world of life, the world of humanity—but to insist upon an identical working of evolution through them all equally, and to assert that exactly the same process has guided the varied forces and controlled the totally distinct conditions of the worlds of matter and of mind. Against such a transference of ideas and processes, derived from the study of one branch of science, to the entire field of human knowledge, we then entered our most emphatic protest, and we abide still by the position which we then deliberately assumed. We are confirmed, moreover, in our judgment by finding that each of the works before us is convincing and conclusive in proportion to the independence of its author from submission to the evolutionary craze. Whilst Dr. Iverach combats, as we shall see, with singular perspicacity and acuteness the fundamental

[1] See *Church Quarterly Review*, January 1894—'Natural Theology and Evolution.'

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and essential principles of Evolution, and Professor Calderwood shows the serious gaps in continuity over which Mr. Drummond skips with suspicious agility, the latter is yet constrained to introduce, under the vague nomenclature of 'environment,' that continuous guidance of the Divine Will and Purpose which Theism since the days of Darwin has constantly affirmed and Evolution has consistently denied.

Before we proceed to the examination of the works before us, we wish to make our own standing-point unmistakable. We are not influenced in our determined hostility to Evolution, as defined by its foremost advocates, by any distrust of science, or any apprehension for the safety of Catholic Christianity. We are firmly persuaded that dogmatic faith in the eternal verities of the Gospel will eventually and always prove to be consistent with unhesitating acceptance of all clearly established scientific truth, and with this conviction it is impossible to us that God's revelation of Himself in His Word should belie His self-manifestation in His works. For a time there may appear to be a contradiction between some asserted scientific discovery and some current interpretation of Holy Writ, but the Christian can afford to wait in patience for the fuller light which will be revealed in due season. At the first proclamation of the action of the law of gravitation it was eagerly welcomed by the sceptics of the day, under the impression that it tended to disprove the teaching of the Bible. But such groundless expectations soon died out and were forgotten. It is not, then, to any scientific discovery, or to any working hypothesis, which may be suggested as the probable explanation of its development within *its own sphere*, that we take exception, but to the unwarrantable assumptions and deductions which are based on such hypotheses, and which arrogate for a working theory the supremacy of indisputable and universal truth. We take our stand on the side of Christianity against Agnosticism, of Freedom against Determinism, of Theism against blind hazard, of Catholicism against a half-grudging Deism. We object *in toto* to the acceptance of any mechanical theory of the universe as ultimate, not because of any imperfection in its working, but because of the fundamental imperfection of its conception. We object *in toto* to the strange yet too common mistake which concludes, as soon as the method of any process is unfolded, that God did not do it. On the contrary, we regard every fresh demonstration of the universal prevalence of law as a fresh testimony to Theism, and a fresh

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argument for God as the source of order and the only ground of law.

Nor will such an attitude be deemed unreasonably hostile or aggressive by those who realize the issues which are at stake. It is not too much to say that the foundation truths of the Christian faith are assailed under the mask of the evolutionary dogma. The doctrine of the Father is destroyed by the denial or the perpetual banishment of a personal God, and by such obliteration of the distinction between matter and spirit as makes Nature the efficient cause and end of all things. The doctrine of the Son is undermined by the rejection of the supernatural, which relegates the miraculous to the land of fable, treats the cardinal truth of the Resurrection as the product of an enthusiastic phantasy, and acknowledges in our Blessed Lord only the perfected natural man. The doctrine of the Holy Spirit and His procession from the Father and the Son is superseded by the theory that any renovation effected in man or in the system to which he belongs must be wrought out by agencies innate in Nature, and must proceed according to her fixed and unchanging laws. We do not say that so much is affirmed in explicit terms, but it is inevitably implied in the demands set forth in the name of Evolution, and in the scarcely veiled contempt with which any plea for the Catholic faith, as hitherto believed and understood, is regarded. Early Darwinism had been content to assume Evolution as a working hypothesis, but it was rapidly promoted, first to the rank of the most comprehensive of all phenomenal laws, and then to the throne of absolute supremacy over all Nature. Evolution is to rule everything, to account for everything, to explain everything; and that which lies beyond its influence belongs to the unthinkable and unknowable.

That this is no exaggerated assertion is clearly brought out in Dr. Iverach's opening pages:

'On all hands,' he writes, 'men are busy tracing out the lines of Evolution from the general to the particular, from the simple to the complex, until it is affirmed "that the whole world, living and not living, is the result of the mutual interaction, according to definite laws, of the powers possessed by the molecules of which the primitive nebulosity of the universe was composed."[1] It is evident enough that, in these views of Professor Huxley, Evolution has passed beyond the stage of a working hypothesis, and has become both a philosophy and a dogmatic faith. We are restricted to molecules, their powers, and the interactions of their powers, for the explanation of the universe;

[1] Huxley, *Life of Darwin*, ii. 210.

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when the molecules are given in their primitive nebulosity, the whole result follows. There can be no increment from without, no guidance from above, nor any leading along a definite line to a predetermined end. The molecules and their interactions must be competent to produce all that has come out in the process. We need not say how great is the issue involved in this claim, or how strenuously it is to be resisted. It is something gained, however, to have the claims of Evolution considered as a dogmatic faith stated so clearly, and to know with what we have to deal."[1]

Extravagant as these claims unquestionably are, there is much reason to fear that they are in a certain and a very injurious degree allowed by men who yet hold fast the profession of their Christian faith, if not without wavering. In consequence they occupy an indefensible position which cannot be upheld on either philosophical or Scriptural grounds. On the scientific side of their nature they are not very refined materialists, and they keep all their spirituality for their religion in a separate part of their life. They do not attempt to reconcile the antagonism which this dualistic creed engenders. Perhaps they are hardly conscious of its existence, or have never thought it out. But the day may come when they are hard pressed to defend their position, and it will be well if faith be not shipwrecked, although the fault lies not in their creed but in their science. For it is but too often the case that men reach their scientific convictions through the exercise of their reason, whilst their religious convictions are rather emotional than rational, and when a conflict arises between that which is *believed* to be true, and that which is only *felt* to be good and noble, the result is moral unrest, and possibly spiritual paralysis and decay.

It is time, however, that we turned from these general principles to consider the three works on Evolution now before us. Their authors represent with approximate adequacy three separate lines of treatment. Each of them avowedly writes from the stand-point of a believer in Christianity, and upholds after his own fashion the doctrine of Evolution. Each of them approaches his subject from a different point of view; Dr. Iverach embracing in briefer space a larger area than his fellow-workers, and giving a rapid yet singularly discriminating *résumé* of the entire relation of Evolution to Christianity; whilst Professor Calderwood strictly confines himself to the question suggested by his title; and Mr. Drummond gets no further in the *Ascent of Man* than the rudimentary evolution of a father. The three works, taken

[1] *Christianity and Evolution*, p. 2.

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together, afford a signal example of the ambiguity which frequently lurks under terms of wide acceptance, and whose meaning is assumed to be matter of ordinary knowledge. Broadly stated, Evolution and Theism are in distinct antagonism, and the explanation which Evolution offers of the universe consists in avoiding the question of its origin, and starting from a primitive and chaotic nebulosity it deduces from so unpromising a commencement an orderly totality of molecules, whose mutual interactions have developed, without any subsequent interference *ab extra*, the existing state of things: the whole order of progress having been a development of the higher from the lower, the organic from the inorganic, the animal from the vegetable, the human from the animal, the mental from the material, the rational from the instinctive, in one unbroken series. Motion, life, reason, religion, none of them admitting of such a break in continuity as would be caused by the introduction of fresh creative energy. Such is the ideal which we presume Mr. Drummond accepts, but which Dr. Iverach and Professor Calderwood utterly deny, and yet the two latter accept (in a qualified sense) the name of Evolution. Let us inquire in what degree they receive it.

We regard Dr. Iverach's *Christianity and Evolution*, despite the small space within which it compresses discussion of the profound vital and fundamental questions which its title suggests, as a valuable contribution to the Theistic controversy. It is not often that the reader meets with a work on abstruse problems at once so witty and so wise, or finds the path by which he is led on through mazes of philosophical and scientific thought illumined by so firm a grasp of the real principles at stake, or by so felicitous a perspicuity in the statement of them. Power of expression in clean-cut intelligible phraseology is no contemptible standard of a writer's mastery of his subject, and Dr. Iverach's pages abound in such terse golden sentences, as well as in merciless analyses of the confusion of thought, and of the subtle intermixture and transference of ideas from their proper spheres to one of an entirely different nature, which characterize the works of some eminent apologists of Evolution. Here are a few examples, taken almost at random: 'When vital energies are split into processes like those of the non-living world, the essential nature of the matter in hand is lost in the splitting' (p. 92). 'The general laws of matter will never account for particular effects, and the particular arrangements are just the things which need to be explained' (p. 77). 'The per-

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sistence of force does not explain the direction in which it persisted' (p. 71). 'The system of efficient causes which we find at work in the world is just as anthropomorphic as the system of final causes is' (p. 65). Mr. Herbert Spencer's *Law of the Instability of the Homogeneous* is self-contradictory; for the two terms of the so-called conception will not unite. If the homogeneous is homogeneous it is stable, and if it is unstable it is not homogeneous. Also when we read his chapter on the 'Multiplication of Effects,' we see it might as well have the name of the 'Multiplication of Causes' (p. 29). On the denial of intelligence by Mr. Spencer and his followers in creation, he observes that 'ultimately the argument seems to come to this: there are so many evidences of intelligence in the universe, that we must therefore infer the absence of a guiding mind' (p. 86).

It hardly comes within the scope of the present paper to dwell upon Dr. Iverach's examination of Mr. Herbert Spencer's *First Principles*, which have become indisputable axioms to many evolutionists, but whose questionable character is ably exposed. Many doubtful positions, which might pass unchallenged as items in a working hypothesis, are seriously hurtful when accepted as irrefutable, and they carry the taint of their origin into the wider generalizations which are built upon them. The theory of the 'primitive nebulosity,' which many writers swallow blindly, is liable to grave objection upon scientific grounds. The dogma that universally the effect is more complex than the cause (though useful, if not essential, to the consistent evolutionist) does not seem capable of logical justification. Under the clever manipulation of scientific writers, natural selection—itself only a metaphor—quickly becomes a reality capable of doing anything. In studying the attempted explanation of the world, which Evolution undertakes to furnish, and in estimating its adequacy, it is of the first importance constantly to remember the words of Bishop Butler, 'Abstract notions can do nothing.' Persistence of force, instability of the homogeneous, natural selection, survival of the fittest, are all abstract notions that do nothing, as Dr. Iverach reminds us, until they part with their abstraction and get themselves translated into the concrete energies of the world as we know it.

'How did the order, the intelligibility, the rationality of the scheme get into the universe, or the atoms of which it is composed? One can understand how the order, the intelligibility, the rationality got into the works on chemistry, lying now on the table; for the rationality is in Ostwald, in Williamson, in Armstrong,

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first, and in the books next; but the order, the rationality, the intelligibility of the atoms and the system they serve to produce are vastly greater than those of the systems in the books. . . . The intelligibility of a book has at least two references—one to the author of it, and another to the reader of it. Shall we say that the intelligibility of the world has only one reference—namely, to the reader of it?' (pp. 42–3).

Dr. Iverach indulges in some pardonable sarcasm upon the temper as well as the substance of current evolutionary teaching upon the intricate questions of psychology. It builds largely, he remarks,

'on physiology, which explores the nervous system for physical concomitants of psychological events. It is great in the cross-examination of babies, and of late years has dealt largely with the possible experiences of the primitive man. . . . It is always of opinion that a process of becoming explains the result. Many other wonderful things might be said of it. Alliance with Evolution has not improved it, but the alliance has enabled it to do more wonderful things than ever. It has enabled Mr. Spencer to suppose that he can manufacture intuitions and produce necessary principles as they are needed, and to explain how what is *a priori* to the individual may be *a posteriori* to the race. As if repetition, custom, habit, could ever generate a belief in principles that are universal and necessary! But perhaps the greatest feat ever performed by psychology is performed by Mr. Spencer when he affirms, "Not only do feelings constitute the inferior tracts of consciousness, but feelings are in all cases the materials out of which, in the superior tracts of consciousness, intellect is evolved by structural combination."[1] That is something worth knowing! Consciousness, Mr. Spencer repeatedly says, is built up of individual sensations and emotions. The simplest element of consciousness is compared to a nervous shock. Given a nervous shock, or repeated nervous shocks, and by combining and re-combining these in endless ways, consciousness is built up; for Mr. Spencer sensation and feeling are equivalent expressions. But, may we ask, what is it that is aware of the nervous shock! Make feeling as simple as we may, before it becomes feeling, or when it becomes feeling, there is a something which is aware of it. The lowest organ is one; it has a unitary centre somewhere, which reacts against the stimulus and the sensation. But Mr. Spencer deals with feelings as if they existed apart from a creature whose feelings they are. By a process of combining and recombining them he endeavours to build up a consciousness; but the consciousness is the condition of their existence. *Feeling presupposes consciousness, and yet it is assumed that feeling makes consciousness.*'[2]

Professor Calderwood brings to the discussion of man's place in Nature the powers of a mind trained in the school of

[1] *Psychology*, i. p. 192.
[2] *Christianity and Evolution*, pp. 163–4.

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psychological inquiry. He is consequently free from the tendency, so often manifest in writers on natural science, to slur over the broad chasm which divides the highest form of animal intelligence from the lowest stage of rational life. There is no attempt in his pages, as in those of Mr. Drummond, to represent the former as gradually shading into the latter until man is degraded to the level of a highly cultured animal, and the brute creation is represented as the embryo of reasoning humanity. On this fundamental and crucial question his testimony is clear and unwavering. 'A theory of "natural selection by accumulation of slight modifications of structure" has a clear answer as to the origin of the difference in form between the ape and the dog; but the theory has no such clear answer as to the origin of the difference of intelligence between the ape and man' (p. 60). 'Rational life is one, whatever its variations, and this because rational power is the basis for the life, however great the variations' (p. 63). And the contrast becomes more deeply marked as our grasp and survey includes a wider sweep of the conditions to which each is subjected. 'In the case of animals we see them mastered by environment; in the case of man, we witness a mastery over environment impossible in the history of lower life' (p. 80). Nor is the mystery of rational being diminished by the study of craniology or by any demonstration as yet achieved of the action of the nerve-system.

'As convolutions and cells and intra-cranial relations have been brought under observation; as the intricate demands of co-ordination within this elaborate central organ have been considered; as we have contemplated distribution of all the sensory impressions, and transference of these to the complex muscular system, it has become increasingly clear that the demands on the central organ for the maintenance of the integrity of an organic life are such that the still more complicated and varied activities of the reflective life cannot also be concentrated here. They stand before us unexplained. *There is not even a beginning made with an explanation of the higher phenomena of the rational life.* Biology, rich in its possessions as to structure and functions, is destitute of possessions concerned with the activities of intelligence. . . . Science, by its advance, has completed the demonstration of its own insufficiency to account for the rational power, and for the grand consequences in Nature, which have followed upon the appearance of rational life within it. This demonstration is also the demonstration of the insufficiency of a theory of Evolution' (pp. 278–9).

In the *Ascent of Man* we come upon a work of very different character, and of truly portentous claims. Mr. Drummond arrogates to himself the modest task of *readjust-*

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ing all contemporary thinking. To his mind Evolution was given to the world out of focus, was first seen by it out of focus, and is so seen up to the present hour; and it is his vocation to redress the obliquity of vision thus universally prevailing. Nay, so imperfect has been the presentation of Evolution by all his predecessors, that its very *nature has been misconceived, and its greatest factor has been overlooked.* It is with no little misgiving that the critic ventures to touch the masterpiece of one whose penetration has discovered *the greatest factor* that eluded the unwearied and trained observation of Darwin, the keen and dashing penetration of Huxley, and the philosophic acumen of Herbert Spencer. Justly may such a man exclaim, 'Exegi monumentum ære perennius.' Yet, as we write, a freak of memory suggests one slight misgiving. Some years ago a correspondent of the *Times* informed the public of his discovery that half the coal consumed for domestic purposes could be saved by using fireballs of clay; and as the economy thus effected would amount to many millions sterling, he modestly hinted that the nation should give him a *proportionate* reward. Needless to add, the asserted discovery was a complete delusion; and the would-be benefactor of mankind sank back into the ranks of ordinary men. Yet, however imperfect the presentation of Evolution by the inferior pens which have hitherto portrayed it, in Evolution as readjusted and refocused, as conceived and corrected by himself, Mr. Drummond's faith is illimitable. Never was there a more signal example than that afforded by the *Ascent of Man* of an author's squaring his proofs to his conclusions instead of confining his conclusions to his proofs. If the facts do not accord with the theory, so much the worse for the facts. No doubt it can be pleaded that in his endeavour to remodel and revolutionize every principle which has hitherto prevailed on the distinction between the physical and the psychical, Mr. Drummond's purpose and desire has been to engage the artillery of science in the defence of a Christianity itself remodelled as the exigences of asserted scientific discovery demand; but we hold such a proceeding to be full of the danger so admirably expressed in Mr. Balfour's brilliant *Notes on the Foundation of Belief.* The reader will follow, *mutatis mutandis*, the line of Mr. Balfour's argument, only substituting the evolutionary for the rationalizing theologian in the following passage:

'The theologian,' he writes, 'has borrowed the premises, the methods, and all the positive conclusions of Naturalism. He ad-

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vances on the same strategic principles, and from the same base of operations. And though he professes by these means to have overrun a whole continent of alien conclusions with which Naturalism will have nothing to do, can he permanently retain it? Is it not certain that the huge expanse of his theology, attached by so slender a tie to the main system of which it is intended to be a dependency, will sooner or later have to be abandoned; and that the weak and artificial connexion which has been so ingeniously contrived will snap at the first strain to which it shall be subjected by the forces either of criticism or sentiment?' (*loc. cit.*, p. 182).

It will no doubt be replied that this tie by which Mr. Drummond binds his Christianity to the Evolutionary system is not slender, and that the connexion he endeavours to establish is neither weak nor artificial; and this we allow is the main point at issue. But before discussing some details of Mr. Drummond's book it is important to realize the absolute antagonism of his position to that occupied by other evolutionists of note. Evolution, according to Mr. Huxley, is utterly and hopelessly immoral, brutal, and relentless; and it is man's duty to resist it with all his might. Evolution, according to Mr. Drummond, displays to the eye that reads it rightly the germ—we had almost written the full development—of morality before even animal life was evolved; and it is man's privilege to work with it gratefully towards the goal of the highest ethical attainment.

It is a marked feature of the *Ascent of Man* that its author reads into each branch of his subject in turn that element of reason or morality which he aims at showing to be innate in it. In passages of exceptional and transparent beauty, Mr. Drummond details the various stages in the life of plant and inferior animal, and draws from them, not the analogy which illustrates the true basis of human ethics, but the actual presence of moral qualities from which the common sense of mankind has hitherto considered them to be absolutely and entirely cut asunder. Take, as an example, the following description of the function of the flower of one of the higher phanerogams. It is a typical example in more ways than one of Mr. Drummond's method; and let the reader ask himself whether it is not a singular illustration of the well-worn adage that 'beauty is in the eye of the beholder.' It is taken from the chapter which deals with a special feature of his work: namely, 'The Struggle for the Life of Others.'

'Pass,' he says, 'from the unicellular plant to one of the higher phanerogams, and the self-sacrificing function is seen at work with

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still greater definiteness, for there we have a clearer contrast with the other function. To the physiologist a tree is not simply a tree, but a complicated piece of apparatus for discharging, in the first place, the function of Nutrition. Root, trunk, branch, twig, leaf, are so many organs—mouths, lungs, circulatory system, alimentary canal—for carrying on to the utmost perfection the Struggle for Life. But this is not all. There is another piece of apparatus within this apparatus of a wholly different order. It has nothing to do with Nutrition. It has nothing to do with the Struggle for Life. It is the flower. The more its parts are studied, in spite of all homologies, it becomes more clear that this is a construction of a unique and wonderful character. So important has this extra apparatus seemed to science, that it has named the great division of the vegetable kingdom, to which this and all higher plants belong, the Phanerogams—the flowering plants; and it recognizes the complexity and physiological value of this reproductive specialty by giving them the place of honour at the top of the vegetable creation. Watch this flower at work for a little, and behold a miracle. Instead of struggling for life it lays down its life. After clothing itself with a beauty which is itself the minister of unselfishness, it droops, it wastes, it lays down its life. The tree still lives, the other leaves are fresh and green; but this life within a life is dead. And why? Because within this death is life. Search among the withered petals, and there, in a cradle of cunning workmanship, are a hidden progeny of clustering seeds—the gift to the future which this dying mother has brought into the world at the cost of leaving it. The food she might have lived upon is given to her children, stored round each tiny embryo with lavish care, so that when they waken into the world the first helplessness of their hunger is met. All the arrangements in plant-life which concern the flower, the fruit, and the seed are the creations of the struggle for the life of others.'[1]

We do not question the beauty and lucidity of this description, but we hold it to be in large measure pure romance and utterly misleading. In what intelligible sense can it be affirmed that the flower *lays down its life*, or that *it clothes itself with beauty*; that *it gives to its children the food it might itself have lived upon*, or that it makes a *gift to the future* of its hidden progeny? No words, indeed, can be too eulogistic in which to express the wonder—the miracle, as Mr. Drummond justly terms it—which plant life displays, or in which to depict the exquisite arrangement that culminates in the production of the seeds; but, whereas the advocates of Evolution on the one hand are but too apt to neglect the truth that behind organ and function, with their mutual adaptation, there lies the mind which purposed them both and fitted them together, the Christian biologist and evolutionist, to our

[1] *Ascent of Man*, pp. 291-2.

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thinking, will not redress the balance by thus attributing to plant life deliberate action, choice, and self-sacrifice. The argument from analogy is one that exerts considerable influence over the mind, and there is the highest authority for using it within the boundaries of its legitimate application. But in employing it it is exceptionally important to remember the caution *Ne quid nimis*, and the whole force of the analogy is destroyed if it be so unduly pressed as to confound it with identity. It is in this failure to recognize such necessary limitations, in his tendency to read the essential qualities of the higher order into the lower, in his substitution of fancy for fact, and of romance for reality, that Mr. Drummond weakens what might, by more cautious handling, have been worked into a very powerful line of reasoning.

Mr. Drummond calls his volume a History and not an Argument, and the assertion is but one example of the strange misuse of words in which the *Ascent of Man* abounds. The term history can only be legitimately applied to a record of events which have actually occurred, but Mr. Drummond goes to his imagination for his facts, and the trifling circumstance that some of his most detailed descriptions have no foundation in ascertained reality is no stumbling-block to the calm assurance of his narrative. Thus, for example, when he is giving the long-drawn account of the Dawn of Mind or of the Evolution of a Mother, he admits that he has no basis for his portraiture in any record that has reached us from the remote period which his theory demands, but so trifling a deficiency is of small importance. In all other processes of logical ratiocination the chain of argument is admitted to be no stronger than its weakest link; in the evolutionary mode of reasoning the entire absence of essential links is no bar to the acceptance of a foregone conclusion. 'Mind,' he pleads, 'cannot be exhumed by Palæontology or fully embalmed in unwritten history'; but for all that 'it *must* have risen into its first prominence during a long, silent, and dateless period which preceded the era of monumental records' (p. 163). If we ask why it *must* have so risen, the only answer is the necessities of Evolution require it. Evolution is the despot before whom all objections must bow—

'Sic volo, sic jubeo, stet pro ratione voluntas.'

The line of reasoning here pursued affords a crucial example of Mr. Drummond's method, and is worth minute study. First he states that the problem is almost insoluble, and the passage from the material to the mental involves

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a hopeless break in continuity. To the reader, whose mind is thus thrown off its guard, he next suggests that names weighty in the realm of science can be quoted in support of the theory that there may be traces of development from animal to human intelligence; he then proceeds to detail what are the gradual steps through which the ascent of Mind may thus possibly be traced; until, finally, the impossible has been shaded into the probable, and the probable into the inevitable, as we have just seen—the mind *must* have risen into its first prominence during a long and dateless period.

The reasons assigned for this genesis of the Dawn of Mind appear to us altogether incapable of bearing the strain to which Mr. Drummond subjects them. We have not space to analyse them all, but we may devote a few paragraphs to their consideration. The first illustration is taken from the Mind of a little child, and the argument is founded upon the *admitted* fact that mind in Man does not start into being fully ripe and upon the *asserted* order and equivalents of its development. But we fail to see how the undisputed truth that mind dawns, and grows, and mellows, and decays—in other words, that it is subject to the general conditions of all cosmic life—casts any light on its evolution from a lower state of being. Although in childhood the mind is not fully developed, it is there potentially—there, under the mysterious conditions which render it largely dependent on physical concomitants, liable to be arrested in its development, or even to be destroyed—there, in all the fulness of its wondrous powers, which only need the proper environment to bring them out in high relief. The fact that a child's intellectual faculties are only gradually developed can cast no more light upon the genesis of mind than the fact that his bodily strength is only gradually developed can explain the origin of muscle. Growth, as the condition of life already transmitted, is no explanation of the method in which life was evolved.

A similar objection will apply to the author's illustration from the mind of savages, where he again confounds in the strangest fashion the totally distinct subjects of origin and environment. The mind of savages, so far as we can gather under the light afforded by the testimony of those who have had the deepest and fullest knowledge of them, is exactly the same in all its essential qualities as the mind of the civilized races, and it only needs a like civilized environment to bring this fact out into startling prominence.

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No doubt amongst the obscure influences of heredity we can discern the transmission of intellectual tendencies handed down in greater or less degree from parent to child, but this is only an example of the variety in unity which is universal in the cosmos, and does not touch the question of origin. All this is, indeed, allowed by Mr. Drummond, who himself refers to the rapid advance of the Sandwich Islanders in contrast with the still degraded condition of the aborigines of North Queensland, and furnishes the reader with eloquent paragraphs on the dwellers in primeval forests—people 'who live like wild things on roots and berries and birds and wallabies, and in the monotony of their life and the uncouthness of their Mind represent almost the lowest level of humanity' (p. 183). But despite its uncouthness the *Mind* is there, and the mystery of its origin is as inscrutable as ever.

Nor is the evolutionary theory of the development of mind any better confirmed by the elaborate effort to trace its connexion with, and its gradual ascent from, the intelligence of the higher animals. Mr. Drummond borrows from Mr. Romanes's *Animal Intelligence* and *Mental Evolution in Animals* a series, including over a score of asserted items of emotional development, and varying from the elementary sensation of fear in the Annelids to the perception of the Ludicrous in the anthropoid apes.

'This list,' he goes on to explain, 'is something more than a bare catalogue of what human emotions exist in the animal world. It is an *arranged* catalogue, a more or less definite psychological scale. These emotions did not only appear in animals, but they appeared in this order. Now to find out order in Evolution is of first importance; for order of events is history, and Evolution is history. In creatures very far down the scale of life—the Annelids—Mr. Romanes distinguished what appeared to him to be one of the earliest emotions—Fear. Somewhat higher up, among the Insects, he met with the Social feelings, as well as Industry, Pugnacity, and Curiosity. Jealousy seems to have been born into the world with Fishes; Sympathy with Birds. The Carnivora are responsible for Cruelty, Hate, and Grief; the Anthropoid Apes for Remorse, Shame, the sense of the Ludicrous, and Deceit' (pp. 168–9).

It is noteworthy in the opening sentence of this quotation how deftly Mr. Drummond assumes the very thing it is his task to prove—namely, that they are *human emotions* which have been observed in the lower animals: to say nothing at present of the further difficulty that the catalogue runs through the entire scale of human emotions, and even includes those whose names—such as cruelty, remorse, and bene-

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volence — connote and inevitably imply marked ethical elements. A few sentences lower down the author admits that these emotions are only in the lower animals in some sense: 'That they are not there in the sense in which we think them there is probably certain' (p. 170). Then why so much insistence upon an argument which is fundamentally misleading? There is no proof that because one finds the same muscular contraction of forehead or of optic nerve in the monkey and in man that there is also the same subjective state; but this, which the whole argument assumes, is incapable of proof. 'The outward signs may seem,' as Dr. Iverach remarks, 'to be identical, but the inward feeling may be as wide as the poles asunder' (p. 159). Far more worthy of the true spirit both of science and of philosophy is the caution given by the same thoughtful writer against the rash identification of things essentially different in their kind than Mr. Drummond's method of insinuating that there is, despite such difficulties, a residuum of connexion sufficient to permit us cautiously to reason from.

How essential and fundamental is the distinction between animal and human emotion is admirably shown in the following extract from *Christianity and Evolution*, which we quote, not merely as bearing directly upon the point we are considering, but also because it is suggestive of a broad and powerful line of argument, which is too commonly overlooked in discussions of this character:

> 'That which is what it is in relation to a whole,' says Dr. Iverach, 'is to be judged in relation to the whole of which it is a part. And an emotion is to be judged in relation to the being in whose experience it is a factor; and thus the emotion partakes of the character of that being, and will increase in complexity in proportion as the experience consists of more or less elements in relation to the whole. Thus the emotion of a being who has not attained, and who never will attain, to self-consciousness can scarcely, to any profit, be compared with the emotions of a being who is potentially at least self-conscious from the beginning' (p. 159).

There is a further consideration, touching the comparison of animal and human intelligence, the importance of which has not, to our knowledge, been adequately recognized—namely, that the highest intellectual attainment reached by the animal creation is the consequence and result, not of more elaborate brain structure, but of closer association with mankind. In conformation of brain the anthropoid ape, if we are rightly informed, approaches most closely to the human cranium, but in intelligence it is far inferior to the sheep-dog which guards

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and marshals the flocks on the Cheviot Hills. Yet in this instance it is the intellect of the shepherd which has preceded and moulded and developed the intellect of the collie; so that any argument based on such examples for a supposed derivative of man's intelligence from that of the brutes is simply putting the cart before the horse. And this view of the matter is further strengthened if we are to accept the latest conclusions of Sir Charles Lyell about the antiquity of man's appearance on the earth, conclusions which have been claimed as valuable support for the Evolution Theory. But, as Professor Calderwood justly argues, the force of reasoning flows in the opposite direction. The earlier we place the arrival of man, the larger must be the effect which human agency has wrought in natural history. Geological records would seem to require us to extend human history to a period before the appearance of the dog, to which evolutionists now specially refer for evidence of pre-human animal intelligence.

The truth is that the theory of 'natural selection by accumulation of slight modifications of structure' affords no clue to the origin of the difference of intelligence between man and the higher animals, and Mr. Drummond's case breaks down on its biological side, the very ground on which he holds the evidence to be most conclusive.

'In the field of comparative research,' writes Professor Calderwood, 'the rational life of man is the outstanding event for which there is no adequate scientific explanation. The perplexity for the theory of "natural selection" is that anatomical structure and physiological law fail to provide for the higher functions. Hitherto we have been able to trace functions to organic structure. By penetrating into minutest details of structure, watching with microscopic aid the faintest movements, and recording, by help of the finest instruments, speed and volume of movement, physiological science has placed beyond question the relations of structure and function. But we are now reaching a point where the light fails, where the voice is silent. Looking at life, as it is concerned with knowledge, apart from muscular activity, we have come to a knowledge which cannot be attributed to the sensory system any more than it can be attributed to the motor system. Research into brain structure carries no explanation. Our nerves can no more explain its origin than our muscles can. Physiology never has made any account of human knowledge, not finding in physical structure and function anything promising help as to its acquisition. Research into brain structure has not helped us towards identification of the source of physical science.

'Localization of function in the brain has made large advance. Centres of sensibility have been identified, so also have motor centres; and even centres for localization, providing for the language

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of dogs and of monkeys, as well as of men. But there has been no advance towards localizing of "thought centres," such as might produce science. It is true, and to be specially noted here, that electric excitation of brain has failed to find the functions of certain "silent" portions of the brain, but these "silent regions" are found in the brains of lower animals also, and to none of the animals have we attributed high rationalizing powers' (*Evolution and Man's Place in Nature*, pp. 60–2).

We question whether in any book professing to be written on scientific principles, one too whose author displays considerable acquaintance with many branches of science, so strange a farrago of actual fact and unauthorized fiction was ever set forth as in the two chapters of the *Ascent of Man* entitled the Evolution of a Mother and the Evolution of a Father. Their contents almost defy analysis, owing to the inextricable blending in them of truths which all Christian men acknowledge, and in which they recognize the providential guidance of God, with theories devised to elaborate that gradual unfolding of the affections which thorough-going and unflinching Evolution demands. Revelation tells us that God, according to the counsel of His own will, determined to make man in His own image, and who that believes this can doubt that man came forth as a related whole, with a unity of being, in full possession of the emotions which should enable him to love his Creator and his fellow-men—*i.e.* in the terse and striking phraseology of Holy Scripture—a living soul? Mr. Drummond assures us that man first appeared as a nondescript, almost on a level with the beasts, and that he gradually developed by accumulation of microscopic differences, certain particles of feeling which Natural Selection fixed upon and finally welded into ethical emotions. Revelation tells us that He who made them in the beginning made them male and female, and implanted in them a powerful bond of union. Mr. Drummond informs us that for untold ages the relation of the human sexes was so entirely bestial that it probably involved a pairing season, and if we understand him right, that primitive humanity was even so devoid of the higher instincts of the brute creation, that for it love

'was not existent in Man and was frozen in Woman, until one day from its Mother's very heart, from a shrine which her husband never visited nor knew was there, which she herself dared scarce acknowledge, a child drew forth the first fresh bud of a love which was not passion, a love which was not selfish, a love which was an incense from its Maker, and whose fragrance from that hour went forth to sanctify the world. *Later, long later, through the same tiny and un-*

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conscious intermediary, the father's soul was touched. And one day, in the love of a little child, father and mother met' (p. 391).

The authority for the statement of the 'lineage of love' thus circumstantially and authoritatively laid down is based on the study—'*is proved*' is Mr. Drummond's own expression—by *the simplest study of savage life.* On the validity of the alleged proof we may have something to say presently; but in order to present Mr. Drummond's case in one connected view we must give some further illustration of the growth of the affection thus elicited:

'The only thing,' he writes, 'that could bear the heavy burden of social order and adapt itself to every change and fresh demand was the indestructibly solid, yet elastic, strength of love. *The care and culture of love, therefore, became thenceforth the first great charge of Evolution, and every obstruction to its path began to be swept away.* Whatever facilities could further its career were gradually adopted, and changes which soon began to pass over the face of all human societies seemed but parts of one great conspiracy to hasten its final reign. For a prolonged and protective Fatherhood, once introduced into the world, *was immediately taken charge of by Natural Selection.* . . . [Eventually the Father] is not only protector but food-provider. It is impossible to believe that in process of time the discharge of this office did not bring some faint satisfactions to himself, that the mere sight of his offspring, fed instead of famished, did not give him a certain pleasure. And though the pleasure at first may have been no more than the absence of the annoyance they caused by the clamorousness of their want, it became a stimulus to exertion, and led in the end to rudimentary forms of sympathy and self-denial' (pp. 393–95).

It would require far more space than we have at command fully to unravel the tangled knot of fact and fiction of which this attempted explanation is composed; but we may mark some of its ingredients. It is pure assumption to assert that the simplest study of savage life proves anything; its deeper study suggests many problems which thoughtful men have found almost insoluble, and savage life has been reasonably held to be rather a degradation from a higher state of being than a primitive condition. It is pure rhetoric to assert that Evolution and Natural Selection, personified with capital initial letters, take charge of anything or sweep any obstruction from its path. It is true, indeed, that 'through the ages an increasing purpose runs,' yet an adequate cause for advance is not to be found in abstractions, but in the Intelligence which designed the progress here attributed to them. It is a truism that moral qualities may be cultivated, and that there may be growth in sympathy and self-denial and affection

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but if the qualities so described are worthy of the dignity their names connote, they must be the result, not of some blind unintelligent force which gradually enriches mere automatic and unconscious action, but of rational and self-conscious effort, and the problem to be solved is the existence of this very rationality and self-consciousness, and this problem Mr. Drummond's wordy explanations leave untouched. The entire history is simply Evolution run mad, fantastic in conception, and fanciful in execution. We have heard of the decillionth part of a suspicion, but never before of 'the thousandth part of a smile.' The only parallel we can recall to Mr. Drummond's lineage of love is the grinning cat in *Alice in Wonderland*, in which the cat disappeared, but the grin survived.

Before concluding we must not omit to notice one objection which may be urged to our criticism of the *Ascent of Man*. It may be said we have failed to notice the many qualifying remarks which are interspersed throughout its pages, as well as the great importance which Mr. Drummond attaches to the influence of environment. We allow the former plea without hesitation. A running comment of qualifying observations *is* interpolated in the text. They may serve to indicate the mind of the writer, but they do not, in our judgment, lessen the mischievousness of his work. We hold the basis of it to be unsound, and the superstructure consequently insecure. Again, we allow that Mr. Drummond assigns an almost overwhelming importance to environment, in which he includes the omnipotence of God; and, as we read this admission, we are fain to ask to what purpose is all the writer's labour? No one, we presume, questions that the universe may be accounted for by all the inner forces and all the outer forces that have gone towards its production. To call all the inner forces Evolution and go to your imagination for a description of their mode of action, and to call all the outer forces Environment and leave it undefined, is to give an explanation which explains nothing, and 'the reconstruction of the ultimate' remains as unattainable as ever.

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ART. VIII.—PSEUDO-MOZARABIC OFFICES.

1. *Oficios Divinos y Administracion de los Sacramentos y otras Ordenanzas en la Iglesia Española.* (Madrid, 1881.)
2. *Oficios Divinos y Administracion de los Sacramentos y otros Ritos en la Iglesia Española Reformada.* (Madrid, 1889.)
3. *The Revised Prayer Book of the Reformed Spanish Church* [As Authorised by the Synod of that Church, May 1889]. Translated by R. S. C., with an Introduction by the Most Rev. LORD PLUNKET, D.D., Archbishop of Dublin. (Dublin, 1889.)

LITURGICAL scholars who look upon their study with an eye to practical requirements must always be disposed to sympathize with honest and straightforward attempts to recover for the service of the Church liturgies, or even portions of liturgies, which in the lapse of centuries have fallen out of use. Such attempts are welcomed in proportion as they are felt to be real; and as they show a sincere desire for a true restoration upon ancient lines, and give evidence of being based upon a sound knowledge of, and respect for, Christian antiquities. For the books now lying before us a claim is made that they are based upon the Mozarabic rite. It may, of course, be remarked that even if the claim to be based upon the Mozarabic liturgy be established, it will not of necessity follow that these liturgical books must be orthodox. The Arian liturgy of Dr. Samuel Clarke published in 1774 is no doubt based upon the Book of Common Prayer; but it would not for a moment be accepted by any who are not Socinians. Yet those best acquainted with the Mozarabic liturgy may perhaps be a little surprised to find the Mozarabic avowedly taken as the basis of a Protestant liturgy. It is the most complicated and hard to unravel of all the ancient liturgies; and, one would think, the least fitted of all to serve as a basis for simple Protestant worship. There is also nothing in its doctrines which favours the errors of the sectaries of the sixteenth or nineteenth centuries; it has been more than once approved by the authorities of the Roman Church; but some sort of hope that this rite may be found to countenance the doctrines of Zwingli and Calvin is, we fancy, at the root of its patronage by the sects in Mexico and elsewhere. It has not been suspected that the doctrines of the Real Presence and

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of the sacrifice in the Eucharist, of the regeneration of the infant by baptism, with the practice of prayers for the departed, of fasting, and the public reading of the Deutérocanonical books of the Old Testament may all be found in the Mozarabic liturgy, not only as it has come down to us at the present day, but in the earliest accounts of it that we meet with in the Spanish Fathers. A liturgy containing such doctrines and practices is not likely to meet with much approbation from Protestant Dissenters in England and elsewhere; and when it becomes known to them that such are its contents, a reaction may not unnaturally be looked for.

To gain a satisfactory acquaintance with the Mozarabic liturgy the student must of necessity betake himself to the original sources, whether in manuscript or in print. One of the earliest and most important accounts of it is in the treatise *De Ecclesiasticis Officiis* of St. Isidore of Seville, who died in A.D. 636, a work which has been often reprinted.[1] Another valuable source of information is the collection of the canons of early Spanish councils which have been brought together by John Pien in his treatise on the Mozarabic liturgy;[2] last and most valuable of all are the Missal and Breviary of the Mozarabic liturgy which were first printed by Cardinal Ximenes in 1500 and 1502 respectively. These are now extraordinarily rare. Mr. Weale in his *Catalogus Missalium* in 1886 was able to collect only ten copies of the Missal; but there are many more than these to be found in libraries in different parts of Europe. The Ximenian editions, however, though extremely important, are not absolute necessities to the Mozarabic ritualist. The Missal was reprinted at Rome in 1755 with great care by Alexander Leslie, an Aberdeenshire man: and again by Arevalo at the same place in 1804, at the expense of Cardinal Lorenzana. This cardinal had previously reprinted at Madrid in 1775 an edition of the Breviary, said to be not so accurate: and published also a little book for the use of the Mozarabic chapel in Toledo with the title: *Missa Gothica seu Mozarabica* (Angelopoli, 1770.) This latter was reprinted in 1875 at Toledo. In 1883 the bulk of this edition was kept under the fixed seats attached to the wall in the Mozarabic chapel in Toledo, and a copy brought out when a customer appeared. It is not a

[1] We have used Arevalo's edition of St. Isidore, published at Rome at the end of the last century.

[2] In Jos. Bianchini's edition of the Blessed Cardinal Tommasi (*Opera Omnia*, Romæ, 1741, t. i. p. i). See also the Bollandist *Acta Sanctorum*, St. James's Day, July 25.

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Mozarabic Missal, as the Archbishop of Dublin would appear to believe,[1] but it contains one Mass, that of the festival of St. James the Great, and the Little Hours as said in the Mozarabic chapel; so that it partakes of a hybrid character, partly Missal and partly Breviary.

Unfortunately, manuscripts of the Mozarabic rite are rare; and Lorenzana by his description of them (Breviary, 1775, preface, p. ix) encourages the idea that they cannot be readily deciphered. Such Mozarabic manuscripts, however, as we have seen, are written in a clear large Gothic hand and could be transcribed with very small experience in palæography. Such ancient manuscripts, it is true, are not easily to be found in Spain. The Spaniards seem greatly to enjoy the sport known at our oldest public school as πέμπε; and Father Dreves also sadly describes his wanderings from one Spanish chapter library to another, sent on fruitless errands, under a burning sun, in search of manuscripts.[2] In the last century Father Burriel (a member of the Society of Jesus, to which order the Mozarabic rite is under very great obligations) prepared a fresh edition from manuscripts, especially those in the Toledo chapter library, which appear to have furnished the basis of the Ximenian editions. His transcript and notes are still preserved in the National Library at Madrid, and they extend over many folio volumes. They do not, however, seem to have been consulted by Señor Cabrera; he would have found in these collations material that would have been very useful for a book honestly based upon the ancient Mozarabic manuscripts; but he has contented himself by repeating the remarks of Lorenzana that the Mozarabic manuscripts are incomplete and occasionally illegible, as an excuse for not having availed himself of information that lay close at hand in Madrid.

To show the harvest that may be reaped by a diligent worker among the Mozarabic manuscripts we may point out that within the last two years an important addition to our knowledge of Mozarabic liturgical books has been made by Dom German Morin, who has published a lectionary of the Church of Toledo, written, it would appear, in the eleventh century. With it is also a Spanish calendar of nearly the same date.[3]

It is still an open question whether indeed the Ximenian

[1] *Guardian*, January 2, 1895, p. 9, col. ii.

[2] Guido Maria Dreves, *Hymnodia Hiberica, spanische Hymnen des Mittelalters* (Leipzig, 1894), 'Vorwort,' p. 6.

[3] *Liber Comicus sive Lectionarius Missæ quo Toletana Ecclesia ante*

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editions have been much interpolated. Eugenio de Robles,[1] writing only a hundred years after Ximenes, suggested that the Missal had been interpolated from the Romano-Toletan Mass book formerly in use in the diocese of Toledo, a book which bore the same relation to the pure Roman rite that our Sarum book did. This idea was taken up by the well-known French ritualist Pierre Le Brun,[2] and he thought it possible to separate the pure Mozarabic from the interpolated *Ordo Missæ* of Ximenes by taking out all that was common to the book of Ximenes and the Romano-Toletan Missal. He also rejects the Ximenian rubrics and certain other parts on internal evidence. But his results must be accepted with caution, though he has been followed by writers like Leslie and Dr. Neale.

For further comparison we have also the documents of the Old Gallican liturgy which is so closely akin to the Mozarabic that some writers have asserted that the two are identical. Whether, indeed, they be the same is a question that is open to dispute; but that they are very closely allied must be admitted by all. Abbé Duchesne in his *Origines du Culte Chrétien* supplies at once from the Mozarabic the lacunæ that occur in the Old Gallican, and *vice versa*.

Looking back upon our sources of information upon the Mozarabic rite it will be well to remember that we have only the printed Missal and Breviary as texts of the liturgy: that is, we have only the forms for the services corresponding to the celebration of the Holy Eucharist, and the choir offices. For the other sacraments or sacramentals, such as baptism, confirmation, orders, consecration of churches, matrimony, extreme unction and visitation of the sick, burial of the dead, or other Christian rites there exist no printed Mozarabic *formulæ*. Keeping these facts in view, let us now consider the Reformed Prayer Books the titles of which are given at the head of this article.

Of the English version of Señor Cabrera's book we fear we can say but little in praise. If read aloud in England it would be enough, as the French say, *à faire fendre les fenêtres*. As an instance of the diligence with which it follows the rules of grammar we may note that hardly an opportunity has been missed, when translating, of dividing the infinitive and inserting an adverb. A moderate acquaintance with eccle-

annos mille et ducentos utebatur, edidit D. Germanus Morin, Maredsoli, 1893, in *Anecdota Maredsolana*, vol. i.

[1] *Compendio de la Vida . . . Ximenez de Cisneros.* Toledo, 1604.

[2] *Explication de la Messe*, Diss. v. Art. iii. (Paris, 1777, t. iii. p. 307.)

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siastical terms is shown. 'Témporas' may be found to be 'ember day' in any Spanish dictionary: yet on p. 270 it is left untranslated. 'Las ofrendas' is translated 'offertory,' though it may be noted that Señor Cabrera has himself led the way by altering 'colectas para los pobres,' a perfectly simple and correct expression in the book of 1881, into 'ofertorios' in 1889. Before the proper collects, prophecies, Epistles and Gospels (p. 166) we are told that 'the choice has been made by Señor Cabrera, having before him the Mozarabic, Anglican, and Roman Breviaries.' It will be news to many of our readers that Breviaries contain the Epistles and Gospels of the Sunday. Those collects in the English Book of Common Prayer which we all know make their first appearance in history in the Gelasian or Gregorian Sacramentaries are simply labelled 'Anglican:' and altogether it must be owned that the edition does not give a very high idea of the learning and scholarship which surround the archiepiscopal throne of Dublin. Even Lord Plunket himself[1] admits that the rendering is in places 'somewhat slovenly.'

Before approaching details, the principles on which the Spanish books claim to be compiled may be noted. On the forefront of all the editions we find as their motto the words from the prophet: 'Stand ye in the ways, and see, and ask for the old paths, where is the good way, and walk therein.' So that at the very beginning of the book we are led to expect a most scrupulous regard for Christian antiquity. Clearly nothing but what is sanctioned by the old customs of the Church of St. Isidore will be admitted, if the motto be any indication of the contents of the book. In the 'preliminary observations' before the offices begin, we are promised also a rite characteristic of the ancient Mozarabic liturgy; but it may be well to let Señor Cabrera speak for himself about his work:

'It was natural, therefore, that we should resort to the old Spanish Rite, and this we have done. But the difficulties have been great. Existing ancient manuscripts are few in number, incomplete, and occasionally illegible, and the Breviary and Missal arranged and published by order of Cardinal Ximenes de Cisneros, besides containing many things of modern invention, do not supply all the materials necessary for the formation of a complete Book of Offices, seeing they lack such as refer to the Sacraments and other Christian rites usually incorporated in Rituals and Pontificals.

'In the careful examination of these documents we have found abundant materials for certain Formularies ['Fórmulas'] but an

[1] *Guardian*, Jan. 23, 1895, p. 137, col. i.

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almost entire absence of matter for other essential Offices; hence, to complete our work, we have resorted ['nos hemos visto precisados á recurrir'] to the Formularies of Reformed Churches, and frequently to the Word of God itself.

'With these fountains before us, and drinking from all of them, we have compiled the present Book of Offices, which, while not differing from the general character exhibited by the Liturgies of the Reformed Churches, retains the characteristics and peculiar traits of the old Spanish or Mozarabic Rite' (pp. 2 and 3).

In the Spanish edition of 1889 on p. 2 it runs thus:

'El presente Libro de Oficios, que sin desdecir de carácter general que ostentan hoy los de las Iglesias reformadas, *conserva los rasgos característicos y peculiares del antiguo Rito Español ó Muzárabe*' [in edition of 1881, p. ix. it runs: 'todos los rasgos característicos . . . Muzárabe, que son compatibles con la Palabra de Dios'].

The writer seems certainly to wish us to understand that his book preserves the main characteristics of the Mozarabic rite: that its backbone, in short, is Mozarabic. And this seems to be the interpretation put upon his words by the Archbishop of Dublin in his preface to the English version. On p. xvii his Grace heads a section with the words: 'The Mozarabic Rite taken as a model,' and adds: 'That, to a considerable extent, these offices do reflect the more striking features of the Mozarabic Rite, will, I think, be generally admitted.' Such, indeed, has been generally asserted by the supporters of Señor Cabrera in these islands. A correspondent of the *Guardian*, (Oct. 24, 1894, p. 1669, col. iii.) writing under the name of 'Zenas,' complains that it has been said that the English Prayer Book has been taken as the basis of Señor Cabrera's book; he asserts on the contrary that 'the whole construction of the services is quite different, and any one will see who studies the book that the Mozarabic rite, a national Spanish liturgy, and not the English Prayer Book, is the basis on which the book is constructed.'

So, too, the address of certain Nonconformist ministers to the Archbishop of Dublin says, speaking of Señor Cabrera and his followers:

'These men have set before their minds as their model their own early Spanish Church, with the Scriptures in the vernacular, with its ancient pure Mozarabic Liturgy, and its democratic episcopal government. . . . Where existing forms, hallowed by centuries of use, can be made the channels of Gospel truth, and of grace, their retention is not only justifiable but desirable.' [1]

Archdeacon Farrar, in a vehement oration in support of

[1] *Times*, Friday, February 1, 1895, p. 7, col. iv.

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the Archbishop of Dublin in the Lower House of the Convocation of Canterbury, stated that the Spanish Reformed Prayer Book 'was based on the ancient national Mozarabic use, and was closely assimilated to our own.'[1] How these two characters can possibly coexist, the learned Archdeacon did not explain; but it may be remembered that eloquence rarely condescends to be exact and scientific.[2]

In view of these statements by Señor Cabrera, the Archbishop of Dublin, and other of his supporters it would seem that it would not be displeasing to them if an inquirer after the new Reformed community were led to the belief that in the Spanish Prayer Book he had a tolerably accurate representation of the services used in Spain in early times: and that in taking his child to be baptized or confirmed, or when he went to be married, or when he took his dead to be buried, much the same services would be used by Señor Cabrera as those that were used in Spain during the first thousand years after Christ. If he were to act on this belief, and should afterwards learn the true state of the case, he would certainly be greatly disappointed. We have already said that we have the printed Mozarabic forms only for the Eucharist and the choir offices; and of the thirty or more offices contained in Señor Cabrera's book only one can be said to show any characteristics and peculiar traits of the Mozarabic rite; and even in this one instance the office is greatly interpolated with Anglican forms. The great majority are the Anglican offices,[3] usually, it must be said, changed for the worse, set between *formulæ* taken from various parts of the Mozarabic Missal and Breviary, which have no connexion with baptism or confirmation, churching of women or matrimony, visitation of the sick or burial of the dead. The Mozarabic rite has been used as a source whence the fringe or trimmings of the offices might be derived, but not for the purpose of supplying their principal material, or even of

[1] *Guardian*, February 13, 1895, p. 252, col. iii.

[2] The Archdeacon seems to have been upset by the title Señor Cabrera instead of Bishop Cabrera; but an English bishop without a see or a doctor's degree would very properly be called Mr. So and So. This snatching at petty titles is a note, it may be believed, of the democratic spirit of the end of the nineteenth century. We talk of President Jones, Senator Robinson, and Canon Smith when our forefathers would have said plain Mr. So and So. Every Roman Catholic priest delights as much to call himself a monsignor as an Anglican clergyman rejoices in the possession of an honorary canonry.

[3] By 'Anglican offices' is meant the offices in the Book of Common Prayer, or offices derived from that book, as are the Irish or American offices.

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regulating their form. As a matter of fact the Mozarabic elements in all these offices might be taken away, and yet the provision made for things essential to the rite would remain almost untouched.

There are, however, in these offices certain small and unimportant features borrowed from the Mozarabic rite, of which much has been made, as they are likely to attract attention from those who are acquainted only with the Roman or the Anglican services. For example, instead of 'Glory be to the Father,' &c., as we have it, the Mozarabic rite has 'Glory and honour to the Father,' &c. This feature, absolutely unimportant in itself, yet certain to attract the notice of those who meet with it for the first time, has been most carefully preserved all through Señor Cabrera's book. So, too, the Mozarabic priest says 'The Lord be ever with you' and not merely 'The Lord be with you.' The collects, if we may call them so, have a double ending, with two Amens. These trifles, it will be owned by all, are not the characteristics of a liturgy. They find a place very properly in a restoration, but they do not confer upon the service in which they are found a Spanish character. 'Glory and honour to the Father,' &c., is found, for example, in the Bangor Antiphoner, which is of Irish origin, and elsewhere.

Some of these little Mozarabic peculiarities are noticed while others escape. In *Te Deum* special attention is drawn to the fact that an extra verse is added to the end of the usual text. That the ending of *Te Deum* varies considerably in the old texts is well known to liturgical students. So also the Mozarabic text contains a prayer to God to vouchsafe to keep us this day without *tribulation* and without sin; but though interesting, the fact is of no great practical importance. But another variation, found as far as we know in every printed Mozarabic *Te Deum*, has not been noted, and its omission shows a certain amount of carelessness or want of information, in view of the emphasis set on the other small variations. All the old texts, it is well known, read 'gloria munerari,' not 'gloria numerari;' it is 'in gloria munerari' in the Breviary of Lorenzana (p. cxxvii). Señor Cabrera has: 'sean contados en el número de tus santos' (p. 43), a translation of the modern Roman or Anglican text. Is there a doctrinal objection to the expression 'rewarded'? Then again it is carefully pointed out that the text of *Gloria in Excelsis* follows that of the Mozarabic Mass (see Leslie, p. 221), the same as that of the Roman Mass, and probably borrowed from the Romano-Toletan Mass book; but Señor Cabrera

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has passed by the real text of the Mozarabic *Gloria in Excelsis*, differing both from the Anglican and Roman texts, though it lay before him in the Breviary (Lorenzana, p. cxxvii). It is claimed for the Spanish that it is a literal translation of the text in the Missal; but can 'on earth peace, goodwill towards men' ('en la tierra paz, buena voluntad para con los hombres') be a literal translation of 'Et in terra pax hominibus bonæ voluntatis'? A like obedience to Anglican forms is, however, not seen in the Nicene Creed, where the Church is acknowledged to be 'one, holy, catholic and apostolic,' though the 'Filioque' has been retained.

But leaving these textual variations, let us examine some of the 'offices' themselves. Let us consider the office for the initial sacrament of baptism. Señor Cabrera's 'Office for the Administration of Holy Baptism to Infants' begins with a few versicles and a prayer duly labelled 'Mozarabic.'[1] These, we find, are taken, not from any baptismal office, but from the office of Lauds on the Thursday after the fourth Sunday in Lent.[2] Then an anthem, 'Suffer little children,' is sung, immediately followed (rather late in the proceedings) by the Prayer Book question: 'Hath this child been already baptized or no?' At this point come two addresses containing reminiscences from the English Prayer Book, followed by a long prayer labelled 'New,' and having no points of likeness to the Anglican 'Almighty and everlasting God' and 'Almighty and immortal God,' which clearly do not contain doctrine sound enough for Señor Cabrera, though the former of these prayers is attributed to Dr. Martin Luther.[3] Then come the baptismal questions: 'Do ye acknowledge in the name of this child that he is bound to renounce the devil?' a strange form which runs through all the remaining questions 'adapted from the Anglican.' But now we come to an instructive and important part of Señor Cabrera's baptismal service: the blessing of the font. In the English Prayer Book, it is well known, the blessing of the font is claimed as proof that the Reformers were acquainted with the Mozarabic Missal. The passage in the Missal on Easter Even[4] is indeed singularly like that set in the First Prayer Book of Edward VI. for the blessing of the font: and it might have been thought that

[1] The sources, Mozarabic, Irvingite, Irish, Cabrera, Anglican, Swiss, Portuguese, 'Gallican,' New, are given in the margin of the Dublin translation, but not in the Spanish original.

[2] Lorenzana, Breviary, p. 276.

[3] See *Das tauff buchlin verdeutscht durch Mart. Luther* in Aem. L. Richter, *Die evangelischen Kirchenordnungen* (Leipzig, 1871) Bd. i. p. 7.

[4] Leslie, Missal, p. 188.

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Señor Cabrera, closely following the Anglican rite in its order if in nothing else, might have been attracted by this little bit which the Anglican Reformers seem to have borrowed from the Mozarabic Missal. But no: the blessing is rejected for a new composition of Señor Cabrera's own, which is not a prayer for the blessing of the water, but for a blessing on the ordinance. It does not seem that either the Book of Common Prayer or the Mozarabic Missal is here in complete harmony with the views of Señor Cabrera, and this may be one of the instances of which he speaks in which the Mozarabic liturgy (and perhaps the Anglican) and with it all Christian antiquity are to be held as inconsistent with the Word of God.

Then comes the actual baptism. Nothing is said of trine or single immersion: and yet single immersion is a characteristic of the Mozarabic rite. It was ordered as a protest against Arianism by the fourth Council of Toledo, and such a national characteristic, one would think, should have found some notice in a book which exhorts us to 'look for the old paths and keep in them.'

After baptism has been administered we have a maimed following of the Prayer Book: 'We receive this child into the fold of the Good Shepherd, and do sign him,' &c. There is no 'Seeing now, dearly beloved, that this child is regenerate;' but: 'Brethren, let us now give thanks unto God, and with one heart and voice say the prayer which the Lord Himself hath taught us,' and the Lord's Prayer is then said in the Mozarabic manner, with 'Amen' after each petition. Then a prayer is said, 'adapted from Anglican and Gallican' which we hardly recognize; it avoids the returning of thanks for regeneration and incorporation into the Church. Then comes one of the Mozarabic benedictions and an address of Señor Cabrera's own, which ends the office.

This can hardly be called an unfair specimen of Señor Cabrera's method of constructing a 'Mozarabic office.' He takes two Mozarabic *formulæ*, say a prayer or a benediction from the Missal or Breviary, of a perfectly neutral and colourless complexion, with only a distant reference to the matter in hand, be it baptism, matrimony, or some other rite, and sets these *formulæ* at the beginning and the end of his service. He then takes the Anglican office, and, when necessary (as in the baptismal office), carefully weeding it of the sacramental or sacerdotal teaching of the Church of England, he inserts the mutilated Anglican office between the Mozarabic beginning and end. The casual reader takes up the service and sees it labelled Mozarabic at the beginning and end;

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and a chance Lord's Prayer in the middle also, for the book claims as Mozarabic most of the *formulæ* common to all Christians; and the reader thinks that he is dealing with a service the basis of which is Mozarabic. He is not distinctly told that the *formulæ* labelled Mozarabic come, not from a baptismal, matrimonial, or funeral Mozarabic office; but from some service, say, for the week days after the Epiphany, or in Lent. A certain reserve, an economy, in imparting information has been practised here. It would certainly have been more open and straightforward if the sources of the Mozarabic *formulæ* had been plainly given, and the reader told that they did not come from a corresponding Mozarabic office.

This baptismal office also shows very plainly the disregard that Señor Cabrera has for the antiquities of his own Church and nation. For none other of the occasional offices are there, perhaps, better materials known than for the restoration of the ancient Mozarabic baptismal office. St. Isidore in his second book devotes five chapters to the description of the Spanish baptism. There is a work by St. Ildephonsus of Seville, *De Cognitione Baptismi*, which contains large fragments of a much earlier work by St. Justinian; and there are also some canons of the Toletan councils on this subject; but there is no evidence in Señor Cabrera's book that he has so much as looked at these early Spanish authorities. It has been already said that the Old Gallican liturgy is a sister rite to, if not absolutely identical with, the Mozarabic: and in the Old Gallican liturgy there is a full baptismal service,[1] which might have served for the office without alteration or borrowing. It contains, it is true, the section for the blessing of the font identical with that passage in the Mozarabic Missal which the Anglican Reformers adopted, but which Señor Cabrera has rejected. With this disregard of antiquity before us we may form some opinion upon the value of the statement made by the Nonconformist ministers addressing the Archbishop of Dublin: that 'these men [the Spanish Protestants] have set before their minds as their model their own early Spanish Church.'

If space would allow it, we might go in the same manner with the same result over the rest of Señor Cabrera's pseudo-Mozarabic offices. To take one or two more instances of neglect of Mozarabic offices when they lay close at hand:

[1] G. H. Forbes, *Ancient Liturgies of the Gallican Church* (Burntisland, 1858), pp. 188, 267. See also J. Mabillon, *De Liturgia Gallicana* (Lut. Parisior. 1685), p. 362.

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there is an *officium infirmorum* in the Mozarabic Breviary[1] which one would have thought might have furnished matter for Señor Cabrera's 'Visitation of the Sick.' That, however, is a mixture of 'adaptations from the Anglican' and of Señor Cabrera; and we find that the Mozarabic benediction at the end is taken from the Friday after the Octave of the Epiphany.[2]

The *Agenda Mortuorum* of the Mozarabic Breviary being composed mainly of the Psalms and Holy Scripture might have given, it may be thought very properly and reasonably, a good many hints for 'the Order for the Burial of Adults' to Señor Cabrera. Yet it does not seem that he has altered his usual methods of construction in this case. The grace before meat of the Mozarabic Breviary[3] has been followed; but the prayer has been mutilated ('ut per manus Sancti Angeli tui sanctificata' has been left out), because it contains a reference to the ministry of a holy angel, who may be, indeed, the Holy Ghost Himself, for in ancient liturgies the word 'Angelus' is not unfrequently a title of the Third Person of the Holy Trinity.

Certainly one of the more striking features of the Mozarabic rite is its division of the ecclesiastical year; and a very small amount of acquaintance with the Mozarabic Missal and Breviary will show how greatly the Spanish Christian year differs from that of any other Church. To begin with Advent. The Mozarabic Advent extends over six Sundays before Christmas, a feature which might very appropriately have been reproduced in Señor Cabrera's book. But for some motive or other the Roman number of four Sundays only has been retained. So with the Sundays after Epiphany: the Spaniards formerly had eight, with no Septuagesima, or Sexagesima, or Quinquagesima; only one Sunday immediately before Lent began, *ante carnes tollendas*. Señor Cabrera has six Sundays after the Epiphany, with Septuagesima, Sexagesima, and Quinquagesima, following the Roman calendar. With these arrangements for the Christian year it has not been possible for Señor Cabrera to follow the old Mozarabic distribution of Scripture in the prophetical lesson, Epistle, and Gospel; at all events it has not been done throughout, as was quite feasible. In one place we notice that Leslie's suggestion that the services for the Sundays in Lent have been misplaced has been taken up as to the Lenten Gospels: but the necessary result of this action should have been the

[1] Lorenzana, Breviary, p. cxlv.
[2] *Ibid.* p. 105.
[3] *Ibid.* p. cxliv.

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omission of Ash Wednesday, which has never been kept in the Ambrosian rite, and it is plainly of recent introduction into the Mozarabic. The Anglican Epistles seem to have been the source of Señor Cabrera's Epistles in many cases, to the neglect of the Mozarabic; while the discarding by Señor Cabrera of that part of the Anglican 6th Article of Religion which teaches that the Deutero-canonical books are read by the Church for example of life and instruction of manners has brought about a rejection of the old Mozarabic distribution of the prophetical lessons, which again has caused a positive diminution in the amount of Scripture read; for the old rite had two prophetical lessons during Lent, and Señor Cabrera has only one. As early as St. Isidore the Apocrypha has supplied lessons for the Spanish Church service: and a canon of the Fourth Council of Toledo orders that the Song of the Three Children shall be sung every Sunday, an ancient custom which it says some have begun to neglect. Señor Cabrera is, however, much wiser than these ancient Fathers; and has purged his Prayer Book of *Benedicite*. Does he think it is superstitious, or 'contrary to the Word of God'? Better teaching than this hymn against the prevalent Manicheanism of the day could not be imagined.

In the Mozarabic Missal the Sundays after Pentecost are no more than seven in number. Most likely when the seventh Sunday was reached, the Mass for the first Sunday was repeated, the series being begun again. But Señor Cabrera not only names his summer Sundays 'after Trinity' but supplies full services for twenty-six Sundays, the Epistles and Gospels of which correspond with those in the Irish Prayer Book.

What Mozarabic authority Señor Cabrera has for keeping Ember days is not set forth. St. Isidore makes no mention of them,[1] nor do they appear in the printed books of Cardinal Ximenes. There are, indeed, fasts of three or four days each at certain times in the year: we may mention those of the calends of January, four days before the Epiphany, those of three days before Pentecost, before the 14th of September, which is the feast of St. Cyprian, and before the 11th of November, the feast of St. Martin; but these are not the days on which the fasts of the four seasons are kept. The fact is that this is only one of the many points in which Señor Cabrera has introduced Roman details and paid no heed to the ancient Mozarabic calendar. One, printed by Francis de Pisa in 1595, has been reproduced by Alexander Leslie in his edition of

[1] There is no mention of the Ember days even in the severe monastic rule of fasting in cap. xi. of St. Isidore's *Regula Monachorum*.

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the Mozarabic Missal (p. 629). Its age would seem to be considerable: for it contains no feast of the Exaltation of the Holy Cross on September 14; only St. Cyprian is commemorated on that day.[1]

But, as we have said, this calendar seems to have furnished no hints to Señor Cabrera. Señor Cabrera keeps the Annunciation on March 25; the early Spanish calendar kept it on December 18. The early Mozarabic calendar, with the Easterns, commemorated, most appropriately, St. James, the brother of the Lord, in the Christmas week; Señor Cabrera commemorates him, in the Roman fashion, with St. Philip on May 1. The early Mozarabic calendar has no feast of the Purification, or of St. Mark, SS. Philip and James, St. Barnabas, or of the Transfiguration; but these are noted by Señor Cabrera's book according to the Roman fashion. No services are, however, provided for these days; only a collect is to be recited before the collect of the day. There are no special prophetical lessons, Epistles, and Gospels as there are in the Mozarabic Missal for feast days. And we may be thankful for what we have, for in the edition of 1881 there was not even this collect, or any mention of the festivals of the martyrs.

The refusal to adopt the old Mozarabic calendar is an instance of the bondage of Señor Cabrera to the new Irish Prayer Book or the American calendar. There seems to be no reason why a calendar based upon the Roman should be adopted by a 'Reformed Spanish Church.' If any pretence of following Spanish antiquity be made, the ancient Mozarabic calendar ought certainly to be followed.

Further, nowhere in the calendar given by Señor Cabrera, and in no place in the book, do we find any hint that there is such a thing as the Christian duty of fasting. In the calendar the festivals of the Church of Ireland, supplemented by the Transfiguration from the American book, are given, but there is no list of festivals or fasts after the calendar, nor is the weekly fast of Friday or Saturday ever mentioned. Now in the ancient Spanish Church both the Friday, in remembrance of the Passion, and the Saturday, in remembrance of our Lord's lying in the sepulchre, were kept as fasts.[2] St.

[1] Cf. the calendar published by Dom German Morin in *Liber Comicus*.

[2] Friday was a fast day in Spain as early as A.D. 268. St. Fructuosus, Bishop of Tarragona, when led forth to be burnt on a Friday, refused a cup of wine because the time for breaking the fast was not yet come (Bollandist *Acta SS.* January, ii. 704). The Synod of Elvira (canon 26) held about A.D. 300 objected to fasting on Saturday, apparently a custom then prevalent.

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Isidore[1] says the former was kept by some, the latter by most. Can any claim be made for Señor Cabrera that he takes the ancient Spanish Church as his model when there is no word in his book of a duty so universal and so prominent in primitive times as that of fasting?

We will now pass to the Eucharistic office compiled by Señor Cabrera; for we must not leave these Reformed Prayer Books without some examination of the order which they supply for 'the Administration of the Lord's Supper or Holy Communion;' especially as this is the service where we might most of all expect some real attempt to be made to take the ancient Spanish rite as a model, and to exhibit its characteristic features. It does, indeed, contain some traces of the Mozarabic rite: but its form, as regards its most essential parts, seems to be based on other models. This will appear plainly enough from an examination of the service in detail.

In the first place it is ordered in the 'Preliminary Observations' (§ vi.) that 'pure bread and wine are to be used in the Holy Communion' ('el pan y vino puros:' 1889. 'el pan puro y el vino sin mezcla:' 1881). Does the rubric of 1889 allow that water may be mixed with the chalice? There ought to be no need to ask such a question if the practice of the ancient Spanish Church or indeed of the Universal Church had been considered. St. Isidore gives the Spanish custom distinctly. Quoting from St. Cyprian, he says: 'calix dominicus vino et aqua mixtus offertur;'[2] and from the Mozarabic Missal it is plain enough that water is to be used.[3] Yet here there is a doubt about the sanction of an ancient and wide-spread custom that may be called Catholic if anything can be called Catholic. Then leave is given to communicate, apparently, in any posture; kneeling is only allowed 'so long as this act is not performed as an adoration of the elements, or of a *supposed presence of the Body and Blood of Christ in them or with them.*' There is no statement like this in the Mozarabic rite. St. Isidore teaches us: 'Panis quem frangimus Corpus Christi est.'[4] As to holy places (§ viii.) there is a direction that 'at the Holy Communion there should be a Table (*una sola Mesa*) in the Chancel, not placed against the wall, but at a distance from it, so that the ministrant may stand between the Table and the wall, facing the Congregation.'

Much stress has been laid upon the direction that the

[1] *De Officiis*, lib. I. cap. xliii.
[2] *De Officiis*, I. xviii. 4
[3] Leslie, p. 219.
[4] *Loc. cit.* § 3.

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ministrant is to stand at 'the Table' facing the congregation: and in the English version a note is added that 'this instruction is in accordance with the ancient Mozarabic usage.' The authority for this statement has been asked for; and the only evidence that was produced was a statement of Lorenzana, who, puzzled to account for the absence of many directions to turn to the people in the Mozarabic rubrics, suggested the hypothesis that in Spain, as in the Roman basilicas at the present day, the celebrant faced the congregation.[1] Based upon quite as good facts as those of Lorenzana is the explanation given by Mr. G. G. Scott of the same phenomena in the Roman rite, where, after the offertory, the priest is no longer bidden to turn to the people when saluting or addressing them. It is this: that the altar being shrouded in veils, and the celebrant thus hidden, it was a matter of indifference which way the celebrant turned.[2] But until it had been distinctly proved that the Roman basilican was the Spanish custom in the early centuries, no one had a right to assume the hypothesis of Lorenzana and still less to act upon it. It must first of all be shown that the Spaniards always had the same custom as at Rome in this matter, a proposition that will be hard to demonstrate. In the catacombs, which are earlier than the basilicas, the altars are so placed that the celebrant could only have stood before what we call the long west side of the altar, and the celebrant must have stood in the same direction as the congregation while celebrating the Eucharist. So little was what we call the basilican custom invariable in the early Church.

Besides, the evidence of St. Isidore and the earlier Councils is rather against than in favour of this view of Lorenzana. St. Isidore speaks of the priest standing before the altar ('Unde et Ecclesiasticus liber scribit stantem sacerdotem ante aram, et in circuitu eius coronas fratrum,' *De Offic.* I. iii. 2) where the Vulgate (*Eccles.* l. 13) uses the expression 'iuxta aram.' Further the Fourth Council of Toledo orders that the priest and deacon shall communicate 'ante altare,' the clerks in the

[1] Lorenzana, *Missa Gothica seu Mozarabica* (Angelopoli, 1770), p. 132 (of the first pagination). There is also another commentator who asserts the same thing as Lorenzana, but he is apparently unknown to the supporters of Señor Cabrera, who again show a want of acquaintance with the whole case. (See F. J. Hernandez de Viera, *Rúbricas generales de la Missa Gothica-Muzarabe* (Salamanca, 1772), pp. lxlviii and lxlix). He adds nothing, however, to the argument, merely repeating the statements of Lorenzana, whom he often quotes.

[2] G. G. Scott, jun., *An Essay on the History of English Church Architecture* (London, 1881), p. 14.

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choir, the people outside the choir. It may be asserted that 'ante' has here only the value of 'iuxta' or 'coram,' but it would seem to have a more definite sense. Besides, in Spain the analogy with the Roman basilicas fails; for the earliest Spanish churches, those built during the predominance of the Mozarabic rite, have square ends,[1] and not apses, as the Roman basilicas and mediæval Spanish churches have; and the chances are somewhat against a local Roman practice being Mozarabic. But supposing these considerations be put aside, it shows a certain lack of judgment to adopt an important ceremony on the mere *ipse dixit* of a commentator, without further evidence, or weighing of the question. In all likelihood, however, we should have heard as little of Lorenzana's opinion in this matter as in a good many others where he has expressed a much more decided view, if his hypothesis had not chanced to favour the practice very often adopted, we believe, at Presbyterian Communion tables. Was it known to Señor Cabrera that it is also the practice followed to this day by the Pope and his cardinals when they say Mass at the high altar of St. Peter's?

A white tunic or surplice may be worn by 'the Minister who officiates at Public Worship' (§ x.) and 'a band or stole' by a presbyter or deacon; but 'every other ecclesiastical vestment or ornament shall be excluded' except the black gown for preaching and funerals. This is precise: but what then is the 'episcopal habit' prescribed by the service for the consecration of bishops? and what are these rumours of 'Mozarabic copes' worn by Señor Cabrera? The word 'cope,' however, in some mouths, has an exceedingly elastic meaning.

We may next consider the text of Señor Cabrera's Communion service, which has claims greater than those of the other offices to be based upon the Mozarabic liturgy. Now, if we had been asked what were the characteristics and peculiar traits that distinguished the Mozarabic Mass from all others, Eastern and Western, we should have replied, first of all, the extraordinary fulness and abundance of the variable parts of the Mass, so that the fixed and unchanging part of the liturgy is but small. Even the prayer of consecration varies from day to day, only the paragraph containing the words of institution being invariable. Now of this daily variation of the Mass, characteristic of the Mozarabic, if anything be characteristic, we can perceive but little in Señor

[1] Smith and Cheetham, *Dictionary of Christian Antiquities*, i. 384, *s.v.* 'Church.'

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Cabrera's Communion service. The variables are small in number; they are what he calls the introit ('officium' in the Mozarabic book) the three Scripture lessons, the laud (a thanksgiving after the Gospel) the collect (said after the offertory and before *Sursum corda*) the illation (our proper preface) and the blessing before Communion. If it be said that a larger amount of variables would render the service unwieldy and impracticable, the answer at once is that the Mozarabic Mass is this in its very nature, though if chosen and announced as a model, it should be followed without flinching. An objection, too, on the score of great variation can hardly be made by a society in which extempore prayer before sermon is allowed and even recommended.

The variable parts of the service retained by Señor Cabrera and claimed as characteristic of the Mozarabic liturgy may surprise at first by their unfamiliar names; but the things themselves when examined are soon recognized as forms by no means peculiar to Spain. An introit we most of us know; Señor Cabrera has been considerate in choosing the Roman rather than the Mozarabic name for a thing common to both rites. The prophecy, a third Scripture lesson besides the Epistle and Gospel, is not peculiar to the Mozarabic rite, but it is retained to this day in every Mass in the Ambrosian; and in the Roman rite it was formerly much more frequent than it is now. It is found also in Eastern liturgies. The Mozarabic laud is a short anthem of thanksgiving after the Gospel, and with some act of praise at this point we are most of us familiar at home. The illation is but another name for a proper preface with which formerly the Roman liturgy abounded to the same extent that the Mozarabic does. As to the place of *Gloria in Excelsis* before the service, that is by no means peculiarly Mozarabic, as a few minutes' investigation of liturgies will convince any one. It was a peculiarity of the second book of Edward VI. to move it to the end of the service, the place that it still fills in most Anglican liturgies. Of the form given to *Gloria in Excelsis* by Señor Cabrera we have already spoken.

Secondly, the Mozarabic Mass is complete and perfect in itself. There is no need to interpolate foreign elements. Even if it be admitted that it is desirable in adapting the Mass for modern use to diminish the variable parts, yet every necessary section of the service, be it Scripture lesson, collect, proper preface, or any other part, can be supplied from the ancient service itself. There is, indeed, over-abundance of material to choose from, and there are many sections as

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neutral in doctrine as the American book, that could have been used as the fixed frame, and yet no offence given to Protestant supporters. Yet what has been done? Take the central part of the service, the importance of which Señor Cabrera marks by printing in large type. It is American. There are hardly a dozen words left in it that are Mozarabic. 'Christ the Lord and Eternal Redeemer,' which introduce the words of institution, are really almost the only pure Mozarabic expressions in this section. The rest is taken from the American prayer of consecration. The words 'blessed it' after 'and giving thanks' have been introduced into the edition of 1889, in accordance with the account in the Gospels of SS. Matthew and Mark. 'Amen' was added after each consecration in 1889. We have noticed that this is the custom of the chaplains at the Mozarabic Mass at Toledo, and it is a good custom in itself, and it has most likely some ancient Mozarabic authority; for though it is not distinctly enjoined in any copies or reprints of the Ximenian edition, yet we find it in two later editions of Mozarabic books; one printed at Salamanca[1] and the other the reprint of Lorenzana's small *Missa* in 1875. St. Paul's words, not exactly as they appear in the Mozarabic, are added after the consecration, 'As often as ye eat this bread and drink this cup ye do show the Lord's death till He come from heaven in glory' ('in claritatem de celis') the last four words are an addition from the Mozarabic. We then pass into a mutilated form of the American prayer of oblation and invocation, with very important words omitted and added.

Now for this contemptuous abandonment of the Mozarabic Mass in the very centre and kernel of the Eucharistic office we can discover no reason. A choice might have been made of a Mozarabic *post sanctus*, to be followed by the Mozarabic words of institution with a *post pridie* and *Te prestante*, which would form together a Mozarabic prayer of consecration. Could not Señor Cabrera find amongst the multitude of Mozarabic *formulæ* for the prayers *post sanctus* and *post pridie* one not too pronounced in its sacramental teaching? It is a pity that he could not; for it seems to us essential for one who really took the Mozarabic liturgy as his model that no

[1] Francisc. Jacob. Hernandez de Viera, *Rúbricas generales de la Missa Gothica-Muzarabe* (Salamanca, 1772), p. lxix. Gams, in his translation, gives an 'Amen' after each consecration (*Die Kirchengeschichte von Spanien*, Regensburg, 1862, Bd. i. p. 110); Daniel, after the second consecration only (*Codex Liturgicus Ecclesiæ Romano-Catholicæ*, Lips. 1847, p. 87). Dr. Neale follows Daniel (*A History of the Holy Eastern Church*, Lond. 1850, pt. i. p. 557).

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word should be imported from foreign rites into this most sacred moment of the whole service. But this choice of American *formulæ* where Mozarabic were abundant shows a dislike and distrust of the ancient Mozarabic liturgy which is, we fear, a part of Señor Cabrera's character, while policy leads him to assure us that he has resorted to that liturgy as the foundation of his office. Señor Cabrera apologizes for being forced to borrow from foreign rites on account of the poverty of Mozarabic material for some of his offices. For his Eucharistic office such an excuse cannot be made; for he had before him superabundant material from one of the fullest and most complete of the ancient liturgies of Christendom.

The rest of the office, it must be owned, shows as little real respect for Spanish antiquity. By following the Mozarabic order, it is apparently hoped that the employment of Irish and American forms may escape observation. Offertory sentences, which do not exist in the Mozarabic liturgy, are borrowed from the Irish Prayer Book, to avoid the pollution of the passages from the Apocrypha which occur in the English Prayer Book, while the source of the offertory prayers borrowed from the Scottish liturgy is not acknowledged. The prayer for the Church militant comes after the offertory, as an intercessory prayer does come in this place in the Mozarabic; but only a few Mozarabic sentences are inserted in the Anglican form. 'Dearly beloved in the Lord,' with its decided teaching, has been cut down so that only the first sentence remains; but the Anglican confession and absolution may be recognized as the basis of Señor Cabrera's that follow the address. Even the Anglican comfortable words have been brought in between the Mozarabic 'Aures ad Dominum,' which is translated 'Hearken unto the Lord,' and 'Sursum corda': anti-liturgical influence is again shown by the omission of the Mozarabic *Benedictus* after *Sanctus*, with its 'Hagios' repeated, which is peculiar to the Mozarabic. The Creed, the Lord's Prayer, and the Benediction remain in their Mozarabic places, after consecration, though there is no rubric directing at the Creed the elaborate fraction of the bread, one of the most notable customs, not only of the Mozarabic rite, but of the liturgies of Gaul, and even of the British Isles. Nor is there any *Sancta Sanctis*, one of the most ancient and striking of *formulæ* common to the Mozarabic with the Oriental rites. The Anglican words of administration, quite peculiar to the Anglican communion, are directed to be said; and there follows an adaptation of the prayer after Communion, 'Almighty and ever-living God,' which is made to end

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up as if it were a Mozarabic prayer with the double 'Amen' and 'Through Thy mercy,' &c. The service ends with an Anglican blessing, marked Mozarabic. Señor Cabrera has been eager to expunge from his service any part upon which a slight critical suspicion rested, such as 'Adesto, adesto,' when that part favoured a doctrine which he did not accept; but he has here boldly introduced a final blessing which is not in the Ximenian text, though a final blessing has been interpolated in the two editions of the small *Missa* of Lorenzana (probably copied thence also by Hernandez in his book) suggested no doubt by the modern Roman practice. It will be seen how much we may trust to Señor Cabrera's consistency in refusing the modern and choosing the ancient.

A great deal more might be said of Señor Cabrera's treatment of the Mattins and Evensong of the Book of Common Prayer, of the English Litany,[1] of which Churchmen are justly so proud, of the very bad prayers before and after sermon, which forcibly recall to our minds the presbyterian period of Señor Cabrera's career: but we think we have given enough to enable our readers to judge for themselves of Senor Cabrera's method of manufacturing Mozarabic offices. We have spoken of them from the liturgical side mainly, leaving the theologians and the canon lawyers to deal with those doings of Señor Cabrera and his supporters that concern their sciences. But the result of a liturgical examination of these offices is sufficiently grave: and we trust, in the name of the ethics common to us all, that the claim made in behalf of these offices to be considered Mozarabic may at once be withdrawn. Archdeacon Farrar, in the speech in favour of Señor Cabrera which we have quoted, has told us that 'God is the God of Truth . . . There are some men so constituted that they would sooner die than lie; they would not go before God with the unclean sacrifice of a lie. To approach God with a lie in our right hand is equivalent to offering swine's flesh upon the altar.' This is excellent teaching; only let us act upon it. Let us have truth even in our Prayer Books. Yes, God is *not* to be served with a lie.

[1] Señor Cabrera has such a dread of prayers for the departed being insinuated under some neutral form that he has positively left out of his adaptation of the English Litany the words following that are in Italics: 'Remember not, Lord, our offences, *nor the offences of our forefathers.*' After this it need not be said that all prayers for the departed in the Mozarabic *formulæ* adapted by Señor Cabrera have been struck out. The very simple and primitive 'requiemque defunctis' has been left out after 'da sanitatem infirmis' in every translation of the Mozarabic embolism after the Lord's Prayer.

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ART. IX.—ILLINGWORTH'S BAMPTON LECTURES.

Personality, Human and Divine: being the Bampton Lectures for the Year 1894. By J. R. ILLINGWORTH, M.A. (London, 1894.)

THE Bampton Lecturer for 1894 has selected a subject immense both in compass and importance. It would deserve this description even if he treated it merely in the abstract. But he chose—and we heartily applaud his choice—to regard personality not merely as a question of metaphysics and theology, but as one of religion and of life, both intellectual and moral; to watch the progress of thought upon the mighty theme, to observe the place it holds in the stages of social progress from barbarism to civilization and in the various religions, heathen, Jewish, and Christian, and in the forms of revelation through nature, through prophecy, and through Christ. Nor does the great history stop even there; for the developments of the idea of personality in the course of Christian theology furnish a further stage of the subject as important as all that has preceded. The author is well equipped even for such a task; but it is impossible that within the space allotted to him he should discuss with thorough sufficiency every department of his theme. Though his treatment of each head is never superficial, yet we often have to pass away from a branch of the subject still hungry for more of the intellectual food which is so excellent in the portion we have. Personality in the hands of the great thinkers of Greece; personality in the Fathers and the Councils of the Church; personality in relation to the doctrines of evolution, are each of them subjects well worthy to be considered alone, and upon any one of which we could wish a treatise from so competent a hand, as large as the whole volume which deals with so many more branches besides.

But this is no fit ground of complaint. We have always to make our choice between comprehensiveness and detail, and the light which comes to us upon the parts of a great whole in the course of a general survey are often full of guidance which we should not have received from a longer sojourn in separate parts. In the admirable Fourth Lecture, in which the ancient arguments—Cosmological, Teleological, Ontological, and Moral—are restated for the author's purpose, we are bound to say that the treatment of each branch, though short, contains the matter of many a volume. We

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have constantly found ourselves wishing that we could place the little treatise, though but a few pages long, in the hands of some thinker with whom we are acquainted through his books, and learn what he could say in reply.

But we are minded to essay the task of criticism rather than of eulogy, as the more useful and respectful both to the author and our readers. We are not, however, about to spend our time in showing what might have been said about points on which nothing more or better could have been said within the necessary limits. We shall choose quite another line, upon which, if we be right, our readers will allow that our difference with the author is not unimportant to his argument. We disagree with his metaphysic, and believe that he largely underrates the mystery of human personality, and describes it with a precision which is not legitimately possible to the human mind.

Such a charge may, perhaps, surprise some readers of Mr. Illingworth's lectures, since he repeatedly acknowledges the impossibility of defining personality. It 'cannot be exhaustively analysed, and cannot, therefore, be accurately defined' (p. 23). 'We cannot, strictly speaking, define personality, for the simple reason that we cannot place ourselves outside it' (p. 28).[1] But these, and many other like statements of the mystery, are insufficient so long as it is laid down that 'the fundamental character of personality is self-consciousness, the quality in the subject, of becoming an object to itself, or, in Locke's language, considering itself as itself and saying "I am I."'[2]

The terms in which Mr. Illingworth describes the operation of his 'fundamental characteristic' prove that we are under no misconception when we suppose him to regard our self-consciousness, not as a primary and inscrutable condition of our human life, which, like life itself, ever escapes our understanding, but as a conclusion which our intellect draws in a reflection of somewhat advanced and educated character upon the phenomena which we discover. For, he proceeds, 'as in the very act of becoming thus self-conscious, I discover in myself desires and a will, the quality of self-consciousness immediately involves that of self-determination.' We, for our part, place self-consciousness, and with it personality, at a far earlier stage in human progress. It is discerned wherever the human being says, or even implies, I, with any verb whatever attached to the pronoun. To become self-conscious in Mr.

[1] See also pp. 24, 25, 39, 41, 47, 74, 135, 153.
[2] See pp. 28–9, 31–2, 38–9.

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Illingworth's sense of the word, or to discover anything whatever within one's mind, is a reflex mental action which cannot be the fundamental characteristic of self-consciousness because it arises at a later period. We must not deny the self-consciousness or the personality of those millions of human beings who never yet discovered in themselves either desires or a will. To use our faculties is not necessarily to discern them.

The identical proposition 'I am I' amounts to no more than the well-known dictum of the old hermit of Prague, 'that that is, is.' The second I is no more an object than the first. And the real truth is that nothing which constitutes matter of objective knowledge enters into our conception of the Ego in its inmost meaning. We say 'I *have* a body, an intellect, a will, and affections.' We do not say, I *am* intellect, will, or love any more properly than we can say, I am a body, or a brain. An object of thought must have certain known and definite characters which can be presented to the mind. What, then, are the definite characters which the self can present to itself, and say, these are not mere possessions of the self nor powers or instruments in which the self is interested; they are the actual self? Let the reader try the experiment upon himself. Let him essay to make himself the object of his own thought. He can readily think of properties, capacities, and acts which he has called and continues to call his own. But are they himself? are they the Ego within him? The very fact that he calls them his, is evidence that he does not identify them with himself. And he cannot explain the method in which himself is united to them, and claims them as belonging to him, or himself as belonging to them.

Mr. Illingworth concedes that the primary use of the word 'I' is to denote the subject when he says that 'the subject becomes an object.' But if it lets go its subjectivity for the purpose of becoming an object, what is the subject that comes in its place? Or how can the self be at the same moment subjective for the purpose of knowing itself and objective for the purpose of being known? The Ego can never catch itself as an object of knowledge at the moment of its own activity. Kant well says that 'it is the empirical consciousness which informs me that there are in myself perceptions, remembrances, and internal diversity; it is the transcendental consciousness which furnishes me with the idea represented by the word "I," the subject, always the same and identical.'

Do we, therefore, deny that our personality can ever be

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known to ourselves? No; but we deny that it can be known objectively except by taking for the Ego that which, however close to it and in common language included in it, is not the real Ego. We are conscious of our personality subjectively, and no otherwise; but subjective knowledge is real though indefinite. I am conscious that I will, that I think, that I act. It is the willing, the thinking, and the acting that really become objects of my understanding. But it is not these acts—it is the primary original power of the I to do them—that constitutes personality. The I which lies behind them hides itself from the understanding. That it does these things we know; but how it does them or what it is we know not. We are much surprised that Mr. Illingworth should write (p. 70), 'When I say, "I think this, I like that, I will do the other," I am considering myself as an object quite as much as this, that, and the other.' This amounts to a claim that he has succeeded in constructing three propositions each of which contains two objects and no subject at all.

The Marquis of Salisbury has said that the ether has been invented merely to furnish a nominative case to the verb undulate. The list of verbs to which the word 'I' furnishes a nominative case is larger; but the amount of objective knowledge which that fact implies regarding the Ego is no larger. The verb to undulate is comprehensible. It is a known fact in nature and the object of observation in many various forms. But of the ether we only know that it undulates. It is the subject of the proposition. If it were entirely unknown we could not lay down the proposition at all. But the knowledge we have of it may be of the vaguest kind—limited, indeed, to the mere fact that we predicate undulation of it, together with the additional circumstance that in order to undulate it must exist as something distinct from abstract undulation. Cardinal Newman, with his admirable acuteness, displays to us the logical account of such an assent:

'It is the predicate of a proposition that must be apprehended. In a proposition one term is predicated of another, the subject is referred to the predicate, and the predicate gives us information about the subject; therefore to apprehend the proposition is to have that information, and to assent to it is to acquiesce in it as true. Therefore, I apprehend a proposition when I apprehend its predicate. The subject itself need not be apprehended *per se* in order to a genuine assent, for it is the very thing which the predicate has to elucidate, and, therefore, by its formal place in the proposition, so far as it is the subject, it is something unknown, something which

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the predicate makes known; but the predicate cannot make it known unless it be known itself.'[1]

Now all that we can know objectively about the Ego, the self, the personality, is this, that we can predicate an immeasurable multitude of intelligible actions and experiences concerning the subject 'I.' We understand the predicates but not their subject, except so far as the predicates make it known. It is ever the predicates which become the object of our knowledge, never the subject. If Mr. Illingworth desires to lay down a sentence which shall prove that self is an object to self it must not be 'I am I.' 'I know myself' will not do; for 'myself' is a composite phrase implying a self which I own. I must be 'I know I,' the bad grammar of which proposition only corresponds to its false thought. Is it possible that there can be a subject which shall objectively regard its own subjectivity? It is impossible.

Not only do we deny that the Ego can become an object to itself, but we regard it as a proposition full of danger. Physical science has included human nature in the range of its research. In the mighty system of such a writer as Herbert Spencer every fact of man's surroundings and constitution, of his organism and his environment, is included. Nothing that presents itself as a phenomenon—that is to say, as an object to the observation of science—is omitted, either in its origin or in its working. And Mr. Spencer[2] maintains that it is an illusion to suppose that the self at each moment is anything more than the aggregate of feelings and ideas, actual and nascent, which then exists. The universal language of man contradicts him. For what is it that talks of 'my feelings and ideas, actual or nascent,' if there be nothing present but the feelings and ideas themselves? But if the Ego which makes our personality is capable of being made an object, the courts of science are fit to take cognizance of it. We maintain, on the contrary, that the facts accumulated by science are of necessity imperfect as accounts of personality, and unable to present its essential nature to our view. But what justification can we give of our belief except this: that when everything that can be made the object of our thought has been dealt with there still remains something else—namely, our subjectivity—which cannot be objectively thought, yet is the spring of every action both of mind and body? And under its protection free will and conscience find a

[1] *Grammar of Assent*, chap. ii.
[2] *Elements of Psychology*, vol. i. p. 500.

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refuge when driven by unanswerable reasoning out of the regions of objective observation and law.

Moreover, the belief that our true self can be objectively regarded is not only the source of scientific imperfection, but of practical mistakes well known to every moralist. It is constantly found that men construct imaginative plans for their future life which are proved by the event to have been quite mistaken. We can make clear, not only to ourselves, but to every observer, by every argument that can be the object of our knowledge, that at some future crisis we shall act so and so. As thus: we shall be sick, we shall be dying, we shall be incapable of pursuing pleasure, we shall have death and judgment brought close to us. What, then, upon consideration of all objective reasons, shall hinder us from being converted? Nothing can do it, speaking objectively. But when the occasion comes up we cannot either act or speak objectively. It is a subjective matter. The Ego has a power which it is not enough to call a veto. It has an initiative, and, if it does not consent, all the arguments that can be brought will not suffice to effect the fulfilment of a prophecy in which we reckoned without the Ego. We must reckon without the Ego when we prophesy, since the Ego does not appear on the stage except at the moment of action. And then, if it will not or cannot give the word, all our plans, imaginations, and even desires, come to nought.

Our attempts then to grasp and understand our personality as an object of thought must be granted liable in any case to great errors. But the truth is, that they are essentially and of necessity impotent. They can present to themselves many objects which in common every-day language we call parts of ourselves. Our bodies are of this class, for when we hurt a limb of our body we say we have hurt ourselves. Yet what spiritual thinker would say that these gross organized bodies, as Butler calls them, are ourselves? Have we any greater right to maintain that in exact and logical, as well as in common every-day language, our minds or any faculties of them constitute our true selves? There is in this respect no difference between the claims of the mind and those of the body. As the one, so also the other, falls away from the true Ego as we go in search of it. They are its instruments, but not itself. If we could be content with an Ego which merely includes the clothing or the operations of the Ego, we can present them as objects before us. But if we have not found the Ego in its subjective attitude, we have not found it at all. And we must admit that it is beyond the power of the human

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intellect to perform this feat, except in that vague form which belongs to the subject in propositions. The essential Ego never can be made an object of thought, and never will. Is it, then, in an intellectual act necessarily imperfect that we can find the essential character of personality?

We discern the source of Mr. Illingworth's reflective conception of self-consciousness and personality in a certain exaggeration of the power of thought which appears in Lecture I.:

> 'A man lives, and as he lives reflects upon his life, with the result that he comes by degrees to understand what is within him: his capacities, his powers, the meaning of his actions. And as he does so he ceases to be the creature of outward circumstances or mere inward instinct; he knows what he is about, and can direct and concentrate his energies; his life becomes fuller, richer, more real, more concrete, because more conscious; his thought is not a mirror which passively reflects his life, but, on the contrary, his life is the image, the picture, the music, the more or less adequate language of his thoughts' (p. 5).

The writer here confuses that secondary sense of the word life in which it means the contents and experiences of life with the primary and simple sense which means the act of living. To be sure, when we speak of a man's life as a thing filling time and space and having large contents, we justly ascribe its character to his thought. But could he have conceived one thought without being alive in order to conceive it? Nothing can properly deprive life of its precedence over thought. In the logical sense we may say with Descartes that we live because we think; that only means that thinking enables us to know that we live. In the order of causes thought follows from life, not life from thought; and it is certain that as a man lives and reflects upon his life he may conceive desires and arrive at conclusions which instead of filling his life shall empty it, instead of developing shall wither it. Human thought has no such invariable tendency to favour true personal existence and work as the simple fact of life which lies underneath it. 'In a sense,' proceeds the lecturer, 'we may say truly that thought realizes or invests things with more complete reality, and so that only what is rational is real.' Thought realizes, but in the plain meaning of that phrase it realizes nothing except that which it is compelled to think of as real before it was thought of. We find it hard to grasp the meaning of the proposition that 'only what is rational is real.' The only sense in which we can understand it is one in which reason shall be taken to mean

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the capacity of apprehending reality; and reason in this sense must renounce all power of creating the reality which it apprehends. It loses its title to be called reason if it entertains such a thought.

There is a large field of investigation which since the time of Darwin has appeared to writers of more than one school to be a necessary preliminary to that concerning the mind of man, but which Mr. Illingworth leaves untouched. We mean the life of the lower creatures, among which we find much that is common to ourselves, both in what is bodily and what is mental, yet from which we withhold the term personality. The question why we do so is well calculated to clear our view upon the real sense of the personality of man. Thus, Mr. Harris is quoted (p. 226) as saying that desire is feeling accompanied with the additional sense of selfhood; and we do not quarrel with this description of desire in man. But there are an immense multitude of inferior beings in the world to which the general voice ascribes the possession of desires, though not the sense of selfhood. If this customary way of thinking about the brutes be right, what could be imagined more useful for discovering the real meaning of human personality than to mark wherein human desire resembles that of the lower animals, and wherein it differs? Why do we refuse to see in the lower creatures the same desires of which we are conscious? It may well seem that 'the fallacy' to which Professor Green points, 'of taking the pleasure which ensues on satisfaction of a desire to be the object of the desire,' is an error born of the superior 'selfhood' of man, who is capable of separating an abstract thing, pleasure, from the perception of the objects which can produce it, an act of mind which the simpler nature of the brute cannot compass, with the result that its desires are more genuine.

Mr. Illingworth commences his survey of the progress of human opinion upon personality by laying down the broad principle that

> 'personality, as we understand it, is universal in its extension and scope—that is, it must pertain to every human being as such, making him man; and it is one in its intention or meaning—that is, it is the unifying principle, or, to use a more guarded expression, the name of the unity in which all a man's attributes and functions meet, making him an individual self' (pp. 6, 7).

For our part we had much rather call personality the unifying principle than the name of the unity in which all a man's attributes and functions meet. We grant that we do use the word as the name of the unity of all a man's attri-

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butes, even down to his pettiest habits and his dress—a use so wide that it is obviously too wide. We cannot include so much in any strict definition of his personality. It is the unifying power of the Ego commanding, directing, and welding together the attributes and functions that constitutes the true personality; and the conquest and organization of all the attributes and functions under the central Ego is the problem of life. To state the case thus is to make the unity of the race a much plainer matter than the lecturer makes it, who includes the infinite varieties of attribute and function in the personality.

In accordance with his definition he (p. 7) regards the contempt which the ancients display for certain races and classes, and their failure to co-ordinate human faculties, as a failure to understand what personality is. We rather prefer to describe it as a failure to use personality aright and advance it to its just dominion. In the failure to understand what personality is, the ancients and the moderns, heathen and Christian, are alike, for it cannot be understood. The Christian's advantage lies in the grace and the example which he obtains from his Incarnate Redeemer to reduce the unruly Ego itself to obedience, while by virtue of that very subjection the same Ego is endowed with absolute liberty and the lordship of all things. It is still in the power of any man, possessed though he may be of all the knowledge about personality with which modern and Christian influences have endowed the world, to reduce his personality to the same condition as, or a worse condition than, that in which the heathen lived, by allowing vice to take possession of his body and his mind, and his faculties to pass from beneath his own control.

We suspect that Mr. Illingworth lays too much stress upon introspection as a means of progress in the knowledge of personality. Doubtless the mighty Augustine did vast services in this, as in all other departments of Christian thought. But we attribute this to his intense earnestness of life and his comprehension of the doctrines of grace rather than to any formal results of his inward communing. The 'attempt to sound the abyss of our being,' as Mr. Illingworth puts it, has, perhaps, done the cause of personality nearly as much harm as good, since it has often ignored the mystery which lies in our self, and professed to comprehend the connexion between the Ego and the actions and thoughts which it claims to rule. Forgetfulness of this mystery leads the predestinarian to lay down a system comprehensible to the

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intellect by which the operation of Nature or of God upon the self, and of the self upon the actions, is reduced to theory. The New Testament—least introspective of books, but ever mindful of the high nature of the Godhead and of humanity, has done infinitely more than any other book to keep before man the personality of his Maker and of himself in its inscrutable mystery. And we do not believe that the predestinarian doctrine even of St. Augustine deserves the praise of advancing our knowledge of personality.

But far more still do we doubt the justice of naming Luther as one of the few who have rendered supreme service in this great subject of thought and action. Does the author of the *De Servo Arbitrio* help a cause with which free will is so intimately connected? And does the theologian who placed the feeling of confidence in so exaggerated a position in the Christian character contribute pre-eminently to the unifying of the faculties of man? It is true that passages may be found in the writings of Luther which represent God and man as (in Dorner's phrase) 'inwardly connected with each other, and, as it were, yearning for each other in condescending and ascending love.'[1] And it is also true that Luther's human 'personality' was of commanding force and strength; and if we regard that term with Mr. Illingworth as denoting the sum of the human faculties, it must be admitted that few have liberated so great a number of strong personalities as Luther. But if self-will be a disease of personality, and not its character, Luther's work in enabling man to realize it was most imperfect, and he often helped to hinder it. Too many passages in his books have tempted men to make of God a helper of their selfishness, rather than to recognize their supernatural kinship and find their real selves by losing them in Him.

There can be no error in describing Kant as a revealer of light upon the doctrine of human personality. But we hardly think Mr. Illingworth can claim the countenance of Kant. Perhaps that great philosopher resembles St. Paul in the character which the apostle is well known to possess, of enabling teachers of the most various character to claim him for their opinions. We certainly believe Kant to be on our side in the point in which we have ventured to differ from Mr. Illingworth. It is true that in one place Kant says, 'I myself am an object of the internal sense.'[2] But the internal sense is by no means the faculty by which Mr. Illingworth considers

[1] *Person of Christ*, vol. iv. p. 218 (English translation).
[2] *Critique of Pure Reason*, translated by Max Müller, vol. ii. p. 314.

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that man becomes an object to himself. The process of self-consciousness, as he has described it, is an exercise, not of the internal sense, but of the intellect.

But let the reader compare the following Kantian passages with the opinion which we maintain of the impossibility of an objective knowledge of the self:

'The concept of personality may remain so long as it is used as transcendental only, that is as a concept of the unity of the subject which is otherwise unknown to us, but in the determinations of which there is an uninterrupted connection by apperception. In this sense such a concept is necessary for practical purposes, and sufficient; but we can never pride ourselves on it as helping to expand our knowledge of our self by means of pure reason, which only deceives us, if we imagine that we can arrive at an uninterrupted continuance of the subject from the mere concept of the identical self. That concept is only constantly turning round itself in a circle, and does not help us as with respect to any question which aims at synthetical knowledge. . . . When I wish to observe the mere "I" during the change of all representations I have no other correlative for my comparisons, but again the "I" itself, with the general conditions of my consciousness.'[1] . . . 'By the "I," or "he," or "it," the thing that thinks, is expressed nothing but a transcendental subject of thought which is known only through the thoughts which are its predicates, and of which, apart from these, we can have no conception.' . . . 'Hence, when we attempt to think this Ego as an object, we are involved in a vicious circle, for we must always employ the idea of it in order to make any judgment regarding it.'[2] . . . 'The truth therefore is, that of the Ego in itself, apart from its relation to experience, we know nothing; and that even in experience the Ego appears not as itself an object, but as the logical unity to which a thing must be related ere we can think it as an object.'[3]

'What, then,' asks Lotze,[4] 'am *I*? Suppose anyone answered thus: "*I* am subject and object of my thoughts." This would at least require that we should understand what is meant by the possessive pronoun *mine*. For only then can we point to the subject of my thoughts as the I. It is, however, clear that, put together ideas as we will, we cannot define the meaning of this word *mine*. We cannot say, it is that which belongs to the *I*, for if we do the old difficulty at once recoils upon us, and we are explaining the meaning of the *I* by the reference to the *mine*. There is, therefore, nothing left for it but to have given us an immediate experience, through which, and not before which, the distinction between what we call mine and what is not mine, and with it the distinction between *I* and *thou*, is felt and revealed.'

We do not believe Lotze to be right in contending that

[1] *Critique, loc. cit.* pp. 317, 318.
[2] Caird on Kant, p. 539. [3] *Ib.* p. 541.
[4] *Philos. of Rel.* by Conybeare, Lond. 1892, p. 66.

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in the order of our inward experience the conception of the *mine* comes before that of the *I*. We hold that that Ego which includes something that is mine must be preceded by, and founded on, a simpler *I*, the mysterious and undefinable possessor implied in the very first use of the word *mine*. But suppose him right in this conception; the original mystery would not be much less conspicuous if it consisted in a transcendental origin of the word *mine* than it is if we acknowledge that *I*, as implied in our very first dim feeling that any thing or any experience is ours, can never be the object, but ever and always the subject, of all that is thought, felt, or done.

Mr. Illingworth adduces a passage from the author last quoted as the key to the whole line of thought which occupies the part of his work which is devoted to the personality of God. 'Perfect personality is in God only; to all finite minds there is allotted only the pale copy thereof; the finiteness of the finite is not a producing condition of this personality, but a limit and hindrance to its development' (p. 53). We are here in full accord both with Mr. Illingworth and with the noble passage which he quotes, but we hardly think him consistent in professing to see in the finiteness of the finite a mere limit and hindrance to the development of personality. He finds the fundamental character of personality in a self-consciousness, which involves self-determination and the power of making our desires an object of our will, and saying 'I will do what I desire'; but how can such a personality be otherwise than essentially finite? This is personality at work with the finite. The lecturer, in order to find the character of personality, launches it into that very whirlpool of desire which, as Lotze more truly maintains, is but the limit and hindrance to its development.

We, on the contrary, find our personality in the subjective sense of our individual existence, which comes to the knowledge of our intellects through its connexion with desire, but still finds that connexion to be a limitation and a subjection rather than a congenial self-expression. It is in the primary and original force of the Ego, and not its return upon itself in intellectual self-knowledge, that personality consists.

Therefore, in the great revelation to Moses, the expression of the Divine personality is not 'I am I,' but 'I am.' The simple recognition of the Divine Being in Himself, before any connexion or contrast with the world; without question of any knowledge of Him on the part of men, or even any self-knowledge on His own part, constitutes belief in a personal

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God; and, to be even a pale copy of the personality of God, that of man must not recognize its fundamental character in its connexion with finite things.

Yet the recognition of the original sense of personality given us from a source beyond the world does not by any means deprive us of the use of those proofs either of the Divine personality or of our own which the finite world and our life in it can give, and which Mr. Illingworth states for us so excellently well. The noble condemned to a plebeian life must find even the opportunity for exercising his nobility and for proving its truth, amidst actual circumstances, poor though they be; and man's intellectual conception of God and of the personality in his own nature which establishes his union with God must be exercised and proved in the struggles of a finite life, though the essence of both is beyond it.

The God-consciousness which it is impossible to uproot from man's nature comes out firstly in the resemblance which we feel between God's relation to the world and our own; and, secondly, in the sense of weakness and the cry for help which is forced from us in the attempt to maintain our true personal character in the pressure of physical law and force. As to the first: Whatever taunts be launched at anthropomorphism, that frame of things and no other must seem reasonable to us, in contact with which we have been born and brought up, and through which our reason itself has received the bent from which it cannot be freed. And that frame of things is one in which a mysterious personal existence called 'I' holds in a circle of action and thought a place of rightful command; with instruments spiritual and material to use, with powers which can produce immense effects upon the world of matter and of mind. This is the system of the world as man knows it in his own sphere, and his personal experience. Nothing can be more reasonable to man than the belief that a higher measure of the same relations of spiritual power to physical things is the system of the universe.

To be sure it is possible to construct an account of the mere machinery of things in which no personality above that of man appears. But this cannot surprise us, since it is possible to construct a similar plan of man's own world, in which his own personality shall be unnoticed, and all the world, with man himself included, shall be represented as a vast system of uniform physical law. Yet we know that such a representation is perfectly false to our intimate experience.

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It would be impossible to carry it into practice, and if it were practised it would take the humanity out of man, and the living principle out of life. Equally false and equally fatal is it to expel the belief in a personal God from our conception of the universe.

Upon the second point we find that this 'I,' which each of us possesses as the origin of thought and action within him, is sorely in want of help for its life-struggle. The very powers of mind and body which it calls its own, and takes into association as forming part of what it describes as 'I myself,' are rebellious and difficult to rule and are capable of acquiring habits of their own in spite of the Ego, whereby it is often compelled to recognize as its own, acts and habits which make it miserable; and beyond them lies a whole outside world, constantly plotting to enslave the personal power within us. We can obtain some help in the contest from our fellow men. It is sympathy which moves us to call upon them and them to respond to our call; indeed, it is only by sympathy and not by any logical proof that we discover them to be men like ourselves, possessed of personality, instead of being parts of the machinery of the outer world, from which mere reason could never distinguish them. But their help is insufficient, and we hear with delight of a personal God, who, through that mysterious personality of ours, inaccessible to our understanding but open to Him, may pour into our inner self, and through that into all parts of our active life, the grace which we require. The mystery and incompleteness of our personality in the view of our intellects is the very characteristic which fits it to be the channel of our access to God and of His access to us.

Nothing can exceed the truth and beauty of the expansion in Lecture V. of the theme that moral affinity is needful for knowledge of a person. But these admirable reasonings might have rested upon grounds even stronger if personality had been recognized as incapable of furnishing an object to the intellect and therefore impossible to prove or to recognize either in God or man except by the affinity of faith.

Mr. Illingworth admirably urges the benefit rendered to man's practical use of his personality by the doctrines of the Incarnation and the Holy Trinity. Yet he wisely and carefully guards himself against the charge which is so readily made against these revelations, that they are human developments made at the suggestion of their usefulness to man. The lecturer shows with perfect clearness that it was under the teaching of the facts of Christian history, and through the

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necessity which arose in controversy to keep the meaning of the original revelation unimpaired, that the doctrines of the Creeds were developed.

We are strongly of opinion that his view of the effect of Catholic doctrine upon the sense and the power of man's personality is greatly weakened by his determination to find the human analogue (if such a phrase be permitted) to the personalities of the Holy Trinity, not in human personalities according to the general application of that term, but in the trinity of essential action within the individual.

'If we recur,' he writes, 'to our previous analysis of human personality we shall see that it is essentially triune, not because its chief functions are three—thought, desire, and will—for they might, perhaps, be conceivably more, but because it consists of a subject, an object, and their relation. A person is, as we have seen, a subject who can become an object to himself, and the relations of these two terms is necessarily a third term.'

That any such analogy had to do with the development of the doctrine of the triune Personality of God we cannot believe. In the first place it would seem to us plainly to point, not to a threefold personality of God, but a threefold movement within one personality. For why should that which in us is the inevitable action of one personality within itself become a threefold personality in God?

We by no means deny that in contemplating the Unity of God we are at liberty, nay, are forced to regard It under the analogy of a single human personality. 'The question,' says Cardinal Newman,[1] 'has almost been admitted by St. Austin, whether it is not possible to say that God is *One* Person, for He is wholly and entirely Father, and at the same time wholly and entirely Son, and wholly and entirely Holy Ghost.' It is in this point of view, we believe, that St. Augustine is writing in the passage which Mr. Illingworth quotes as one of those which form an era in the exposition of the Trinity and are its best exponent. 'I exist, and I am conscious that I exist, and I love the existence and the consciousness; and all this independently of any external influence.' And again, 'I exist, I am conscious, I will, I exist as conscious and willing, I am conscious of existing and willing, I will to exist and to be conscious; and these three functions, though distinct, are inseparable, and form one life, one mind, one essence.'

It is impossible to contend that St. Augustine's analysis

[1] *St. Athanasius*, ii. 321, ed. 1881.

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of human nature into existence, consciousness, and will corresponds to Mr. Illingworth's into subject, object, and relation. At all events, the Saint plainly professes to give us an analysis of the working of a single human personality; humbly intimating, with a deep sense of the mystery of the matter, that he can dimly understand how a triple movement might similarly have place within the Unity of God. And although it could not be maintained that the distinction of existence, self-consciousness, and will form a sufficient basis for ascribing distinct personality to each of the corresponding movements in the Divine Nature, yet they are far more plainly connected with the functions ascribed to the persons of the Holy Trinity than the lecturer's more subtle and recondite psychology. For Existence finds itself in the Father, the Fount of Being, Will in the Son, by Whom and through Whom all things were made, and Consciousness in the Holy Ghost, who knoweth the things of God as the spirit of man that is in him knows the things of a man. But what possibility of distinct personality can we find in subject, object, and relation?

The chief New Testament passage in which the analysis of the individual mind might seem to be regarded as furnishing an analogy to the Personalities of the Holy Trinity is the teaching concerning the Logos in the beginning of St. John's Gospel. But we must beg Mr. Illingworth to remember that commentators are not agreed to regard the Logos of St. John as 'the Philonian Logos.' Bishop Westcott and Godet among the most recent, contend that we are to find in St. John not the Hellenistic but the Palestinian meaning of the Logos—not the Reason but the simple Uttered Word, the Will of God revealed and made manifest.[1] And when we think of the Apocalyptic Warrior whose name is called the Word of God, this opinion seems surely the more probable. The New Testament, as we read it, did not bequeath to the Church any example of psychological meditation as an instrument for representing to ourselves the reflection of the Divine Personality resting on the life of man. It rejects such a method by the very use of the terms Father and Son, so constantly adopted in the sacred writings, and so faithfully received by the Church as the proper words, with all their human associations, to express what man can know of the first two Persons of the Holy Trinity. These designations plainly show that it is the difference and the union of separate human persons

[1] *Introduction to St. John*, *Speaker's Comment.* pp. xv–xvii; Godet, *Évangile de St. Jean*, vol. i. p. 40 *sq.*, p. 110 *sq.*

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which point us upwards to like distinctions in the Godhead, and enable us to realise, as well as we are now capable of doing, the mutual relation of Persons in His Infinite Being. It is certain that now, when the immemorial use of words such as father and son, expressing outward relations among men, to convey revealed conceptions of God, has been reinforced by the equally universal application of the term person to distinct human beings, men will never find anywhere but in their personal separations and personal bonds as individuals the assistance which they can derive from earth for grasping the mysteries of heaven.

Mr. Illingworth is too reasonable and well informed to deny the appearance of the analogy of outward human relations in the primitive teaching concerning the persons of the Godhead. But he allows it grudgingly in the following terms:

> But, as a matter of fact, the Christian Church did not press the family analogy, at any rate further than the doctrine of the Son. It probably saw early exhibited among the Gnostic sects the dangerous practical consequences which might ensue from the introduction of a feminine principle into our thoughts about the Godhead; and therefore, while freely admitting feminine attributes, declined all thought of a feminine hypostasis, though possibly this may have involved some under-estimate of an aspect of truth, which avenged itself in the subsequent development of Mariolatry. It is, therefore, under the more fundamental psychological analogy that we find the doctrine of the Trinity slowly defined, with the natural consequence that the conception of the Word is completed sooner than that of the Spirit, since a personal object is easier to imagine than a personal relation.[1]

We must confess to finding in this passage an astounding representation of the evolution of the Christian Creed. Surely the revelation in Christ was not so ambiguous in its nature as ever to leave the Church free to press the analogy of the family and stop short of adding a feminine element to the Divine Being only because Gnosticism afforded a warning of the danger. And if it was under the psychological analogy that the doctrine of the Trinity was slowly defined, the records which have remained of any such process are indeed scanty.

But Mr. Illingworth is not correct in assuming that the family analogy necessarily means the comparison of the Godhead to the human group of husband, wife, and child. This analogy has led, perhaps, to the evolution of the human trinity of Jesus, Mary, and Joseph—human because it is only

[1] Pp. 72, 73.

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in His human nature that the Son can form a part of it. Nor was even that attempted until the idea of womanhood had been sublimated above nature by many centuries of chivalry and devotion. The triads of which Mr. Illingworth speaks as existing in other religions belong to periods of naturalism, and no form of pure Christianity could ever attempt to repeat them in Christian theology. The woman to the Oriental mind is wholly subordinate to the man, bone of his bone and flesh of his flesh, and unfit to claim a personality on a par with him.

It seems to us that the earthly three to which the adorable Trinity of heaven may be humbly compared is not husband, wife, and child, but father, brother, and self. Husband, wife, and child do not form a complete specimen of human society as it presents itself to the opening view of the man's mind and soul; for there is nothing in them corresponding to the immense multitude of brethren who exist in the world, not above him as the father (with the mother comprehended in him) is, but beside him and on a level with himself. But father, brother, and self give the personality above him, the personality beside him, and the personality within him, and these, varied in an infinity of forms and circumstances, make up the human society. Every help that comes to him is either from someone above him or someone beside him; every duty that he owes is either to one above or one beside; and the self within him unites him with a mysterious power both to the fathers and to the brethren. For they are persons like himself, and sympathy binds them all in one.

The wants, defects, and failures of this union of human personalities which makes up society is so great in the midst of its innumerable blessings and benefits that it yearns for help and completion from God. And this the Christian Trinity bestows with immeasurable bounty. Whatever care and instruction comes to the child from his earthly father and those other human friends above him, of whom his father is representative, is multiplied into infinity in God the Father, demanding a corresponding duty and service. Whatever help and example his brethren beside him render is carried out to perfection by the Incarnate Son of God, the Saviour of mankind. And all the activities of the self within, all the powers of sympathy and union which it possesses to bind the persons of the world together (so that, as St. Basil says,[2] all men are of one substance) is completed in the work of the Spirit.

[2] *Ad. Eun.* ii. 4.

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This is the view whereby, in our judgment, we find the human notions of personality displayed by the Catholic doctrine in a heavenly perfection. And thus may man, with the revealed aids which the Christian creed affords to him, succeed in reducing his own faculties and the powers of the world to subjection, so that personality shall shine out in triumph as the ruling principle of nature. But we can by no means perceive how the inward psychological relations of the Divine Personality to itself can be brought to bear with equal closeness upon life.

Our differences, then, with Mr. Illingworth are very considerable. We have not concealed them, and we cannot deny that the primary error which he makes as to the essential nature of personality does much to spoil our concurrence and our enjoyment in the perusal of large portions of his work. We must count it a great defect that the transcendental, or, if we choose to call it so, the supernatural, basis of our personal consciousness should be lost to view, and the essential character of the person be found in an intellectual process which has no more of the supernatural in it than any other act of the mind.

But the mysterious and transcendental nature of our personality tends of itself to make it possible that even where this secret thing is left out of view there should remain enough among its experienced and intelligible consequences to furnish a rich and interesting work. The lesson which is given us from above in the region of our spirit may be regarded, like the power of its Divine Giver, as operating in the tangible world and having a bearing upon every act of life. And of the life of argument and experience, of the history of man's personal thinking and working, of the every-day practical use of his self-consciousness, Mr. Illingworth writes with unflagging power. He has produced a work not unworthy of his own high reputation and of the honourable series in which it holds a place.

SHORT NOTICES.

The Old Testament in Greek according to the Septuagint. By H. B. Swete, D.D. Vol. iii. Hosea—4 Maccabees. (Cambridge: University Press, 1894.)

This volume concludes the smaller edition of the Cambridge Septuagint, which the editor has had in hand since 1883. We may be allowed to congratulate Dr. Swete on finishing a task which has involved so much labour and careful work. This will be, for a long

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time at any rate, the standard edition for purposes of reference; nor is it likely to be displaced when we have in our hands the larger Cambridge edition, for the preparation of which steps have already, we believe, been taken. This must, however, require a long time to complete, and even when it is complete it is not likely very much to alter the text of the Septuagint, though it will, of course, add very many *variæ lectiones* from the cursive manuscripts, versions, and patristic quotations.

The volume before us begins with the minor and major prophets, the text of Daniel being given, on parallel pages, according to the versions of the Septuagint and Theodotion. This last, as is well known, is the one generally found in MSS. of the Septuagint, the other being known only from a comparatively late cursive, belonging to the Chigi collection. The text of Theodotion's version is based, in the main, on four uncial manuscripts. It should be added that the readings of the Syrohexaplar version, based on a specially made collation of Ceriani's *Codex Syro-hexaplaris Ambrosianus*, are given here beneath the Septuagint version of this book. For the text of the prophets several new manuscripts have been employed. Thus we have the readings of the *Codex Marchalianus*, a famous hexaplaric manuscript, from which all the variants are given, as well as the hexaplaric notes and symbols. The second new manuscript is a palimpsest from the Basilian monastery of Grotta Ferrata, the readings of which have been, where possible, recovered by Cozza; but, owing to the fact that in some places the underlying uncial writing has had two scribes at work over it, there are many places where it cannot be recovered. Besides this, the readings of three sets of fragments are given, two of which come from Isaiah, while the third is a small portion of Bel and the Dragon, which the Bodleian Library acquired from Egypt in 1888.

After the Prophets we have the four Books of the Maccabees. The text of these books is given from A (*Codex Alexandrinus*), B (*Codex Vaticanus*) not containing them. We have also the readings of S (*Codex Sinaiticus*), so far as it is available, and of a manuscript not used before—*Codex Venetus*—which is the same as 23 of Holmes and Parsons (who wrongly regarded and numbered it as a cursive), and is denoted as V. Of the readings of this manuscript a collation was specially made for this volume. Dr. Swete has also printed here the *Psalms of Solomon*—a work of which we rather doubt the claims for a place in the Greek Old Testament—and the Canticles, including those of the New Testament. For the Psalms of Solomon a new MS. has been collated and used, the readings of five other manuscripts being supplied by Professor Ryle and Dr. M. R. James, whose edition of this work is well known.

It is but fair to add here, from Dr. Swete's concluding remarks in his preface, that the appearance of the work so soon is due to the timely and patient assistance of Mr. Forbes Robinson, of Christ's College, and Mr. Thackeray, of King's College, who have done a great deal of the collation necessary for this volume. The accuracy of the text has been also no doubt increased—for many sets of eyes

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are an advantage in such minute work as this—by the revision for which we are indebted to Mr. Redpath and Dr. Nestle. One further point in connexion with the volume before us should be added, and it is this, that Dr. Nestle has collated afresh the readings of B from the published photograph of that MS., and also of A, where its text had to be adopted owing to gaps in B, as in Gen. i. 1—xlvi. 28. Thus we may feel sure that we have now the greatest possible exactness in regard to the main text of these three volumes.

We will confess that we have regarded it as lost labour to examine this volume in search of misprints, for in this respect our examination of the two preceding volumes was so unfruitful in result that we are willing to go bail for the excellency of the third. We will conclude, as we began, with a word of congratulation and thanks to all concerned for putting within the reach of scholars such a trustworthy and well-printed edition of the Septuagint. This work can never lose its interest, and we are glad to think that with such a text of it as the one under notice, and such a Concordance as that on which Mr. Redpath is engaged, it ought not to be long before we get some work which shall investigate thoroughly the lexical and grammatical peculiarities of the Greek of the Septuagint. We are glad, in this connexion, to hear a rumour of a possible new edition of Schleusner's Lexicon. We notice also the announcement of a book by Dr. Swete, which we hope may not be long delayed, viz. an *Introduction to the Septuagint*, which cannot fail to be very interesting and very useful.

A Concordance to the Septuagint and the other Greek Versions of the Old Testament. By the late EDWIN HATCH, D.D., and HENRY A. REDPATH, M.A. Part iv. *κάβος . . . μυρεψικός.* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1895.)

THE fourth part of this excellent work does not call for any special notice. There is little to be said about it except that it keeps up, so far as we have tested it, the remarkable level of accuracy and exactness which the first three parts have shown. The enormous amount of labour involved may be indicated by a reference to the word *κύριος*. The quotations of passages in which this word is found cover nearly forty pages, each of which gives some two hundred references to the word with the Hebrew equivalent. We have compared some few pages with Schleusner's lexicon, and the result is to show in this Concordance a large number of words not in Schleusner, and at the same time a very much greater accuracy in the references. The last fact is partly explained, no doubt, by a difference in the editions used. We have noticed, by the comparison above mentioned, that Theodotion is quoted by Schleusner for *κάρπωμα* at Josh. v. 12, *καρυΐσκος* is found occurring at Exod. xxxvii. 20, and 1 Kings xvii. 51 is quoted for *κολεός* or *κολαιός*. Of these the last (which is read in A) is the only omission, for there are good reasons why Mr. Redpath might have omitted the first two references. We do not see why Mr. Redpath says *κατάγειν*, cf. *καταγνύναι*, and *vice versa*. As instances of words in this part which are interesting from the point of view of the New

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Testament uses might be mentioned κεφαλαιόω, κεφάλαιον, μακροθυμεῖν, κύριος, λόγος, and καρδία. Again, there are many words which have an interest lexically. We might, as instances of these, quote κάρος (and its derivatives) and κραδαίνω, the latter one of the many interesting parallels between Hellenistic Greek and Homer. Many ἅπαξ εἰρημένα, too, will be found; some, of course, mere transliteration of the Hebrew, as κάβος; others, as καροῦχα (for which Liddell and Scott only quote Polycarp), which raise harder questions. In this last case the same root apparently is found both in Latin and Greek. Those who care for hard problems as to the way in which the Septuagint translation is related to the Hebrew may turn to the word καρπός, and the renderings of Ps. iv. 7, Prov. xix. 22, Hos. x. 12, Jer. l. 27. Personally, we can hardly believe that this word can be a *translation*, in any passage, of the Hebrew יָד (a hand), as Mr. Redpath seems to consider it in Prov. xxxi. 20. It certainly is the equivalent which the Greek translators gave, but probably only as a sense-translation. But we only wish to point out here how this excellent Concordance may be used by students as a guide in working out a number of interesting and important questions, and to express the hope that we shall soon have it complete. We may remind our readers that those who wish to secure it at the (necessarily high) subscription price of four guineas for the whole work must send in their names before the issue of the next part.

Analytical Concordance to the Bible. By ROBERT YOUNG, D.D. Sixth edition, revised throughout; to which is added an important Supplement entitled 'A Sketch of Recent Explorations in Bible Lands,' by Rev. THOMAS NICOL, D.D. (Edinburgh: George Adam Young and Co., *s.a.*)

IT is many years ago since we called attention in the pages of this Review[1] to the first edition of this most admirable Concordance to the English Bible. We then explained the plan of the work, and, as it has never left our side since we first noticed it, we are prepared to testify to the excellence of that plan. The sixth revised edition has recently reached us, and for some inexplicable reason no date is affixed to the issue. We see no reason to retract or qualify the encomiums we then passed on the work, except, now as then, as regards the regrettable omission of the Apocryphal books, an omission which detracts so largely from the usefulness of the publication. At the end of the Concordance we find Dr. Nicol's 'Sketch of Recent Explorations in Bible Lands,' which is sufficiently up to date to include, for example, the discovery of the Tel-el-Amarna tablets. This occupies sixteen quarto double-column pages, and is divided into twenty chapters. Then follow, with a separate pagination, a series of appendices, which compress into the small space of 141 closely printed pages a vast amount of valuable information. First we have Hebrew-English and Greek-English lexicons, exhibiting all the varied renderings of each word in the English version,

[1] See *Church Quarterly Review* for October 1879, vol. ix. p. 255.

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with the number of their occurrences; with a romanized index, by which is meant an index giving in English characters the transliteration of each Hebrew and Greek word in the lexicons. Then comes a treatise on the idiomatic use of the Hebrew tenses, followed (1) by copious analytical surveys of the books, the facts, and the idioms of the Bible, and (2) by twenty-five facsimiles of ancient Biblical manuscripts in Hebrew, Samaritan, Syriac, and Greek; twenty-three engravings, views of the Holy Land; sixteen coloured maps and plans of Bible lands and places. To incorporate a concordance to the Apocrypha in the body of the work would probably involve an outlay from which the publishers would shrink. But we venture to suggest that room might perhaps be found for it by omitting the analytical surveys just mentioned, the facsimiles of MSS., and the views of the Holy Land, leaving only the maps and plans. With this substitution it would be incomparably the most valuable of all existing concordances to the English Bible.

A History of the Christian Church during the First Six Centuries. By S. CHEETHAM, D.D., F.S.A., Archdeacon and Canon of Rochester; Honorary Fellow of Christ's College, Cambridge; Fellow and Emeritus Professor of King's College, London. (London and New York: Macmillan and Co., 1894.)

AN accurate and compendious sketch of the history of the Church in the first six centuries has long been greatly needed. The diffuseness of existing histories has prevented tutors from recommending them to ordination candidates who have been pressed for time, and the historical subjects of such candidates have generally, in the last resort, been studied from the manuscript notes of their tutors. The want of a good book on the period from the foundation of the Church to the Council of Constantinople has been more especially felt. That it has been long in coming is due probably to the great difficulties of compressing so much material into a convenient compass, of deciding how to adjust the claims of chronology and of comprehensive representation of subjects, and of determining how far allusions to original documents and other modern writers could be made really useful. Dr. Cheetham has been singularly successful in coping with these formidable difficulties. Rather too much printed matter is crowded into each page to be quite pleasant for the reader's eye; but, so far as the treatment of subjects goes, the author has written a much-condensed narrative without crushing out the life and attraction of his story. He has wisely allowed himself to follow out the courses of dogmatic conflicts and growing institutions, to the neglect for the time of contemporary events, and has balanced the danger to which this plan might expose a young student by giving a chronological table, by means of which an idea of the general state of the Church at any epoch may be gained. The sketch rests throughout on original authorities, references being given both to these and to numerous modern works in the notes at the foot of each page.

Of the two parts into which Dr. Cheetham divides his history, the first covers the period from the origin of Christianity to the edict of

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Milan in 313. A good map is given, which shows the geographical extent of the Church at the end of this period, and the chief points of the first three centuries are clearly brought out. But we are greatly mistaken if Dr. Cheetham has not allowed this earlier part of his work to stand as he had prepared it for the press a long time ago. We cannot otherwise explain how it is that he makes no allusion to Dr. Lightfoot's great edition of the Ignatian letters in the note on p. 64. This note does not seem to have been touched since 1876; for Dr. Cheetham says, 'The latest and best edition is that by Theod. Zahn,' which was published in that year. We are surprised again, in the note on p. 80 on the composition of the early Roman Church, to find no reference to Dr. Gifford's valuable notes and introduction to the Epistle to the Romans. In the list of modern authorities given in the note on p. 96 on Gnosticism we doubt the wisdom of omitting a reference to the very useful chapter in Robertson.[1] The opposition of the ante-Nicene heretics was so serious a peril to the Church because her canon and her creeds were not yet cast into a defensive form, and the two chapters on 'The Great Divisions' of the period (pp. 86–107) and 'The Theology of the Church and its Opponents' (pp. 108–123) enable us to see how great this peril was. The closing chapter of the first part, on the social life and ceremonies of the Church, is a remarkable collection of facts which have been brought together with much patient industry. The second part starts from the Edict of Milan in 313, and ends with the accession of Pope Gregory the Great in 590. We cannot deny that this is a suitable stopping-place, although it may seem a tantalizing boundary to an English Churchman, when he remembers what Gregory was to do for the Angles. With the arrival of peace with the Empire the Church was able to organize the vast dioceses of the conciliar period, and Dr. Cheetham furnishes us with another excellent map on which the dioceses are clearly marked, and also (p. 181) gives a lucid account of their extent and of the jurisdiction of the great Patriarchates. The chapter on the 'Controversies of the Faith' (p. 252) gives a succinct account of the heresies of the fourth and fifth centuries, although there are a few phrases on Nestorius and Cyril on p. 290 which leave something to be desired. We cannot think that the unhappy 'Nestorius by no means intended to make two persons in Christ,' and the full explanations which St. Cyril gave of his own language—explanations rendered necessary by his own most unfortunate impetuosity—would prevent us from describing even 'the Cyrillic extreme' by a phrase which speaks of 'God taking man's physical frame upon Him rather than man's nature.' Dr. Cheetham, in fact, places Nestorius and Cyril rather more on a level, as being both about equal sufferers from the deductions made from their own well-intended propositions, than the facts would appear to warrant (pp. 285–291). The paragraph and the note on the Photinians (p. 266) would have been greatly strengthened by a reference to one of Bishop Pearson's most learned notes.[2] The

[1] *History of the Christian Church*, bk. i. chap. iv.
[2] *On the Creed*, p. 186 (ed. Bohn).

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account of Pelagianism is carefully written (p. 314), with a just estimate of the dangerous tendencies of 'the decidedly predestinarian views' of some later treatises of St. Augustine (p. 320), and a brief allusion is made to the spread of the heresy in Britain (p. 433). The chapter on the discipline of the Church (p. 328) discusses the subject of Monachism, and the very full treatment of the rites, ceremonies, festivals, pictures, and architecture of the Church up to the close of the second period is exceedingly interesting (p. 369). Dr. Cheetham says (p. 398), when speaking of Good Friday, 'On this day there was no Eucharist'—a somewhat too trenchant statement in view of the evidence adducible from St. Chrysostom and other Fathers.[1] With the conversion of the Teutons (p. 418) and the work of the British Church (p. 431) Dr. Cheetham concludes his volume, ending so suddenly that we would fain hope that he intends to give us another volume in which he will carry us further along in the same instructive manner.

A Charge delivered to the Clergy of the Diocese of Rochester, October 29, 30, 31, 1894. By RANDALL T. DAVIDSON, D.D., ninety-ninth Bishop. (London: Macmillan and Co., 1894).

CHURCHMEN of all schools of thought will sympathize with the Bishop of Rochester in the illness which has interrupted his active work and in his thought about it that we must not

'regard it as all loss if there come at times to any who are called to responsible authority and leadership in the Church of God an enforced withdrawal from the distracting clang and clatter of our working days—a period when the splashing rapids are exchanged for the deep quiet pool, wherein, even if the pool be dark and overshadowed, reflection is inevitable and has its proper home' (p. 2).

His Charge is in three divisions, the first chiefly about matters connected with his own diocese, the second on the English Church and the clergy generally, the third on 'what goes on within our church walls' (p. 56). Even in the first division there is a good deal the importance of which is not confined to the Diocese of Rochester, and we have noticed with interest the Bishop's 'vision' of a future 'one great coherent diocese' of 'London,' 'with such subordination of episcopal offices as shall best meet its unique and overwhelming needs' (p. 5); his appeal that Church schools may be brought to the highest educational and structural and sanitary efficiency, coupled with his opinion that he would himself 'in like conditions have done precisely what the' Education 'Department' (p. 14) has done in the matter of school buildings; his answer to those who are delaying to give financial support to the funds for which he appeals on the ground that if 'rate-aid'[2] is 'ere long' 'forthcoming for our voluntary schools,' 'then all these donations for new buildings and the rest will' have

[1] See *Good Friday and Easter Communion, from the days of the Apostles to the Present Time.* By W. A. Frost, Vicar-Choral of St. Paul's Cathedral.

[2] It will be remembered that this Charge was delivered before the Report of the Archbishops' Committee was issued.

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been 'wasted' (p. 14); and his comments on the 'recovered beauty' of the 'walls' of Rochester Cathedral and the 'great work of restoration and reconstruction in St. Saviour's, Southwark' (pp. 26–7).

The second division of the Charge is a consideration of 'some of our peculiar responsibilities as clergy and lay officers of the National Church' (p. 29). While protesting against the language in which Disestablishment is sometimes denounced as an 'apostasy' or a 'sin,' the Bishop is strongly of opinion that

'it would be a deed of almost incredible folly and shortsightedness, a deed the consequences of which, though unforeseen and unintended by its authors, would be in the highest degree prejudicial to religion, and therefore to the public good, a deed which we are bound as Christians and Englishmen to oppose to the uttermost, and, God helping us, to avert from the land we love' (p. 32).

Similarly, with regard to Disendowment, he repudiates such phrases as 'sacrilege' or 'robbery of God,' while he thinks that the 'nation' has 'a moral right to deal with or (in the original and colourless sense of the word) to "confiscate" the endowments of the Church' only 'upon clear evidence that the endowments' are 'being wasted or misapplied' (pp. 33, 35). In the case of Wales his position is that

'were the Church to miss or to misuse the opportunity she has now begun to occupy afresh; were she, a generation hence, to have failed to win again on Welsh hill-sides the hearts of an enthusiastic people once her own; were these counties still to be sending to Westminster an almost solid phalanx hostile to the National Church; then . . . . it might be time to recast, for the sake of all, the conditions of the Church's privilege, and to reconsider her relation to the national life' (p. 37);

but that this time has not yet come.

Passing on to other subjects, the Bishop warns his clergy,

'in all earnestness, of the peril of damaging their real usefulness by overtaxing their physical strength in the daily and nightly work within their parishes;

and that,

'do what we will, the day has twenty-four hours only, and prayer and thought and systematic study—yes, and sufficient sleep and exercise, must all find place' (p. 42).

They are to use, in the consideration of the problems of the day, what they learnt 'at school and college' 'of the life and literature of other days and lands than ours' (p. 44) and their 'unique knowledge of English home life' (p. 45). And it is added—

'The Bishop, Priest, or Deacon who thinks he can define in any trade, or group of trades, the limits of a "living wage," and prescribe the mode of its enforcement, must be venturesome indeed, but the Christian man belies his creed who fails to recognize the law of Christ as laying an absolute obligation upon us all to accept our responsibility for the lives of others, and to see that, if we can help it, no family in Christian England shall live, perforce, in such a home as must degrade and stunt the life' (p. 51).

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In the third address we may call attention to the emphasis on the need of open churches as an 'opportunity for quiet' (p. 58), which people are to be taught to use, of 'exegetical' sermons (p. 60), and consequently of the study of Holy Scripture by the clergy. The Bishop looks forward to a time when 'the "Eastward Position," the administration of the Mixed Chalice, the singing of the anthem "O Lamb of God," and the use of the two Lights at the time of Holy Communion' (p. 68) may have ceased to be associated with the holding of any particular doctrine; he regards 'the Reformation' as 'perhaps' 'the greatest fact in English history' 'since the introduction of Christianity to our island' (p. 71); he deplores 'the extent' to which the practice of Confession is 'now prevalent' 'in certain parishes, congregations, and communities' (p. 72) and the 'increase' of 'non-communicating attendance' (p. 73); and he apparently regards the Report of the Committee of the Upper House of the Convocation of Canterbury on the fasting reception of the Holy Communion as entirely satisfactory.

We do not agree with all the Bishop of Rochester says, but we respectfully appreciate the high moral tone which pervades his Charge and the earnest administration of his diocese which the Charge indicates.

The Eucharistic Offering. Spiritual Instructions upon the Office of Holy Communion, together with Helps for the carrying out of the same. By G. H. S. WALPOLE, M.A., Professor of Dogmatic Theology, Gen. Theo. Sem., New York; some time Tutor Can. Scho., Truro. With Preface by MORGAN DIX, D.D., D.C.L., Rector of Trinity Church, New York. (London: Skeffington and Son, 1894.)

The same. Second Thousand. (London, 1895.)

THIS manual contains much useful matter. There is a calendar, printed with fair-sized spaces for manuscript additions, in which it is suggested that entries should be made of 'the names of the saints and heroes of the Jewish or Christian Church who are not already mentioned'; of the 'departed or living who are connected with' the user of the book 'by personal ties of natural or spiritual kinship'; of 'great events'; of 'Diocesan, Parochial, or Missionary events'; of 'rulers,' 'scholars,' 'artists,' 'musicians,' those who have given 'counsel, words, and prayers'; of 'personal mercies,' 'Birth, Baptism, Confirmation, First Communion, Marriage, Ordination, &c., &c.' This is followed by instructions on the Eucharist and on the structure of the Eucharistic Service; instructions, questions, and devotions for self-examination; a large number of prayers for use in connexion with the service; forms of preparation and thanksgiving for Communion; a selection of Eucharistic hymns; a number of intercessions; an office of spiritual Communion; a short instruction on Meditation; a table of the chief thoughts of the Collects, Epistles, and Gospels, with suggestions for special acts of praise at the recitation of the Proper Prefaces and for meditations at the different seasons.

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The most noticeable feature of the book is an arrangement of the Eucharistic Service after the plan of the Tabernacle, in which the part from the Lord's Prayer to the end of the prayer for the Church Militant is compared with the worship offered in the outer court, from the exhortations to the end of the *Sanctus* with that in the Holy Place, from the prayer of humble access to the blessing with that in the Holy of Holies. The devotions throughout are made to be in harmony with this arrangement.

There is an interesting preface by Professor Walpole, and a prefatory note, called a 'preface' on the title page and 'introduction' in the work itself, by the well-known American Churchman Dr. Morgan Dix. The former comments on the slow growth in the realization of the sacrificial aspect of the Eucharist; the latter suggests some useful thoughts on Eucharistic devotion and life, among which he wisely observes—

'Two things equally undermine the Christian character—a dry formalism and an unreasoning emotionalism. He whose religion is reduced to the observance of forms and ceremonies through which no spiritual force flows in upon his soul is but feeding on ashes; while he whose spiritual life consists in pious enthusiasm unsustained by dogmatic faith may find himself adrift on seas of speculation, when the effect of the stimulus has passed off' (Introduction, p. vii).

We have been puzzled by a point in the arrangement of the Eucharistic prayers. In the plan on p. 17, the order given is 'The Prayer of Consecration,' 'The Gift of the Body and Blood of Christ,' 'The Prayer of Oblation,' 'The Lord's Prayer,' 'The Prayer of Thanksgiving.' This order, which is followed on pp. 36–40, does not correspond with that either of the American or of the English Prayer Book. In the American Book the Oblation is closely connected with the Consecration, and precedes the Communion both of the Priest and of the people. In the English Book the Oblation, as an alternative to the Thanksgiving, follows the Lord's Prayer. We notice that on p. 115 Professor Walpole inserts on the pages generally though not invariably devoted to the public office a prayer of Oblation for private use after the Prayer of Consecration, but a supposition that this is referred to would not solve our difficulty, because it is placed before Communion. In other respects the Service printed and annotated is that of the English Book of Common Prayer, and the manual is evidently intended for English use.

Books of this kind are not without their dangers. An elaborate scheme of private devotion in connexion with the Eucharist may easily lead to confusion of thought and unreality. The copious provision of forms of prayer and thanksgiving may sometimes hinder instead of promoting the personal converse of the soul with God. But for those who will use it wisely as a supplement to the Church's office and a help to their own acts of worship and devotion this manual may be of great use. It is certainly one of which the clergy should know, and which lay persons who are seeking a new book of the kind should examine. Its usefulness might, we think, be increased if a number of blank pages were bound with it at the

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beginning and at the end. One of the copies which have been sent to us has wide margins with room for marginal notes; the other is of smaller size.

Daily Footsteps in the Church's Path. Compiled by E. L. B. C. and M. B. With a Preface by the Rev. THOMAS B. DOVER, M.A., Vicar of Old Malden, Surrey. (London: Rivington, Percival, and Co., 1895.)

THIS little volume consists of two extracts—one from a prose writer, the other from a poet—for each day in the Christian year. The compilers mention in a note at the beginning of the book that their aim

'has been to follow out as far as possible the special teaching of the Church for each Sunday and Holy Day throughout the year, and to make the Collect, Epistle, or Gospel for each Sunday the text for the whole week.'

The extracts are selected from the most various sources, and include passages from, amongst other writers, St. Chrysostom and St. Augustine; Shakespeare and Sir Thomas Browne; E. B. Pusey, J. H. Newman, Isaac Williams, John Keble; C. Kingsley and F. D. Maurice; Bishop Wilson, Bishop Westcott, Bishop Boyd Carpenter, Bishop Walsham How; James Hinton and John Ruskin; Père Grou and George Porter, S. J.; Christina Rossetti and E. B. Browning; J. C. Shairp and C. G. Spitta. The work, if it is not used to the neglect of Holy Scripture, will be useful to those who are helped by short passages on which they can quietly think or which they may read in odd moments. As specimens of its contents we may quote the extracts assigned to the Saturday in Easter week and the following Saturday.

'The devout women asked, "Who shall roll away the stone?" It ought to be, Who *can* roll away the stone?—and they found it rolled away. Often we ask, How can this be done? and often, if we do not give up, if we do what we can, and pray God to supply what is wanting, we find that it is done—the stone is rolled away.

'GEORGE PORTER, S.J.

'I know not what may soon betide,
Or how my wants may be supplied;
But Jesus knows, and will provide;

'Though sin would fill me with distress,
The Throne of Grace I dare address,
For Jesus is my righteousness.

'Against me earth and hell combine,
But on my side is power Divine;
Jesus is all, and He is mine!

'JOHN NEWTON, 1779' (p. 160).

'The days of this life are short and evil, full of sorrow and straitnesses. O merciful Jesu, when shall I stand to behold Thee? When shall I contemplate the glory of Thy Kingdom? When wilt Thou be unto me all in all? O when shall I be with Thee in Thy Kingdom which Thou hast prepared for Thy beloved from all eternity?

'THOMAS À KEMPIS.

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'A little while,
A litttle while, and we shall stand without
No more, to hear His voice; but enter in
With joy unspeakable, to see His face. B. M.' (p. 167).

A preface is prefixed by the Rev. T. B. Dover. It under-estimates, in our judgment, the value of formal methods of meditation and the number of persons to whom they are of use.

Thoughts on Religion. By the late GEORGE JOHN ROMANES, M.A., LL.D., F.R.S. Edited by CHARLES GORE, M.A., Canon of Westminster. (London: Longmans, Green, and Co., 1895.)

THE interest of this book is twofold—moral and intellectual. Morally it shows us the inner history of one who, owing a supreme allegiance to truth, has, in deference to its supposed claims, surrendered his belief in the Christian revelation, while at the same time he is conscious that, in doing so, he has also surrendered the best things which life can offer; and who, not resting content with this negative attitude, struggles onward manfully through the clouds and darkness which, for him, veil the Divine Presence, until at last he regains the vision of Him who is the Object of science and religion alike, the Life of the world, and the Light of men. Intellectually the book makes it abundantly clear that the main cause of the scepticism of some scientists, in regard to the Christian faith, is due to the fact that they have not scrutinized the ultimate results of their investigations; in other words, that in their case natural science has not been combined with metaphysics. There would be far less unbelief among scientists if they were also philosophers.

The plan of the book exhibits in an orderly sequence the progress of Romanes's thought. There are three main stages: the first is represented by the long extract in the editor's preface from the author's earlier work, *A Candid Examination of Theism*, and is the stage of thorough-going materialism; the second is exhibited in the two essays which were written for the *Nineteenth Century*, but were never published, viz. 'The Influence of Science upon Religion'; these constitute Part. I. of the present volume. In these essays the materialistic theory is definitely abandoned, while yet we are left with a wholly negative result; for it is held that, although the universe is most rationally explained as due to an originating Mind, still we are totally unable to predicate anything of this Mind; and, in particular, the facts of pain and suffering in animal and human life constrain us to deny to it the possession of moral attributes in any sense in which we can use the word 'moral.' The third stage is presented in the 'Notes' which form Part II., and which, in the editor's words, 'are the sole reason for the existence of this volume.' These 'Notes' were intended by Mr. Romanes to serve as a foundation for a work to be entitled *A Candid Examination of Religion*, which was meant to be a reply to the same author's earlier work, *A Candid Examination of Theism*. As the latter appeared under the pseudonym of 'Physicus,' so the former was to have borne the signature of 'Metaphysicus.' The result of this third and final stage is that while, from

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the standpoint of reason, it is wholly rational to be a Christian believer, yet other ingredients besides reason—*i.e.* certain moral and spiritual qualities—enter into the composition of 'faith.' At this point the book leaves us. It is a beautiful but unfinished fragment of the history of one 'pure in heart,' who, after many trials and wanderings, was allowed 'to see God.' A note by the editor completes the history of Mr. Romanes' views on religion, and informs us that before his death he 'returned to that full, deliberate communion with the Church of Jesus Christ which he had for so many years been conscientiously compelled to forego' (p. 184).

In these 'Notes' there are three points of permanent value. These are the views of Mr. Romanes upon (1) the function of reason in relation to the subject-matter of religion; (2) the analysis of faith; and (3), above all, the nature of causation.

(1) He maintains that, from the purely rational standpoint, 'pure agnosticism' is the only attitude possible towards the doctrines of the Christian religion. 'Pure agnosticism' consists in approaching these doctrines without any *a priori* conceptions at all, while recognizing that reason cannot pronounce a verdict for or against statements regarding objects and relations which lie outside the phenomenal world. 'Impure agnosticism,' on the other hand, assumes that these objects and relations are *per se* 'unknowable' by man; that man has no faculties wherewith to investigate them (pp. 107 *sqq.*). Mr. Romanes arrives at the position of 'pure agnosticism' from the consideration of the proper subject-matter of reason, viz. our sense-perceptions. But we may add that the same result follows from the one condition upon which alone the exercise of reason is possible; for the presence of God in His universe constitutes that universe a rational unity, and therefore an object of thought, and His presence with the human mind is the illuminating power of reason. Therefore God, without whom no process of reason can possibly be valid, cannot Himself be the Object of any such process; His existence cannot be proved by any logical method: λόγου ἀρχὴ οὐ λόγος ἀλλά τι κρεῖττον· τί οὖν ἂν κρεῖττον καὶ ἐπιστήμης εἴποι πλὴν Θεός;[1] for to speak of 'proofs' of the Being of God is to conceive of Him as the last link in a chain of syllogistic reasoning; and the principle εἰσὶν ἄρα ἀρχαὶ ἐξ ὧν ὁ συλλογισμός, ὧν οὐκ ἐστι συλλογισμός[2] applies, above all, to Him who is the Supreme and Universal ἀρχὴ of all reason and all knowledge.

(2) The analysis of the nature of 'faith' is especially valuable (pp. 131–58). Reason enters as an element into the composition of faith, but reason by itself, as has been shown, is unable to apprehend God. Faith, which is the power of apprehending Him, is a complex act of the whole man, and demands the co-operation of every part of his threefold being, viz. of reason and desire and will. Because of this necessity of an act of the will in order to believe, faith is not merely an intellectual but a moral attribute of man. This is exactly what we should expect on the theory of man's earthly

[1] [Arist.] *Eth. Eud.* viii. 14.
[2] Arist. *Eth. Nic.* vi. 3.

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existence as a moral probation, and this theory is the only rational account which we can give of the phenomenon of human life, while it supplies an answer to the difficulty previously raised as to the bearing of the fact of human suffering upon the moral character of God. This last point is hinted at, but not drawn out, on p. 142. Yet reason has an important part to play in relation to faith; *e.g.* reason can estimate the objective fact of the effects of faith over a large area of human life (pp. 147–53), and the continually increasing evidences of the authenticity and trustworthiness of the earliest Christian documents which have been obtained within the last few years, by the application of a careful criticism to the books of the New Testament.

(3) But the part of this book which seems to be of supreme and permanent value, and from which it gains an importance quite disproportionate to the size of the volume, is the analysis of the idea of causation (pp. 116 *sqq.*). In fact, the principles which Mr. Romanes there lays down will carry us much further than the conclusion at which he himself arrives, even into the very heart of essential Christian doctrine. The source of all the conflicts between science and religion in the past has been the assumption, implicitly or explicitly made on both sides, that, if we can point to a natural cause for any event or thing, we have thereby disproved its divine origin. Nothing can be further from the truth than this hypothesis. For the law of causation is the grand ultimate mystery of the universe. The truths that 'every fact which has a beginning has also a cause,'[1] and that the same cause always produces the same effect, are 'co-extensive with human experience.'

And yet, when we have discovered the 'cause' of a thing or event, we have come no nearer to the real explanation of it, for we can give no reason why effect *B* should always follow upon cause *A*. Thus, for example, the theory of evolution is that the different species of plants and animals which are found in our planet sprang from fewer and simpler forms in accordance with certain natural 'laws' or 'causes,' such as those of variation, of overproduction (whence the struggle for existence), of heredity (or the preservation of modifications found useful in the struggle of life), and of the survival of the fittest. But evolution fails to be an explanation of the universe, because it cannot tell us why living organisms should vary in this manner, produce offspring at such a rate, thus inherit, and thus survive. We are compelled to read the facts of our own nature into the external world, and to associate the ideas of causation and volition. Yet, although we believe, for our part, that all causation is due to will, we cannot regard this result as an inference from the point of view of pure reason, as Mr. Romanes is inclined to do (pp. 117–19); for we hold that reason can only present us with the phenomenon of a uniform sequence. A 'natural law' is only the formulated expression of the fact that the succession of events, *for us*, is always *A* followed by *B*, and never any other

[1] Mill, *Logic*, p. 212.

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combination. Thus natural laws can only present us with subjective experiences, not with objective realities. Yet the idea of causation is as necessary a category of human thought as that of space or time, and whether subjective (and pure reason can only assure us of this) or objective remains as the 'mystery of mysteries.' The advance of science, exhibiting 'natural causation' in every department of experience, while entirely destructive of the Deistic idea of God as a τεχνίτης (common to Paley and his opponents), does not destroy, but rather, with increasing force, compels us to return to the Athanasian view of Him as ὁ κτίστης. And thus an analysis of the idea of causation brings us to the doctrine of God's immanence in creation, which has not been neglected (as Mr. Romanes implies, p. 120) by the best Christian thinkers in the past. It is not a new theory, but part and parcel of the theology of such Christian thinkers as Athanasius and Augustine, that the distinction between the 'natural' and the 'supernatural' is not absolute, but only relative to us; that all natural causation is the expression of the Divine Will immanent in creation; that, to use in a modified form the illustration of a French philosopher, the Resurrection of Jesus Christ is not more miraculous, but at the same time not less miraculous, than the budding of a rose. We think that Mr. Romanes should have noticed that the doctrine of God's immanence in nature was insisted upon by Christian theology nearly eighteen centuries before the birth of Darwin (St. John i. 3, 4). The second criticism which we have to offer is that the author has not perceived (or at least has not expressed the thought) that the only possible reconciliation of the transcendence of God postulated by religion, and His 'immanence' postulated by science, is to be found in the Christian doctrine of the ΛΟΓΟΣ—in other words, of the Christian view of God as the Triune Being. We can only regret in this connexion that, owing to the premature death of the author, the promise made on p. 120 (*i.e.* a discussion upon the 'possibility of the union' of 'immanence' and 'personality') has not been fulfilled.

There are also certain individual statements which invite, and indeed compel, criticism. The doctrine of the Incarnation is regarded as a 'particular dogma' (p. 105), an 'ecclesiastical dogma' (p. 109)—that is, as an element which can be removed from the Christian religion, while leaving a residuum which can be still called 'Christianity.' This surely is a misuse of language, for by the withdrawal of the Incarnation 'Christianity' is entirely evacuated of its essence. Nor can we assent to the opinion that the language used by Christ of Himself is compatible with the supposition that His Personality was superhuman—that is, angelic, but not Divine (see p. 107 and editor's note thereon). Such a view is irreconcilable with passages like St. Matthew xi. 25–30 (=St. Luke x. 21–4) and St. Matthew xxviii. 19—that is, with the Synoptic representation of our Lord's words, leaving out of sight the discourses in St. John's Gospel.

There is as serious a misconception on p. 145, where the 'doctrine of the vileness of the body' is stated to be 'scarcely less distinctive' of Christianity than that of the resurrection of the body.

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It is needless to say more on this subject, except that the doctrine in question is Manichæan and not Christian. The mistake is apparently due to the unfortunate mistranslation of Phil. iii. 21, which is perpetuated in the Burial Office of our Church.

The doctrine of the Fall of Man is not affected by evolution, certainly not 'hard hit' by it (pp. 176–7): for the doctrine of the Fall does not imply that the first man enjoyed all the gifts and developed faculties possessed by his latest and most cultured descendants; it does not deny the fact of progress. But it does involve the belief that the first man originally stood in a right relation to God, which he forfeited by the first act of conscious disobedience, and that, in consequence, human progress has not been what God meant it to be; in other words, that the orderly development of man has been marred and interrupted in the highest—the moral—region of his being by the fact of sin. And this doctrine is in harmony with the facts of moral experience, which reason is bound to take into account. There is an admirable passage upon this subject in Mr. A. L. Moore's *Essays Literary and Scientific*, from which we would quote the following: 'It is because he [the Christian evolutionist] sees in sin the great obstacle to the true development of man that he claims on the side of progress the Gospel of One who came "to save His people from their sins"' (p. 66). Mr. Romanes goes on to state that 'long before Darwin the story of man in Paradise was recognized by thoughtful theologians as allegorical.' True; but this 'recognition' of an 'allegorical' element has reference only to the framework of the narrative, and not to the great spiritual truths of the creation of man in the Image of God and to the defacement of that Image by the Fall, which are conveyed in that 'allegorical' framework. It is obviously impossible to deny these truths without denying the inspiration of the first chapters of Genesis, and there is the widest possible difference between the statement that the sacred narrative is not meant to teach geological or historical but spiritual truth, and the statement that this spiritual teaching itself is positively false and misleading.

Lastly, the passage on 'Christian demonology' (pp. 180–2) does not seem consistent with an attitude of 'pure agnosticism.' No better criticism, however, could have been passed upon it than that contained in the editor's note (p. 180). Certainly Christianity could not accept the 'hypothesis of the mendacity of Christ,' nor even of His 'ignorance,' if by 'ignorance' we mean a want of knowledge which could result in untrue statements concerning the spiritual world.

Yet, in spite of the criticisms which we have felt it our duty to offer, this book contains, as we have pointed out, elements of permanent interest and value both for scientists and theologians. More especially, if scientific men would adopt the views on causation here enunciated by Mr. Romanes, the last vestiges of the fancied opposition between science and religion would finally disappear. The Christian student, as he rises from the perusal of *Thoughts on Religion*, may well 'thank God and take courage.'

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Studies in the Christian Character. Sermons, with an Introductory Essay, by FRANCIS PAGET, D.D., Dean of Christ Church, Oxford. (London: Longmans, Green, and Co., 1895.)

THIS volume of Sermons shows that the mantle of the late Dean of St. Paul's has fallen upon the shoulders of the Dean of Christ Church. Both in subject matter and general treatment, in style and diction, as well as by frequent reference to his writings, we are reminded of R. W. Church; and yet Dr. Paget is no mere imitator or reproducer of what has already been said, but he has, so to speak, happily grafted his own independent studies of Christian character upon the stock of acquired knowledge which was already the precious heritage of the English Church. A volume of sermons which can be enjoyed in the study as much as in the congregation is a great boon, and these sermons thoroughly repay the reading. They are addressed to an intellectual audience, they appeal to the moral sense of persons accustomed to think, but they never cease to be practical; and they are full of deeply spiritual thoughts. Besides, the beauty of the language, the careful balancing of the sentences, and the proportion of the several parts will prove attractive to many readers. Perhaps there is here and there a little too much elaboration, and, possibly, for those who heard them delivered there would be a feeling of monotony where everything is so perfected. The reader, however, does not experience this in the same degree that the hearer does; but, as he reads and enjoys these sermons, he will probably be struck by three special excellences. First, the whole series contributes—not all of them equally, but all in some measure—to an appreciation of the Christian character. The title of the volume is not, as so often, the title of one or two sermons, but it covers them all, and each sermon adds something to our knowledge of this subject. Secondly, we find ourselves far away from theological controversy and the 'higher criticism,' and feel that we can study without interruption the bearing of God's word upon the habits, tempers, and motives of the Christian life, while all the great verities of the Christian Faith are assumed to be accepted by those who hear. Thirdly, we experience help and encouragement in the illustrations of Christian character which are drawn from the works of great painters (pp. 96, 163), from poetry (pp. 19, 20, 138), from well-known literature (pp. 58, 250, 257), but, above all, from the characters of men, both living and departed, who were conspicuous for some excellence both in Oxford and in the world outside (cf. Sermons VI., XIX., and XX.)

The Sermons are preceded by an Essay on the Study of the Christian Character, which suggests three lines of thought: (1) that it is a great safeguard against formalism, (2) that it appeals to those who doubt the truth of Christianity, (3) that its capacity for meeting constant change of circumstances makes it probable that it will be of as great utility in the future as in the past. In this essay there is an abundance of good things about the formation and powers of the Christian character, but we must refrain from quoting more than the following, viz.:

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1. 'That which has been marked as the characteristic note of the Psalter is also the secret of the mysteriousness which is felt through all the simplicity and homeliness of the Christian character; a mysteriousness out of which emerges its power to control and overawe mere force and to make cleverness uncomfortable. It bears about it the air of God's Presence; it is accustomed to the ways of His Court; its indifference to the world rests on a glad and loving deference to Him; in communion with Him it has received the distinction for which nothing upon earth accounts' (p. xviii).

2. 'It does seem clear that those who deny the Divinity of Christ must think that the Christian character was introduced and realized and propagated and maintained under strangely incongruous and uncongenial conditions. It certainly does not look like a character that has started up out of an enthusiastic delusion, an exaggerated and misguided devotion, a fanatical misunderstanding of a teacher's meaning, a credulous fostering of irrational hopes and fancies; still less can the thought of it be brought into connexion with any wilful or self-deceiving fraud' (p. xxvi).

The whole passage, developing the same argument, is very powerful, but too long for quotation (see pp. xxvi–vii).

3. 'The sort of men Christ's servants come to be, the traits they take and perfect as they move towards death, are a fair token what it really is that they hope to find beyond death. Few things tell on character more surely and precisely than the goal on which the heart is set and the temper in which that goal is sought. And certainly the Christian character, as it appears in Christ-like lives, does not look at all as though it had been formed and fostered and determined by a mercenary attention to a selfish aim. For the faculties and the capacity that grow in those who try to be true to Christ in daily life are strikingly ill suited for the opportunities of enjoyment which might be imagined in a heaven of selfishness. Christians do not grow in the capacity for selfish pleasure, nor attain an exceptional power of relishing to the utmost a separate and individual gratification. The faculty which they develop is the faculty of self-denial; of glad, unhindered self-forgetfulness for others' sake; of delighting in goodness and eliciting what is best in others; of simple, cheerful, unclouded self-surrender' (pp. xxxv–vi).

The Sermons, though not so arranged, fall naturally into groups by the occasions on which they were delivered. There are (1) the College Sermons during Term, (2) the Sermons preached in the Cathedral on the Great Holy Days, (3) the Sermons delivered before the University at other times, and (4) those which were preached on special occasions in Oxford or elsewhere. 1. On the whole we prefer the College Sermons for some things—*e.g.* those on the Lord's Day, the Simplicity of Goodness, Patriotism, &c.—because they are a trifle less elaborate than some others, and contain those illustrations from persons, living or deceased, of which we have spoken. We like what is said about the value of Sunday (pp. 37, 38), especially this idea, which is well worked out: 'For Sunday is our best, if not our only, hope of self-preservation in the true meaning of the term;' and the analysis of 'simple goodness' (pp. 74, 75) is delightful, nor could the thought be more appropriately illustrated than it is (pp. 75–8) by the lives of certain Oxford men. 2. We must confess to a little disappointment in those sermons which the Dean preaches by custom on Christmas

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Day, Good Friday, and Ascension Day, because we should have liked more dogmatic teaching. We feel that the mystery of the Incarnation demanded more explicit treatment than it receives in Sermons X., XI., XII. ; and the same is true of the Good Friday Sermons (XIII., XIV.), and perhaps it is even more noticeable here. 'The confession of dependence' is not all that we should expect in the exposition of those mysterious words 'I thirst,' nor do we like 'Sins of Ignorance' considered on such a day apart from the work of the Great Advocate of sinners, who pleads for the forgiveness. During Lent the subject would have been natural, but it is hardly so, by itself, on Good Friday. The Ascension Day Sermons (XXI., XXII.) answer our expectations on this point better : we particularly like the second one, which is the last of the volume. There are, however, in this group of Sermons some passages of great beauty, of solemn impressiveness, and exhibiting a wonderful insight into human character. We would instance the effect of the Divine Presence of the Incarnate Saviour upon human life (pp. 118–9), the guilt that attaches to and the forgiveness necessary for sins of ignorance (pp. 156–9), and 'the true calling of a human soul into the very Presence of Almighty God,' what it would feel as to its own unpreparedness (pp. 241, 242). These are passages which make these Sermons well worth studying, but we still regret the scantiness of dogmatic teaching. 3. Among the University Sermons that which will attract most attention, we expect, will be the 'Safeguard of Judgment' (No. II.) : it is founded upon Wordsworth's lines written in London (1791), viz. :

> 'It is not wholly so to him who looks
> In steadiness, who hath among least things
> An under-sense of greatest' (pp. 19, 20).

Its adaptation to those who mix in University life is admirable (pp. 21–3), as is also the illustration from St. Paul's calmness of thought while he wrote his Epistles from the great cities of the Roman Empire (pp. 24, 25).

4. Among the occasional Sermons we may instance the 'Work of God's Word' (No. IV.), where we have a most beautiful description of the influence of Bible study upon the Christian character (pp. 49–52), from which we will take one short passage, viz. :

> 'It is the character of holiness, the character of the saints ; the book whose influence has quickened, and directed, and chastened, and upheld it is the Bible ; and the everlasting type that gives it those unchanging notes of moral beauty is to be seen in Jesus Christ our Lord' (p. 51).

We will conclude with a quotation from Sermon XVII., 'Honouring all Men,' which will repay careful reading, even though we may know Dr. Liddon's great University Sermon on the same subject, for the treatment is different—a passage which describes what Grace can do for the reformation of human character, viz.:

> 'St. Peter lived in daily contact with those who were made pure and strong and holy by the grace of God. He saw, indeed, how low men could sink down in lust and cruelty ; he saw the monstrous vices of a

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corrupt, licentious civilization; he took account of all that. But in the midst of such things he saw again and again a strange growth; he saw forms of moral splendour springing up, surpassing all that men had thought possible. Out of the very depths of the wickedness around him there came characters that he could only watch with silent awe and astonishment and joy; characters with deep reserves of tenderness and strength, blending, into a type undreamt of, traits of beauty which had before been set in contrast; characters in which all men who could think and feel might see a sight more moving and affecting and controlling than any glory of the world of sense, in nature or in art' (pp. 193, 194).

Chapters from some Memoirs. By ANNE THACKERAY RITCHIE. (London: Macmillan and Co., 1894.)

THIS book is perfectly charming. It introduces us to all sorts of well-known characters in literature and art, and gives us glimpses of the inner life of many interesting persons in the earlier part of this century both in France and Germany, in London and at Rome. The only difficulty is to abstain from quoting all the delightful bits. The first four chapters deal with English life in Paris at various periods down to the end of the war with Germany, and we make the acquaintance of some amusing characters. Jasmin, the barber poet, and Madame, the professor of history, with her dog Bibi, are quite out of the common. Probably most readers will find the child's impressions of Napoleon's funeral (pp. 29–30) the most interesting description, but to our minds the incident of hearing Chopin play is a pathetic memoir of that unfortunate musician's sad life which deserves to be added to the ordinary biographical notices of him.

'It was opened by a slight, delicate-looking man, with long hair, bright eyes, and a thin, hooked nose. When Miss X. saw him she hastily put down her basket upon the floor, caught both his hands in hers, began to shake them gently and to scold him in an affectionate, reproving way for having come to the door. He laughed, said he had guessed who it was, and motioned to her to enter, and I followed into a narrow little room, with no furniture in it whatever but an upright piano against the wall and a few straw chairs standing on the wooden shiny floor. He made us sit down with some courtesy, and in reply to her questions said he was pretty well. Had he slept? He shook his head. Had he eaten? He shrugged his shoulders, and then he pointed to the piano. He had been composing something—I remember that he spoke in an abrupt, light sort of way—would Miss X. like to hear it? "She would like to hear it," she answered, "of course, she would dearly like to hear it; but it would tire him to play; it could not be good for him." He smiled again, shook back his long hair, and sat down immediately; and then the music began, and the room was filled with continuous sound, he looking over his shoulder now and then to see if we were liking it. The lady sat absorbed and listening, and as I looked at her I saw tears in her eyes—great clear tears rolling down her cheeks, while the music poured on and on' (pp. 25–6). 'She looked hard at me as we drove away. "Never forget that you have heard Chopin play," she said with emotion, "for soon no one will ever hear him play any more"' (p. 27). 'I have remembered this little scene' (says Mrs. Ritchie) 'with comfort and pleasure, and known that he was not altogether alone in life, and that he had good friends who cared for his genius and tended him to the last' (p. 28).

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Out of the 'Witches' Caldron,' as the next two chapters are called, we cannot refrain from quoting Mrs. Ritchie's recollections of Charlotte Brontë, viz.

'A guest never to be forgotten by me, a tiny, delicate little person, whose small hand nevertheless grasped a mighty lever which set all the literary world of that day vibrating' (p. 60). 'The door opens wide, and the two gentlemen come in, leading a tiny, delicate, serious little lady, pale, with fair straight hair and steady eyes. She may be a little over thirty; she is dressed in a little *barège* dress with a pattern of faint green moss. She enters in mittens, in silence, in seriousness; our hearts are beating with wild excitement.... This, then, is the authoress, the unknown power whose books have set all London talking, reading, speculating; some people even say our father wrote the books—the wonderful books.' (p. 61). 'We all smile as my father stoops to offer his arm; for, genius though she may be, Miss Brontë can barely reach his elbow' (p. 61).

We can sympathize with the little girl who 'blushed up and burst into tears' when she was spoken to by an old man (Mr. Samuel Rogers), who stood 'nodding his head like a Chinese mandarin with an ivory face,' and said to her, 'My little girl, will you come and live with me? You shall be as happy as the day is long; you shall have a white pony to ride and feed upon red-currant jelly' (p. 69). In London we are brought into touch with many persons whose names and writings are still household words to us. For instance, we are shown what an influence Charles Dickens had upon the Thackeray family in more ways than one.

'I can remember, when *David Copperfield* came out, hearing him [W. M. Thackeray] saying with emphasis to my grandmother that "little Em'ly's letter to old Peggotty was a masterpiece." I wondered to hear him at the time, for that was not at all the part I cared for most, nor indeed could I imagine how little Em'ly ever was so stupid as to run away from Peggotty's enchanted house-boat. But we each and all enjoyed in turn our share of those thin green books full of delicious things, and how glad we were when they came to our hands at last, after our elders and our governess and our butler had all read them in turn' (p. 78).

In a later chapter Mrs. Ritchie bears witness again to this influence of Dickens by saying—

'Early life is like a chapter out of Dickens, I think—one *sees* people then: their tricks of expression, their vivid sayings, and their quaint humours and oddities do not surprise one; one accepts everything as a matter of course—no matter how unusual it may be' (p. 192).

The mention of 'our butler' in the passage quoted above reminds us that 'Jeames de la Pluche' was an important person in the Thackeray household, being not only invaluable in his thoughtfulness and attention, but also famous as a literary character, who on a memorable occasion presented the family with a china 'breakfast array' and 'a copy of verses, not written, but put together out of printed letters from the *Times*' (p. 84). Years afterwards he told Mr. Thackeray reproachfully, 'I sent you the breakfast things; you guessed a great many people, but you never guessed they came from me.' Then we are taken to John Leech's study, and see him

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at work for *Punch* (pp. 93–8); we see Thackeray in a flutter before his first lecture in Willis's Rooms, and Mrs. Kemble coming to his rescue, and the Duchess of Sutherland in her 'little Quaker cap' among the audience (pp. 123–7); and we are taken to Cheyne Row, Chelsea, and get excellent portraits of Mr. and Mrs. Carlyle. Of the latter we are told—

'Gainsborough should have been alive to paint her; slim, bright, dark-eyed, upright, in her place. She looked like one of the grand ladies our father used sometimes to take us to call upon. She used to be handsomely dressed in velvet and point lace. She sat there at leisure, and prepared for conversation. She was not familiar, but cordial, dignified, and interested in everything as she sat installed in her corner of the sofa by one of the little tables covered with nicknacks of silver and mother-of-pearl' (p. 135).

Of Carlyle himself his wife is quoted as saying, 'If you wish for a quiet life, never you marry a dyspeptic man of genius' (p. 136). From London we return to the Continent; to Weimar and Goethe's family (pp. 113–7); to a country residence near Corbeil, in France, and get a peep at some queer neighbours at the château (pp. 164–5); and to Rome, *viâ* Marseilles and Genoa, to mix 'with a number of interesting people, all drinking of the waters of Trevi,' with the intention of returning in person or in spirit (pp. 173–4). But the 'bonne bouche' at the close of a delicious repast is found in the last chapter, where we are given an admirable sketch of Mrs. Kemble. One sees her from all points of view, both in public and in private life, and though we may laugh at her peculiarities in dress (pp. 198–9) we must admire Mrs. Ritchie's portrait of her in features and character (pp. 203–5), and, above all, we must delight in 'her great and fervent piety' (pp. 214–5). Altogether one could not wish for a pleasanter volume of memoirs.

In the Light of Christ. Sermons preached in the Church of St. Paul, Newton Abbot, during Lent 1894, by ARTHUR HENNELL SIMMS, M.A., Rector of Wolborough. (London: Skeffington and Son, 1895.)

THIS volume contains two courses of Lenten Sermons, the first dealing with 'Modern Life in the Light of Christ,' from which the title of the book comes, and the second expounding 'the Seven Seals' of Revel. v.–viii. 1. The first series is more finished and more original than the second, which the author acknowledges to be based on Dean Vaughan's *Lectures on the Revelation*; but in both courses of Sermons there is a certain power of making the problems of life and the hard things of God's Word yield a practical lesson. We think the style somewhat difficult for a mixed congregation, and some of the subjects to be beyond the ordinary grasp; but, as each sermon recapitulates the line of thought which has gone before, the general purpose of the teaching would be obvious even to those who did not take in all that was said. In the second series it is apparently assumed that the congregation is familiar with the Book of Revelation and its methods of presenting great truths: we think that the

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exposition of this difficult portion of Scripture might have been made much more simple and more useful by adopting the Bible-class method. As it is, a great deal of the argument and illustration is thrown away upon an audience which is not accustomed to minute study of the Apocalypse. The first series is easier to follow, because it deals with everyday facts, *e.g.* society, divided Christendom, scepticism and infidelity, philanthropy, the problem of evil; and the consideration of these subjects leads appropriately to the thought of the Church as 'the living witness,' like the Virgin Mother standing by the Cross and pointing (as it were) to the Crucified as the remedy for all these difficulties. We like Sermons II. and III. most, because there are some things said in them which require to be said again and again, *e.g.* (on p. 16)—

'Christian rules without the Living Christ are no more likely to prevail than the rules of any society which aims at the moral welfare of mankind. Not the precepts of the Sermon on the Mount itself, applied with the utmost literalness, can have force to bring the scattered elements of society together.' 'He did not trust to the handing on of certain definite precepts, as those of His followers seem to think who appear to read nothing but the Sermon on the Mount. He formed a Church.'

The preacher had said the same thing in the previous sermon (pp. 13–14).

'A set of rules is a set of rules, whether it is to command the "offering of the other cheek" or to command a war of extermination. The really important question is, Who gives the rules? The Christian rules without the Living Christ are no more likely to prevail than the rules of the Peace Society, or of any society for promoting temperance, or purity, or what you will. It is not the system which must come first, but the Man.'

In Sermon III. there are some remarks on modern literature (pp. 33, 34) and on modern education (pp. 34–6) which are worthy of attention; but we must not do more than quote these sentences: 'The literature of the day is a barometer of public opinion; it rises and falls by reason of an influence outside itself.' 'Why, asks a well-known Frenchman in a recent number of a widely-read Parisian paper,[1] is there such an outbreak of Anarchism in France? And he answers, It is because we have ceased to teach the Christian faith in our schools.' If we had space we would gladly quote what is said (on pp. 37, 38) about the speculative tendencies of science, and the remarkable phenomenon that religion cannot be kept out of mind, however much men try to banish it from them. We think that the preacher lost an opportunity in dealing with scepticism and infidelity: he does not suggest a remedy. Probably none of his hearers had any tendency to such an attitude towards religion; but if he had taught them how to deal with persons who had such a tendency he would have done well. There is a passage in the Sermon entitled 'The Divine Calm' which suggests this criticism (p. 177). 'People are fond of fixing you in an apparent dilemma in this way. If you cannot tell them as much about the Divine purpose as you might be

[1] M. Jules Simon, in *Figaro*.

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able to tell them about the purpose of your next-door neighbour they turn triumphantly upon you and ask what your faith is worth.' Religious men and women need to be taught how they are to act, and how they are to answer, in the presence of an unbeliever. Sermon IV., on 'Philanthropy,' is somewhat obscure: it overlooks the fact that most philanthropists, whom *we* have to deal with, are baptized, although their actions are not always guided by a Christian motive. In Sermon V. the thought of the world providing remedies for pain as an evil, for crime, and for low morality, in the way of philanthropy, legal restrictions, and secular education (p. 68), leaving religion out of account, is one that deserves attention. The general line of the sermons on the 'Seven Seals' is summed up in the following passage:

'Against the conflicts of existence, O Christ, set Thy patience and Thy love; against its selfishness, the spirit of Thy sacrifice; against its want, Thy victorious endurance, born of that "hunger and thirst after righteousness" which God will always satisfy; against its sad mortality set Thy glorious hope, Thy life-giving power; break down the pride of the ungodly, and claim their souls; give the oppressed the white robe of absolution; make them free in that liberty of Christ wherein their true nature may find its perfect scope' (p. 170).

The Work of the Holy Spirit. Thirteen Sermons with an Appendix by S. C. Lowry, M.A., Vicar of North Holmwood, Dorking. (London: Skeffington and Son, 1894.)

It may be the case that the work of the Holy Spirit does not receive as much attention as it should in the pulpits of the Church. If it be so it cannot be from lack of opportunity and encouragement, for the Book of Common Prayer suggests the treatment of it at other times than Pentecost. It may be pointed out that the Collects for the Fifth Sunday after Easter, the Sunday after Ascension Day, and the Ninth and Nineteenth Sundays after Trinity, the Epistle for the Eighth Sunday after Trinity, and the Gospels for the Fourth Sunday after Easter, the Sunday after Ascension Day, the First and Second Sundays after Trinity are opportunities for teaching about the Holy Spirit. The parish priest who follows the guidance of the Liturgy will not allow the doctrine of the Holy Spirit to become a 'forgotten truth,' and will not incur the reproach of any 'aged layman' on this point. Mr. Lowry has done well both to preach and to publish these Sermons, although they do not cover as much ground as we could desire, because they may stir up some of the clergy to preach more upon this subject. We do not feel, however, that there is any deficiency of hymns in honour of the Holy Spirit; *Hymns Ancient and Modern* include plenty, and among them some of the most popular in the collection. And the number of excellent books available for the clergy—*e.g.* Mr. Moule's *Veni Creator*, Archdeacon Hare's *Mission of the Comforter*, and Bishop Moberly's *Bampton Lectures*, 1868—make the study of the doctrine comparatively easy. We wonder that the Holy Spirit is not more frequently considered in Lenten sermons; for systematic teaching on this subject by the parish priest would be preferable to this incessant running about after strange preachers for the sake of spiritual excitement. We do

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not, of course, expect to find anything new in sermons upon the work of the Holy Spirit, but we do expect a fairly exhaustive treatment of the subject in thirteen discourses, even though they were not delivered as a consecutive series. We were sorry, therefore, not to find a sermon upon the Divine Personality of the Holy Ghost, and another upon His relations to the Church. The last six clauses of the Apostles' Creed bring out most valuable teaching about the operations of God the Holy Ghost, and the four great notes or marks of the Church—unity, sanctity, Catholicity, Apostolicity—are mostly due to His indwelling energy. But we miss all these points in Mr. Lowry's volume. The study of the Greek Testament in Romans i. 4 and Hebrews ix. 14 would have checked the hasty assumption that 'the Spirit of holiness' and 'the Eternal Spirit' were titles of the Holy Ghost (Sermon III. and App. iv.), for in all probability, as the context requires, both passages refer to the Divine nature of our Lord, and in 1 Thessal. v. 19 it is a mistake to regard τὸ πνεῦμα as Personal, for the Holy Ghost Himself cannot be 'quenched,' whereas His spiritual gifts, of which the passage speaks, can be 'quenched,' 'despised,' and 'proved.' The same error appears (Sermon VII.) in connexion with Acts xix. 2, for the Ephesian disciples knew nothing of the miraculous gifts of the Spirit: Πνεῦμα Ἅγιον must mean the same thing in both clauses, viz. not the *Person*, but the *gifts* of the Holy Ghost. An opportunity is lost in teaching about the Holy Ghost when the work of the Paraclete is not illustrated by Romans viii. 16, 26, because the word 'Comforter' left unexplained is misleading to English minds. Mr. Lowry says nothing to make it understood. Sermon IX., 'Unity and Diversity,' is by far the most interesting of the series, and we agree that 'the double portion' asked for by Elisha is probably the elder son's share; but we wonder if Mr. Lowry has ever read Isaac Williams's sermon on 'Elisha,'[1] for he would see that there was much in Elisha's life and work to be urged for the other view, viz. that Elisha had 'double' the share of the Holy Spirit that his master Elijah had had. To the sermon on 'Confirmation' (VII.) we are bound to object (1) that the attack on the Church of Rome and on Protestantism was quite unnecessary (pp. 53–5); we find the same kind of attack in Sermon X. (p. 78), where Mr. Lowry does not perceive that the story which he quotes is obviously a Mohammedan invention in order to disparage Christianity: (2) that his idea of Confirmation is too subjective; we cannot believe that the ordinance 'is barren of results' (p. 57) because there is not 'any real desire to receive the aid of the Holy Ghost'; we cannot believe that the Holy Ghost's coming depends upon the person's disposition, or we should be compelled to give up infant baptism: (3) that too much is made of the case of the Quakers (p. 58); such a position would go far to deny the necessity of Confirmation, whereas, in the matter of the Quakers, if what Mr. Lowry says is true, 'exceptio probat regulam.' The weak point of these Sermons is the sacramental doctrine. However much some Churchmen would like to

[1] *Old Testament Characters*, xxi.

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see the Invocation of the Holy Spirit upon the elements restored to the Consecration Prayer in our Liturgy, we must not say 'the Holy Ghost is the real Consecrator' (p. 46). Surely, according to Western ideas, Christ is the real Consecrator in His own ordinance; we act in His name; the Holy Spirit is God's agent for bringing about the result for which we pray, and it cannot be necessary to instruct God how to accomplish what we ask Him to do. The truth is, our Consecration Prayer involves the Invocation, although we do not mention the Holy Spirit. And why should Mr. Lowry throw any doubt upon the English manner of ordaining priests (p. 48)? Here again we Westerns have our own custom, and we need not regret that we differ from the Easterns in little points such as a *direct* instead of a *precatory* form of words. It would have been well if Mr. Lowry had taught more definitely on the subject of baptismal regeneration, and had at least mentioned absolution and the power of the keys as the result of our Lord's breathing of the Spirit upon the Apostles (St. John xx. 22, 23). We recommend Mr. Lowry to read Bishop Moberly's *The Administration of the Holy Spirit in the Body of Christ* (Bampton Lectures, 1868) before he continues his sermons on this subject. The Appendix is a good idea, but not sufficiently complete, as there is no table of passages bearing on the Spirit's work in the Church; the objective side of His work needs to be enforced along with the subjective.

The Virgin Mother. Retreat Addresses by the Right Rev. A. C. A. Hall, D.D., Bishop of Vermont. (New York: Longmans, Green, and Co., 1894.)

Addresses delivered in Retreats necessarily lose much of their force and attractiveness by being published from notes and being read by those who had not the privilege of hearing them from the conductor's lips. It will, no doubt, strike many who read the present volume that the subject is drawn out to an inordinate length. Two Addresses are devoted to the Predestination and Training of the Virgin Mother for her vocation; there is one upon the Flight into Egypt; and the last is upon the Virgin Mother waiting for the Gift of the Holy Ghost. We think that there is something fanciful in this study of the Virgin Mother's life, especially as there is no address upon the scene where she stands outside the crowd with our Lord's brethren, desiring to speak with Him. Bishop Hall's only allusions to this scene are in his first address, where he says (1) in reference to St. Luke xi. 27, 28, 'He is not denying His Mother's honour, but only referring that honour and praise to its truest, deepest cause'; and (2) in reference to St. Matt. xii. 46–50, 'At once repudiating any merely natural relationship that would interfere with His heavenly Father's work, and at the same time declaring that all may have a share in Mary's highest prerogative' (pp. 3, 4). We think this scene would have lent itself to practical lessons quite as much as the flight into Egypt (which, after all, belongs to Joseph's obedience), or the scene in the upper room (Acts i. 14), where 'the Mother of Jesus' is among those who are gathered together praying. We draw atten-

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tion to this omission because Bishop Hall says in his last address (p. 205), 'We have dwelt on every instance in which she comes before us in the Gospel narrative.' We are also surprised to find no allusion anywhere to Galat. iv. 4, 'made of a woman'—we should have expected it in the essay on 'The Virgin Birth,' because, considering the context, it would have served the writer's purpose quite as well as the quotation from St. Ignatius, *Trall.* 9 (p. 221)—and we should have liked some exposition (on p. 188) of 'the piercing sword,' in reference to its context (St. Luke ii. 35), in the meditation on the Crucifixion.

While there are in these Addresses many things to be thankful for there is a great deal which we cannot accept. We shall give specimens of either kind. There are some excellent remarks (pp. 48, 49) about vocation, whether for sisterhood or priesthood, though the warning against turning the home into a convent is marred by one phrase, 'acting as a sort of demi-semi Sister of mercy.' Again, on pp. 53–4 the necessity of a right disposition on our part in order to appropriate grace is admirably put; *e.g.* 'Absolution will never stand in the place of contrition. There is no more deadly snare than confession without repentance. There is an old Latin motto which says, 'Tanta gratia quanta dispositio.' So on pp. 73, 74 the duty of joy, even in the midst of outward sorrow, is illustrated by the Church's use of the *Magnificat* upon her fasting days equally with her festivals. So on pp. 79–81 there is helpful teaching about the Incarnation, and on pp. 93–5 upon the analogy between the Incarnation and the Eucharist; *e.g.*—

> 'It is a common devotional expression to speak of the *miracle* of the Blessed Sacrament. It is, really and truly, no miracle at all. It is a *mystery*. A *miracle* involves the suspension of the ordinary laws of nature by the intervention of some higher law. But this is not the case with the Blessed Sacrament. . . . And just so is it in the Incarnation. There is no *miracle*, but a great *mystery* in the union of the Divine and Human Natures in One Person. God is not changed into Man, and the Manhood is not made Divine; but Human Nature, in its perfection, is taken up into the Divine in the Person of Christ, without any change or impairing of His original dignity. . . . The only *miracle* about the Incarnation was in the Virgin Birth—in the manner of His entrance into the world.'

On pp. 111, 112, 113 we have some useful remarks upon the distinction between 'sin' and 'sinfulness,' and 'the distinction between the special cleansing given in Absolution and the cleansing power of the Body and Blood of Christ in Holy Communion.' For these helps in doctrinal teaching we are grateful to Bishop Hall. But we cannot say as much for the following: on p. 7 the Scotist view of the Incarnation is maintained, as if it was the only reasonable view: 'It was probably God's original, eternal purpose that His Son should become Incarnate and assume our human nature, quite apart from the after necessity of restoring that nature;' and on p. 8, 'Sin came in and modified that original plan of God.' We prefer to hold with Dr. Liddon (on Rom. viii. 3) that 'περὶ ἁμαρτίας seems to

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negative the Scotist hypothesis that the Incarnation would have taken place if man had not fallen. Cf. Heb. ii. 14.' We must also take exception to the view expressed (on pp. 87, 88) concerning the limitations of our Lord's human knowledge. He asks, 'Why should people find a difficulty in accepting any limitations?' We are constrained to reply that Scripture does not authorize us in so doing, except in one point (St. Mark xiii. 32). We likewise dislike what Bishop Hall has written about the vicarious character of Christ's sufferings on p. 147; *e.g.* 'He is not our Substitute, He is our great Leader and Representative. He did not die that we might not die.' We consider that is contradictory of the plain assertion of Scripture in Gal. ii. 20, 'Who loved me and gave Himself for me,'[1] and the emphatic use of ἀντὶ, not merely ὑπὲρ, in St. Matt. xx. 28, together with ἀντίλυτρον ὑπὲρ πάντων in 1 Tim. ii. 6. The idea of *substitution* must not be excluded from our Lord's death, however much it may have been exaggerated in former times. Then we should like to ask Bishop Hall what authority he has for stating (pp. 30–1) that St. Mary 'had as a girl dedicated her maidenhood entirely to God's service,' and 'had foregone that great hope,' viz. of being the mother of the Messiah, when at the very time of the Annunciation she was the espoused wife of Joseph. And is not the phrase 'Think of Mary singing the *Magnificat* (1) as the representative of humanity, the second Eve' (p. 61), an exaggeration, which, if it finds some support in a passage of Irenæus (bk. III. xxxii.), is liable to introduce confusion into the relations of the Virgin Mother and her Divine Son? We think also that to say (p. 164) 'the marriage feast at Cana was the occasion of St. John's introduction to St. Mary' shows a disregard of the fact that Salome, the Virgin Mother's sister (St. John xix. 25), was that apostle's mother, and therefore he was St. Mary's nephew; and we see little use in perpetuating the error of the *Stabat Mater* that the Virgin Mother remained upon Calvary through the three hours of darkness and heard the fourth saying from the Cross (p. 189): this is not the natural view of St. John xix. 27. However, in spite of all that we have urged against this little book, there is plenty in the Addresses which is thoroughly devotional and practical, and there is no shirking of the great doctrinal points upon which this teaching is based. We think that the whole might have been curtailed for publication with advantage. We have noticed misprints—on p. 43, 'commanded' for 'commended;' p. 55, 'Isreal;' p. 78, 'St. Jude *xx.*' for '20.'

The Catholic Revival of the Nineteenth Century. Six Lectures by GEORGE WORLEY, with an Introduction by the Dean of St. Paul's. (London: 1894.)

THIS little book has a value of its own. It has evidently been written, as the Dean says in the brief Introduction, by a man who had no personal relations with the writers of the *Tracts for the Times*, and who, probably, never spoke to any one of them. It contains the story of the progress of events as they seemed to an outsider: to one

[1] *Vide* Liddon's University Sermon, 'The Divine Victim.'

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'who was deeply interested in what was happening, feeling that his own religious opinions were being formed on principles which these writers advocated, but, nevertheless, able to take that unimpassioned view of events which city life naturally encourages. We have, therefore, in what he has written a fair and faithful statement concerning the great religious movement of our time, from a lay point of view, by an earnest commercial man, who took a delight in reading whatever was written on either side by influential persons whose words were likely to carry weight.'

It is not often that, on such a subject as that treated of in these lectures, we can obtain an accurate insight into the opinions and feelings of the great body of religious people who are outside the circle of literary effort. The comparatively few members of this class who write for public journals naturally take their tone, to a considerable extent, from the papers to which they contribute, so that their writings lack that weight which is accorded to a writer in a more independent position; whilst the great majority are too much engrossed by their business avocations during the day to devote much time to reading at night, and still less are they disposed to undertake more writing after sitting over the desk for many a weary hour. Mr. Worley seems to have conquered this natural tendency, and in his desire to benefit the Sunday-school teachers with whom he was brought into contact by being himself a Sunday-school teacher, he undertook the preparation of these lectures. He tells us in his Preface that they 'were delivered at Clapham during last Lent to a number of teachers and others interested in the subject. They are reproduced for the sake of those who heard them, and wished to see them in a permanent form, as well as for any others who may think them useful in teaching, or sufficiently interesting for their own perusal.'

It may be well to make an extract from the first Lecture, for the double purpose of showing the point of view from which the lecturer regards his subject, and also as an example of the style in which he writes:

'The Georgian era has been called the *siesta* of the English Church. It was a period of indifference and apathy as far as religion is concerned; but now and again the darkness was relieved by an electric flash, as it were, from the skies. In 1726 William Law (a Nonjuror) published his *Serious Call to a Devout and Holy Life*, a book to which Dr. Johnson tells us he owed his first religious impressions. Somewhat later we have the rising of that great star on the horizon, John Wesley. It is worth noticing that *his* first serious thoughts were also attributed to Law's work, together with Bishop Taylor's *Holy Living*. Christianity in this country owes very much to the revival effected by the Wesleys, Whitfield, and other like-minded preachers. Their appeals, however, were rather directed to the emotions than to the intellect. They endeavoured to convert the individual soul—a very necessary work, but obviously elementary. The building up of the individual in the faith, as well as the holding together of numbers of people, requires this elementary work to be supplemented by a system, by regular teaching and regular practices, such as the Church provides, but which were very much in abeyance in those days, and whose want the revivalists themselves did not live long enough to realize. We thus see that three forces were in operation to the detriment of the Church of England, viz.—

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(1) The Erastianism of the dominant party among the clergy;
(2) The engrossing nature of political and national subjects, which excluded ecclesiastical matters from the public mind, or at least obscured them; and
(3) The predominance of emotional over dogmatic and intellectual teaching' (pp. 6, 7).

The subject thus sketched out is then carefully and thoughtfully elaborated, and we can confidently recommend the book to those for whose benefit it is specially intended.

A Service of Angels. By Rev. HENRY LATHAM, M.A., Master of Trinity Hall, Cambridge; Author of *Pastor Pastorum*, &c. (Cambridge: Deighton, Bell, and Co., 1894.)

ORIGINALITY of treatment and freshness of style make Mr. Latham's *Service of Angels* a delightful book. From the bright beginning of the first chapter, where we are told how the 'radiant' 'happiness' of 'a lizard lying in the sunniest nook of the broken coping of the wall' on 'one of the three rocky ridges on which the city' of Siena 'is built' (pp. 1–2) set the author thinking, to the 'parley' between the 'Blessed Angels' and the 'outlying company' 'who had somewhat fallen from their first estate, and had become isolated from the Host of Heaven' (pp. 194–204), with which the 'apologue' ends, a reader's difficulty is, not to maintain his interest, but to lay the book down. Yet, while the composition betokens that the mere writing was a labour of love, there are not wanting signs of the most serious purpose.

The delight of the angels in the sheer beauty of the natural world, their joy in the pleasure as well as in the holiness of men, their office as spirits who minister to God and to mankind, are among the subjects upon which fruitful ideas are gathered from Holy Scripture and human thought with an insight that is singularly keen.

To make life brighter is sometimes to make it better, and to add to the motives for goodness that may be practically felt is to give no small help to many who struggle. The truths contained in *A Service of Angels* may do both. One quotation, as an instance of many passages, will show what we mean.

'One kind of action which is of wide operation is, I think, the sense of company which the belief in angels' presence brings. This frees us from loneliness of soul; it takes the selfishness out of our joys, and the corrosive poison out of our griefs. A trouble that is nursed in secret embitters a man's disposition and deadens his energy; but as soon as the fresh air gets at it, and it is shared among sympathizing friends, its ill qualities are done away.

'Those who know the poor will understand best what a comfort this sense of "company" will be to them. They will welcome the angels, with whom, indeed, they have never quite lost touch; they will rejoice in the notion of their being about them when they are all alone. Hand-workers suffer more from loneliness than head-workers do. The wife watching in her cottage for her husband's coming home; the handicraftsman all by himself, doing some work which does not engage his mind; the labourer who has a lonely job in an outlying field and a long

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solitary walk home; all these will find it a blessing to have their minds peopled with heavenly beings who love them, who are not above taking interest in what interests them, and, what is most of all, who are grieved about them when they suffer or when they go wrong. This sympathy in suffering is the keystone of the whole.

'A poor man's life will become quite another thing when he brings the angels into it. Suppose that on his way to work he passes a child in trouble, and setting it right as well as he can, he brightens it up by a smile and a reassuring tone; or that as he comes home in the evening he goes a little out of his way to help an old woman, laden with a heavy fagot, over a stile. Even little things like this, he may be told, go to swell the joy in Heaven—joy that lasts for ever. Through his doing, something pleasant to recall, which will never pass away, will be stored for ever in angels' minds in Heaven. Here is a new thought and a great one for him to carry home.

'There are urchins in London by scores, hungry and sorely tempted to steal, but struggling against their temptations with a courage and endurance that God and the angels only know. Great is the angels' delight when the child turns victorious away from the treasure exposed on the stall; great is their sympathy with the hardships which fall to his lot; they whisper to those who can help him; they suggest ways in which help may be given, and their suggestions fall on good ground now and then. Surely we might venture to tell a child, "Angels were looking on as you stood with hungry gaze before that open stall, and they brightened with gladness as you turned away."

'But angels are more than passive beholders, and it is as active agents that they will be most recognized by the poor. They may be employed in endless ways of which we can form no idea, but we have Scripture warrant for supposing that they call things to remembrance (St. Luke xxiv. 6, 7), and it is not going much farther to suppose that they put thoughts into people's minds. We cannot be wrong in telling a man, that an inward prompting to right may be the whisper of an angel of God' (pp. 160–3).

It must not be supposed that this book will suggest no thoughts except those about the angels. There is much that is helpful about our Lord's teaching, as in the treatment of His words on the giving of tribute (pp. 47–50), and on other subjects, as in what is said on 'the conditions of life in ideal old age' (pp. 64–70).

To dwell on points of difference in a book which 'is not a purely theological work,' which is intended to be 'easy reading' and to make 'notions' on 'the subject of angel ministry,' 'of late years fallen out of notice,' 'familiar' (Preface, p. v), would be an ungracious task. And if here and there we have met with statements [1]

[1] Thoughtful Churchmen will hesitate before accepting the assertion that 'angels must possess a spiritual body' (p. 56), the suggestion of 'possible evil and deterioration among the angels' (Preface, p. x.), the ideas apparently implied about those who had 'fallen from their first estate' (p. 194), part of the treatment of the 'union' of Christ 'with the Father' and His Presence 'with us' in 'His Church' (p. 26), some of the limitations on the work of the angels (pp. 21, 96–106), and the separation of the teaching of the Books of Job and Daniel from that of the other canonical writings (pp. 34, 209–10). And we hope no reader will be led by the reference to 'Mr. Mozley's great work on *The Word*' (p. 129) to suppose that that accomplished and brilliant writer

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which have interrupted, for the moment, the real pleasure which *A Service of Angels* has given us, we may well hope that these will not seriously interfere with the useful work it is likely to do.

The Virgin Birth of our Lord Jesus Christ, the Foundation of the Christian Religion. By the Rev. RICHARD MEUX BENSON, M.A., Student of Christ Church, Oxford, England ; Mission Priest of St. John, Bowdoin Street, Boston. Reprint from *Church Eclectic.* (Boston : Damrell and Upham, no date.)

FATHER BENSON well says that the 'truth' of 'the Virgin Birth of our Lord Jesus Christ' is 'the foundation of the whole Christian faith' and 'the essential preliminary of all the body of truth which has to follow' (pp. 1-2). The denial of it is not only incompatible with the retention of any belief in the trustworthiness of Holy Scripture or the unanimous tradition of the Church ; it would prove fatal to the dogma of the single Personality of our Redeemer, to the value of the Atonement, and eventually to the doctrine of the Deity of Christ.

We have from time to time met with the statement that, though it is true that our Lord was born of a Virgin, no vital truth would necessarily be impaired if such a belief were abandoned. And, occasionally, among those who are willing to admit that the Resurrection actually happened, and who continue to assert their belief in the Godhead of Christ, we have known His Birth from a Virgin to be questioned or denied.

The necessity of the truth as an essential part of the Christian religion and the points of view to which we have just referred afford sufficient justification for writings to explain and defend it. These may be of different kinds and for different classes of readers. Father Benson's treatise is for believers. The arguments are not such as will ordinarily appeal to those who have not learnt to regard Holy Scripture as a unique revelation, pervaded with a Divine purpose, and therefore full of such spiritual meanings as the Fathers loved to trace in it and the New Testament writers found in the Old Testament. They demand, if they are to be fully appreciated, some recognition of the value of Christian philosophy. They will be of use, therefore (except so far as the Providence of God may, as frequently happens, successfully employ human work just where it would naturally seem to be least serviceable) chiefly in leading those who believe the truth to realize its value better.

Father Benson shows how the fact of our Lord's Birth from a Virgin is bound up with Christianity.

'Occasionally one may read in modern literature the suggestion that no one could vouch for this truth, no one but the Blessed Virgin herself could be its guarantee. On the contrary, the whole of Christianity vouches for the truth of this article. It needs no human authority. Take it away and the Divine life of Christianity is gone. The triumph of Christianity could not be what it is if Jesus Christ were the child of a

was a safe theological guide. The list of *errata* needs to be enlarged by the correction of the misspelling of two names on pp. 218-19.

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human father. Its Divine power involves the Divine Person of its founder and the Divine Personality of the child excludes the possibility of any human agent co-operating in the Birth' (p. 2).

He traces the growth of the Messianic belief among the Jews, and points out how at last it centres in one who was to be born of a Virgin by the operation of the Holy Ghost. Wisely setting aside any argument which might be based on the admissions by 'modern science' of 'various instances of parthenogenesis in the order of nature,' he asserts 'the Virgin Birth of Christ as the foundation of our Christianity, *because* it is unexampled, because it is supernatural, because it is Divine' (p. 8). In passages of high spiritual power, of which we can only give two instances, he explains some of the consequences which follow from the truth which is thus declared.

'Jesus Christ came to earth but is not of the earth. The earthly nature is but the robe wherewith He clothes Himself. He clothes Himself with that which was dead, but He is the Lord of life and He makes His vesture live with His own life by assuming it. He clothes Himself with shame, but He is the Lord of Glory and His Glory shines forth through that which clothes Him and makes it resplendent with the indwelling life of God. If He clothes Himself with glorious apparel (Ps. xciii. 1), His clothing is not, as that of fallen Adam, needful to hide His shame. He makes His very clothing to be glorious as the means whereby His own essential glory may be made manifest to His creatures. He clothes Himself with human nature. Yea! He clothes Himself with countless multitudes of saints gathered from amongst men into vital union with Himself. His train, the saintly robe of a regenerate humanity, living because assumed into fellowship with Himself, fills the Temple of God (Is. vi. 1). It is the seamless robe, woven from the top throughout (John xix. 23), which from beneath the sacerdotal glory of His heavenly kingdom, as symbolized by the holy unction of Aaron's beard (Ps. cxxxiii. 2), spreads itself over His Deified humanity,[1] an embroidery of life. Its silken threads, though taken from the worms of earth, live on for ever by His Deific immanence in the power of the Holy Ghost.

'All His Saints are His children in the new life, as they are also His brethren in the relationship of earth. He is "Father of the world to come" (Is. ix. 6). The Church is the second Eve, taken from His own Body, the Mother of us all (Gal. iv. 26; 2 Cor. xi. 2); espoused to Him not by carnal delight, but by spiritual power, so that in her increase He rejoices to find Himself perpetuated in the continuous multitudes of supernatural offspring. They who receive His fulness are they who are reborn of His mystical Body in His spotless Bride the Church in her virginal purity "not of blood, nor of the will of the flesh, nor of the will of man, but of God" (John i. 13).

'He is thus the second Adam. "He is come that we might have life." From Him the race of man derives a life which it had not before. "As in Adam all die, so in Christ shall all be made alive" (1 Cor. xv. 22). All the members of Adam share the death under which his body fell by sin. All who are incorporated into the second Adam share the life wherewith His Humanity is glorified. The transmission of death was by a process of natural corruption. The transmission of life is by sacraments of spiritual power. The life which He initiated was not an idea

[1] This phrase is unquestionably used by Father Benson in a wholly orthodox sense. It is one which we never like.

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which He outlined but a reality which He communicated. How then should He make man live? He could not communicate the supernatural life if He had not assumed our nature by a supernatural power. He is Himself the Life, and those who do not come to Him cannot have life. They must be supernaturally taken into that manhood which He supernaturally assumed. "This is the record" which His Church has to bear throughout successive generations. "God has given us life, and this life is in His Son" (1 John v. 11)' (pp. 21–2).

Our other instance is from the last section of the book.

'National character does not mean development of human personality by endowments over and above what would be possessed by those of other nations. No one can become more than man by any national development. Each national development is rather the loss of some general power, the shrinking up of the nation within the limits of an imperfect manhood, by which means some idiosyncracy is brought into prominence, whereas it would have been held in check by a more complete development of the whole human character. Nations may be superior one to another in proportion as the elements which one of them loses may be of less value than those which another loses. Whoever loses least remains supreme. . . . Had it not been for the wound of original sin, whereby the unifying life of God was lost, mankind would have remained in absolute unity. We may conceive that the developments of nations and individuals would have multiplied and specialized the common consciousness of joyous power, for whatever was the gain of any one would have been the possession and the delight of all. All the antagonisms of interest, nationality, and every other distinction, would have been avoided. Mankind would have spoken one language, being indwelt by the Word of God. Mankind would have been bound together in one Spirit of Love. . . . One in heart, one in speech, one in act—a multitude of individual relationships, but an absolute unity of consciousness—the human race would have anticipated that unity which is to be accomplished hereafter in the glorified life of the Church as the Body of Christ. . . . The unity was broken up into individualities, and none can be restored until the Bride of Christ formed by the Blood of the Second Adam shed from His Holy Side has gathered the faithful in the full power of His own Resurrection. . . . The corrupt blood multiplied from Adam had to be gathered up into the unity of the Blood of the Immaculate Lamb of God. The multitudes individually broken off from one another by natural birth had to be consolidated in the spiritual unity of Christ's Body by a supernatural birth. Thus it is that now we are "elect through sanctification of the Spirit unto obedience and sprinkling of the Blood of Jesus Christ" (1 Pet. i. 2). . . . Although therefore our Lord was born amidst the relationships of earth in His life of humiliation, He took upon Himself the common humanity of all nations. There was nothing in Him to limit His character, or His affections, or His interests. . . . He is the Seed of the collective humanity, the Seed of the Woman, in the Virgin power of humanity untainted by any individualizing corruption of personal parentage, conceived by the Holy Ghost of the most pure elements of human blood in the womb of the Blessed Virgin, the Mother of God. . . . As . . . He has . . . within Himself the Humanity from which all the nations of the earth have been derived, so must He gather unto Himself a Church from amongst all nations of the world. . . . Christ's Virgin Birth makes His Humanity Catholic in power. There is nothing in any race of man which He does not share as the Son of Man. His Virgin Birth makes His Humanity

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no less Catholic in its demand. It cannot be satisfied until it has absorbed into[1] itself every element of human nature wherever it may be found. . . . The most savage and degraded nations have some element of human nature which makes them what they are. They are not only capable of being restored in Christ, but their restoration is essential to the integrity of Christ's glorified Humanity, because the virginal Humanity which He has assumed comprises all those elements which have been derived from the original humanity of Adam, our common father. . . . The Church of Christ is . . . a Divine organism, being formed out of all the nations of the world. . . . There was a great African Christianity all along the coasts of the Mediterranean. There was a vast Asiatic Christianity. We ourselves have lived in the age of a great European Christianity. The Church of Christ, as the mystical representation and instrument of His ascended Humanity, must fuse with the spiritual power of His all-comprehensive essence all those manifold nationalities which are being poured in such strange confusion upon the American Continent. We must look for the dark races of Africa to shine with the glory of the Divine countenance. India must wake from her dreams to worship the Personality of the Incarnate God. China must go forward to the hope of Heaven, and the Hermit Kingdom seek a home in the Communion of Saints. . . . It is . . . in virtue of the Virgin Birth that Christ is fitted to be Head over all things to the Church gathered out of all nations of the world' (pp. 35-9).

We doubt the advisability of the inclusion in this work of the sections on the Immaculate Conception of the Blessed Virgin and the Scotist theory of the Incarnation. Without accepting the unauthorized doctrine of the Immaculate Conception, we may say that we are not clear as to the soundness of the argument that a child conceived in the ordinary course of nature would of absolute necessity inherit original sin. We have always thought St. Bernard's famous letter[2] more valuable as a witness to the absence of any tradition in favour of the doctrine than because of the arguments he uses against it. And the whole *a priori* question as to the abstract possibility of Divine grace interrupting in the very moment of the conception of a child ordinarily begotten the descent of original sin and of the Eternal Word taking Manhood from one whose human nature had inherited the taint seems to us beyond the limits of our present knowledge and capacity. And, whatever may be the truth of our opinion that Father Benson does not allow sufficient weight to some Scriptural reasons for rejecting the Scotist theory of the Incarnation and to the possibility of an argument he uses on p. 26 being developed so as to assert the necessity of God taking the nature of angels, we cannot doubt that his position would be a stronger one if it was unencumbered by the acceptance of this view.

It is pleasant to put such criticisms aside and thank the author of this little treatise that he has added in it his valuable support of a vital truth to his many and great services to the Church of God.

[1] 'United with' would, perhaps, have expressed the meaning which is evidently intended more accurately than 'absorbed into.'

[2] St. Bernard, *Ep.* clxxiv.

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The Psalter, with a Concordance and other Auxiliary Matter. (London: John Murray, 1895.)

WE have received a charmingly bound copy of this little volume, which bears Mr. Gladstone's name on the cover and at the end of the preface. Its 'purpose,' we are told,

'is to promote the special and separate use of the Psalter, as a book of private devotion';

and it is added that the Psalter is

'the only book of private devotion at our command which we are authorized directly to associate with Divine Inspiration' (Preface, p. iii).

The volume contains the text of the Psalms from the version in the Book of Common Prayer, a set of 'headings for the several Psalms' descriptive of their contents, a list of 'subjects specially touched' in the Psalms, thirty-one extracts 'specially applicable for separate use,' a list of Psalms 'specially appropriated' for particular days or occasions, a selection of 'alternative renderings,' and a concordance which includes both 'proper names' and 'ordinary words.'

Such a work from such a source can only meet with a respectful and sympathetic welcome from earnest Churchmen. The publication of it must be regarded as the veteran statesman letting us see some of the inward power of his own life.

As critics, then, we can do little more than point out the utility of the list of 'headings' and the collection of 'subjects,' express our regret that the 'alternative renderings' are not more fully dealt with, and mention that where we have tested the concordance we have found it accurate and complete.

It remains to quote Mr Gladstone's testimony, which this volume shows to be the testimony of experience, to the theological and devotional value of the Psalms.

'Composed at a stage of the great Revelation earlier and less matured than that under which we live, and therefore presenting to us on particular subjects chequered and imperfect lights,' [the Psalter] 'nevertheless remains to this day the first among all the records of the human soul to Godward, and presents to us in and by itself, all things taken together, a conclusive proof that the Almighty Maker found for Himself a very special way of dealing with chosen souls that He had made, and sealed and stamped it for use throughout all coming time. Nay, there are many of its single verses on which, taken severally, we might be content, so lofty is their nature, to stake the whole argument for a Divine Revelation. Not the least remarkable among its many special features is this, that the highest known treasure-house of individual and personal devotion should also have supplied such material throughout for the public worship of Israel' (Preface, p. iii).

Chaucer's Canterbury Tales. Edited, with Notes and Introduction, by ALFRED W. POLLARD. Vols. I. II. (London: Macmillan and Co., 1894.)

THIS is an admirable edition of the *Canterbury Tales* for those who wish to read Chaucer for the enjoyment of his poetry rather than for minute study of the English language. The aim of the editor has

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been to produce a trustworthy text, with just enough of notes and interpretations to make the meaning clear, and to indicate the principal sources from which the poet has borrowed his material. What Mr. Pollard has written in his Introduction, (1) in justification of his foot notes and (2) in reference to attempts to produce uniformity of spelling in Chaucer's writings, will meet with general approval.

(1) 'To interrupt one's enjoyment of poetry by looking up words in a glossary appears to me an intolerable penance, and I have therefore put explanations of the obsolete words in foot notes to the pages where they first occur' (p. x).

(2) 'If it could be done, I would gladly myself see his works printed, as Shakespeare's are printed, in modern spelling; because I feel strongly that, at least for the present generation, if Chaucer is to win the popularity which is his due, it must be by his being read as any other poet is read, and not as a text-book for students of Middle English' (p. xiii).

Accordingly the short notes at the foot of the page, and the full glossary at the end of the second volume, are sufficient to explain any difficulty, while the text is printed according to the Ellesmere MS. as the best authority. The few variations of reading occupy very little space, and the spelling is preserved without any attempt to modernize it.

The origin of the present issue was a projected edition by Dr. Furnivall and Mr. A. W. Pollard, which was abandoned because the former could not give the requisite time to the work, and the latter gave way to the proposed large edition of Professor Skeat, and was content to publish in a more modest form the results of his own studies in the Chaucer literature. The *Canterbury Tales* is an instalment of a complete edition of the poet's works 'for a less stalwart class of readers' (p. vii); hence the absence from the glossary and the notes of all etymological matter and of any remarks upon the forms of English words. This is intelligible enough; but it is surely not sufficient, even for this class of readers, to sum up Chaucer's life 'in seventy words,' and say that it is all that one needs to know 'as far as it helps us to understand his works' (p. v). The ordinary reader, not merely the student, wishes to know something of the details of the author's life, in order to realize the age and circumstances of his poetry; and it is disappointing to be referred to another book, a *Primer of Chaucer*, by the same writer (Macmillans, 1893), for what are called 'these beggarly elements of Chaucer-criticism' (p v). Mr. Pollard has been compelled to break his own rule in the latter part of the Introduction (pp. xviii–xxvii), and he might so easily have transferred, perhaps in a slightly condensed form, the contents of chapters i., iii., and vi. of the *Primer*. If he had done so, the ordinary reader would have understood better the many casual allusions in the *Tales* to the poet's own history, the general sources of his information, and, above all, why the *Tales* are arranged as they are, since the order of the manuscripts is different, and how the pilgrimage to Canterbury was planned and accomplished day by day. As it is, the reader must have the *Primer*, or some other handbook, by his side, or else not fully grasp the idea of the

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Canterbury Tales. We hope that this defect may be remedied in the next instalment of this edition of Chaucer's works. It is needless to say that both the printing and the paper of these volumes are excellent. Perhaps some readers will object to the black lines and the dots in the margin, which indicate imitation of and translation from other authors, French, Italian, or Latin. These sources are, no doubt, an interesting study, but what has been said in the Introduction (pp. xiv–xxi) and the foot notes would suffice without an artificial arrangement which distracts the eye from the poetry itself.

Monism as connecting Religion and Science; the Confession of Faith of a Man of Science. By ERNST HAECKEL. Translated from the German by J. GILCHRIST, M.A., B.Sc., Ph.D. (London: Adam and Charles Black, 1894.)

THE aim of this book is the aim of all philosophy, viz. to discover the unity which is the substratum of all phenomena. The solution which Professor Haeckel offers of this problem of problems is a special form of materialism. He himself, indeed, repudiates the term, inasmuch as he identifies matter and spirit (p. 58); but, seeing that he regards mind as a function of the modified protoplasmic cell, his theory will be rightly described in the ordinary nomenclature of philosophy as materialistic. Matter, he holds, is eternal and self-existent; matter has, through countless ages, evolved itself into the myriad various forms which make up our universe. Before dealing with the details of his theory it is natural to inquire whether, as a matter of fact, it does furnish a Monistic view of the world—whether the book realizes the promise of its title; and we find, somewhat to our surprise, that it does not. We are left with a view which seems as dualistic as any of the theories that he opposes; only the old antinomy of God and the world, the Creator and the created, appears in a new dress as the opposition of the 'cosmic ether' and 'ponderable matter.' He does not, indeed, leave us without the hope that a bridge may be found to connect these two terms, but he admits that at present they remain for us distinct entities (pp. 29–30). To our thinking, when, with Haeckel, we have got rid of Personality in God and man, when we have recognized Soul as a function of a specialized 'ganglion cell,' and have seen in the cosmic ether the 'creating divinity' (p. 25), the old difficulties of a dualistic theory remain in all their force.

The least satisfactory part of the book is the representation of the Christian doctrine of the Personality of God (pp. 69–79). We assert that God is *personal*, because we must interpret Him by the highest category of human thought, which is Personality. We do not assert that God is not immeasurably more than what we mean by 'a person.' This other side of the truth is guarded by denying to Him limitation, which is a necessary ingredient of our idea of Personality. *God is an Infinite Person*, which is a contradiction in terms. So the highest truth here, like the ultimate results of all departments of our knowledge, is presented to us under the form of a final antinomy. God is *personal* and yet God is *infinite*. The old crux, What was God doing

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before Creation? (p. 70), is met, at least in part, by the Christian doctrine of the Trinity in Unity. To believe in the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit is to believe that from all eternity there was a Life infinitely rich in all that makes life desirable, in thought and love and will.

We must raise an indignant protest against the charge of materialism brought against the Christian doctrine of the Resurrection of the body (note 17 on p. 112). At least Professor Haeckel might have gone to the original sources and have taken the trouble to read 1 Corinth. xv. 50. The best feature of the book, and that with which we can most cordially sympathize, is the passionate desire to discover the underlying unity of the world, the unity which all thought necessarily postulates, and which it is the unceasing endeavour of philosophy to reach. Professor Haeckel's attack on Christianity as essentially dualistic is beside the mark; for Christianity is alone truly Monistic in that it holds all nature to be the progressive self-revelation of the Divine Logos, a self-revelation which culminates in the Incarnation and its extension through the Church. We prefer the Monism of St. John or of St. Paul to that of Professor Haeckel, as it is set forth in the words, ὃ γέγονεν ἐν Αὐτῷ ζωὴ ἦν (St. John i. 4), or ἐξ Αὐτοῦ καὶ δι' Αὐτοῦ καὶ εἰς Αὐτὸν τὰ πάντα (Rom. xi. 35). In a word, this book, in spite of many admirable features, may be truly described as an attempt at a premature synthesis of the final antinomy, God immanent in the world and yet transcendent. We, with our present powers, must leave the two terms unreconciled, believing at the same time that the reconciliation does exist in the Divine Mind, and holding firmly to both sides of the truth.

Religion in Common Life; or, Topics of the Day regarded from a Christian Standpoint. Being a Course of Sermons delivered at St. Martin-in-the-Fields, London, by various Preachers. (London: Eliot Stock, 1894.)

THE preface to this volume tells us that

'this course of Sermons was arranged to show in how many ways the influence of religious truth is felt in the performance of the common daily duties of our life; that religion is not either, as some fancy, too much concerned with the next world to be capable of giving a man much practical help or guidance in this; nor, as others say, fit only for women and children, and not calculated to be of much assistance to those who are bearing the burden of the business of the world.'

The sermons have been preached by men of all schools of thought; 'each writer is responsible for his own views alone;' 'no single preacher has heard or seen the sermons preached by the rest,' except Mr. Kitto himself, the vicar of the parish, who has contributed four sermons. The volume certainly lacks unity thereby, but has 'gained in freedom and in variety.' Our impression, after reading all the seventeen sermons, is that a great many things have been said which ought to be said to a London congregation, and have been said well. Perhaps a little more theological teaching would have been desirable. We feel this particularly in the second sermon, upon the

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words 'God with us,' where there is no mention of the Immanuel, whose Incarnate Person has surely introduced, as nothing else has, the power of religion into everyday life. And we regret that some of the preachers, in their eagerness to deal with certain aspects of their subjects, should have overlooked certain truths of Holy Scripture: *e.g.* in Sermon V. it is scarcely correct to say that 'any true idea of the individuality of man, of any conception of man as an independent person,' is absent from the mind 'of the Jewish people as surely as in all other nations before the coming of Christ' (p. 34). Does not the provision in Gen. ix. 6, concerning the sanctity of human life, recognize this individuality, as based upon the Divine Image in man? Or, again, why should Archdeacon Sinclair, in his sermon entitled 'Noblesse Oblige,' speak of the kingdom of Christ as recognizing no ranks and titles, and as 'composed wholly of sincere and earnest Christians,' 'wholly of genuine and thorough believers,' and contrast it with 'the visible Churches'? (pp. 59–60.) Is there any Scriptural warrant for this notion of an *invisible* Church? Does not the Gospel regard the kingdom of heaven as a mixed society? And to say that the Apostles 'would have shrunk from being Prince Palatines,' and 'would have been speechless with horror and indignation' if addressed as 'your Beatitude,' &c. (p. 60), is not consistent with what we know of St. John at Ephesus, wearing the *petalon*, like the high priest among the Israelites, and so claiming a special dignity and rank. Besides, does outward dignity preclude humility and goodness? This is not our experience. These blemishes spoil what is otherwise a most useful sermon. It is a defence of aristocracy, and exhibits clearly both the responsibilities and the temptations of the upper classes; and the literary merit of the sermon is enhanced by the admirable quotations, *e.g.* from F. W. Robertson (p. 62), Burke (p. 63), Lord Crawford's letter to his family (p. 69), and the beautiful lines by Leigh Hunt from Seneca (pp. 70–1). In Sermon VIII. the preacher (Mr. Ford, of Holy Trinity, Bristol) seems to assume that poverty is in itself an evil (pp. 72, 73). We cannot think it so, with the example of our Lord and His Apostles before us. Poverty is not always associated with degradation, vice, and crime, and yet presents a problem in our times which is separate from that of the kind of poverty which Mr. Ford discusses. His sermon touches upon a number of important points, but is singularly defective in suggesting remedies. One of the preachers insists very strongly that the Church owes it as a duty to those whom she baptizes to see that '*legalized* temptations' are removed out of their way (p. 30). This is, no doubt, much to be desired, but the writer seems to imply that there ought to be no temptations for the Christian child. We think that Archdeacon Sinclair has put the case well when he says (p. 61), 'Our Lord did not in the least intend to make the surroundings of the world suitable to the true Christian, so that he might have an easy time and find no temptations;' and he quotes St. John xvii. 15 most appositely.

The sermons which struck us as the most useful were those of Mr. Buckland, Prebendary Wace, and Mr. Knowling; but many of

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the others contained things which are most necessary in these times. For example, Mr. Kitto's sermon on 'The Use of Pain and Suffering' gives eight excellent illustrations of 'the province of pain' (pp. 85–9), showing 'that pain is not an unmixed evil; that it has a ministry to serve and lessons to teach.' So Canon Browne, in a very thoughtful sermon on 'Fairness,' rightly points to 'the gross unfairness' dealt out 'towards political opponents' and 'in the world of religious controversy' (pp. 122–3). Archdeacon Farrar's illustration from the Talmud of the four mothers of demons whom King Solomon controls is very striking (pp. 139–40), and his sermon is filled with other illustrations from all sorts of persons, which make it very readable; but it is full of exaggeration, and there is a tendency to run down the Church and exalt Nonconformity, as if the Church, because she does her work unostentatiously, was not as active as those who are outside her. But it is refreshing to find Mr. Buckland pointing out the dangers of the modern craze of athleticism, the brutalizing tendency of football as played in the North of England, the lowering effect upon character in the forced attempts to 'break the record' in every game or exercise. And it is refreshing to have a sermon like that of Dr. Wace, which insists upon the need of a 'moral and spiritual repentance' as the only condition of 'social amelioration' (p. 99). The sermon which is entitled 'Religion and Politics,' and is based on St. Matt. xxii. 21, is full of good points. Such a sentence as this puts the interpretation of that often misapplied text on its lawful footing: 'The question at issue in the great crisis then before them was not one of the extent of their obligation to their earthly ruler, but of their spiritual and moral relation to the God in whose name our Lord came to them, and to our Lord Himself' (p. 93). The force of ἀπόδοτε, 'give back,' is often obscured; it means, as Dr. Wace points out, 'pay your debt:' 'you have received some things of Cæsar, and you owe him some things in return.' The inquirers had forgotten their 'debt' to God in their eagerness to throw off their obligation to Cæsar (pp. 92–3). It is refreshing, as we have said, to find one who in dealing with social questions puts in the forefront 'repentance towards God and faith towards our Lord Jesus Christ' as the first conditions of political and social reform (p. 98).

Our last quotations must be from Mr. Knowling's admirable sermon upon an aspect of the Holy Communion which is too often forgotten, viz. its social power. He refers to Professor Pfleiderer's *Gifford Lectures*, 1894, as suggesting the idea, and he works it out with abundant illustration, *e.g.* the custom in the Church at Rome of having one consecration of the sacred elements for all the congregations (pp. 129–30), the 'Communion friends' in some parts of France (p. 132), and the customs of Jewish households on the Sabbath eve (p. 132). But more than this, the testimony of individuals in our own day, persons of well-known piety, is most valuable, and even the attitude of some who call themselves Agnostics is upon the same side, viz. that the Holy Communion has a marvellous power to bind us not only closer to God but also to our brethren. It is a pity that

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this social aspect of the Eucharist, which St. Paul emphasizes,[1] is so much neglected. Mr. Knowling instances Professor James Clerk-Maxwell and Daniel Macmillan, the publisher, as persons to whom the Holy Eucharist was the mainstay of their lives. The latter used to say that it 'always seemed to him to say more than all other services, as to how we are united to each other and to God.'

'Or recall from another page of biography how, amidst a life beset with special temptations, and full of excitement, those "comfortable words," as the Prayer Book calls them, went home to the heart of the gifted English actress, Fanny Kemble; how they enabled her to make her profession "a high calling," and how they strengthened her resolve to remain a constant communicant in the Church of England' (p. 134).

We feel that this sermon is quite the most helpful in the whole series, because it is evident that the preacher could tell us much more that would be helpful upon other aspects of the same Sacrament.

Hymns and their Stories. By A. E. C. With a Preface by E. C. S. Gibson, M.A., Principal of the Theological College, Wells, and Prebendary of Wells Cathedral. Published under the direction of the Tract Committee. (London: S.P.C.K. 1894.)

Prebendary Gibson explains the aim of this modest little work. A. E. C. felt that Dr. Julian's *Dictionary of Hymnology* was designed rather for the student than for the general reader, and that there was room for 'a small work which should popularize the subject, and tell in simple language the story of the growth of Christian hymnody, assigning, as far as possible, to their proper dates and authors those universal favourites which find a place in all the hymn-books in common use' (Pref. p. vii). So many attractive stories about hymns have been accumulated by A. E. C., and so much diligence and care has been shown, that we cannot find fault without regret. And yet we must not say that we are altogether satisfied. Let us see what A. E. C. has done. He (or more probably she) has noticed the hymns of slightly more than two hundred writers, has mentioned the circumstances of the origin of many of them, and has gathered round them many beautiful little pieces of religious history. Moreover, the order in which the materials are arranged is highly instructive. We have a chapter on Bible Hymns which includes the Psalms and the Evangelical canticles, and notices passages in which fragments of early Christian hymns may possibly be detected. This is followed by the Prayer-Book Hymns—the *Te Deum*, the lesser *Gloria*, the *Tersanctus*, the two renderings of the *Veni Creator* in the Ordinal, and such fragments as survive in the Order for the Burial of the Dead. The Greek hymns from the second to the ninth centuries and the Latin hymns from the fourth century onwards come next, and we pass along the subject historically to early English hymns, metrical psalms, carols; German, French, Italian, Scandinavian, and Welsh hymns; and then to later English and American examples, stopping short of the compositions of living authors. We

[1] 1 Corinth. x. 16, 17.

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could never refuse to read the detailed account of Bede's death (p. 78), or the noble story of the Uganda martyrs (p. 188); but a collection of the beautiful anecdotes which may be gathered from ecclesiastical history and strung together somewhat loosely by their connexion with hymns or hymn-writers is not all, or nearly all, that is required in a book on hymnology for general readers. These are days when people need to prune their metrical words of praise with increased care, and to have some book of plain and definite instruction to teach them what a hymn really is, and by what standard any composition which professes to be a hymn may be judged. A doctrinal as well as an historical guiding hand is wanted. Some such order of excellence is required as this: (1) Hymns which praise God *propter magnam gloriam*; (2) hymns which praise God for His goodness to us in creation, providence, redemption, sanctification; (3) hymns which contemplate God's love for individual souls, with a view to adoration; (4) hymns which express the soul's need and longing for God; (5) hymns in which the soul describes itself, addresses other souls, turns inwards not only to elevate but also to analyse itself, and so forth. The hymns in this last class are often of a deeply personal character; but they are, strictly speaking, often helps to excite the soul to worship rather than a worthy expression of worship itself, and A. E. C. has not given much help to distinguish between hymns which fall into a high place and those which would occupy a low one in this division. On p. 21 St. Matt. viii. 8 is apparently a misprint, and the fine collection of carols made by the Oxford Professor of Music and the Precentor of Lincoln Minster is referred to on p. 91 as 'S. & S.,' although 'Stainer and Bramley' is correctly given in the footnote.

Adamnani Vita S. Columbae. Edited from Dr. Reeves's text, with an Introduction on early Irish Church History, Notes, and a Glossary by J. T. Fowler, M.A., D.C.L., Fellow of the Society of Antiquaries of London; Lecturer in Hebrew, Librarian, and Vice-Principal of Bishop Hatfield's Hall, in the University of Durham. (Oxford: At the Clarendon Press, MDCCCXCIV.)

Ten printed editions of Adamnan's *Life of S. Columba* have previously appeared, although Dr. Reeves was the first, in 1857, to print the *Life* in a separate form. Reeves's edition remains, as Dr. Fowler truly observes (Pref. pp. viii, xi), 'a well-nigh exhaustive, a truly monumental work, which has been of the greatest service to all writers on St. Columba from Montalembert downward.' That noble piece of scholarship, however, is said to be 'scarcely accessible in either of the forms in which it has appeared'—at least, for the use of the junior students in our Universities or elsewhere—and for these Dr. Fowler issues the present edition. It is an edition which is destined, we believe, to stand next to Reeves's great work, and it is a credit to both the Universities which are connected with it—to Durham because its author shows us a specimen of very careful and assiduous work, and to Oxford because the printing and execution of the book are all that can be desired.

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The introduction on early Irish Church history (pp. xv–lxxxvii) is too interesting to allow us to agree with Dr. Fowler's modest apology, that it 'has perhaps extended to an undue length' (p. lxxxvi). It is dated 'June 9, 1894,' the anniversary of the day on which Columba died, which in 597 was what we now call Trinity Sunday—one of those coincidences which delight the student of Church history, and which are to be referred to the coincidence of the deaths of St. Cyprian and St. Chrysostom on Holy Cross day as the most memorable sample of their kind. In dealing with Ireland Dr. Fowler reminds us that we are standing outside the area of the great Roman Empire, in a country where an ancient clan system, and a threefold order of druids, bards, and brehons, moulded Church organization—at least to some extent. We pass from this to the life of St. Patrick, the three orders of Irish Saints, and the characteristics of Irish monasticism as a preparation for the proper understanding of the early years of Columba. Before we can be ready for Adamnan's text we have to be conducted to Iona, to see Columba's work as a missionary and a founder in its true light, and to trace the line of his successors up to and including his biographer Adamnan. For this purpose Dr. Fowler proves a most pleasant and well-informed guide, and a clear genealogical table helps us to trace the Abbots of Hy at a glance. A list of 'authorities cited' shows how much ground has been covered for the work, and a page of corrections and additions includes most of the misprints. The notes hit the happy medium between too much and too little, leaning slightly to the side of brevity, which is a good fault. If due allowance is made for the advantage which Dr. Fowler has over Dr. Reeves in following him, there is still in the later editor a margin of new material which justifies his honest pride in saying that, although Dr. Reeves's notes and introductions have furnished much of the information here given, yet by no means the whole of it is derived from that source. Many supplementary details of great interest have been collected by Dr. Fowler. The curious term '*tailcend*,' which plays a part in the tonsure controversy, is said by Dr. Reeves to be rendered by '*Asciciput*,' adzehead, in the 'Book of Armagh.' But Dr. Fowler brings a reading, '*Lasciciput*,' from Dr. Todd, who connects it with '*lixivium*,' barber's soap. (Introd. p. xlii.) Several interesting references are added in a note on lib. ii. c. 3 to the quotations of Reeves *in loc.* on the wattled buildings of the Celtic Church, and again in lib. ii. c. 42 to Reeves's references to passages on the coracle; while, of course, Dr. Fowler does not fail to describe the fine example of the *dolatæ longæ naves* found at Brigg in Lincolnshire in April 1886 (p. 121). He adds a reference to St. Patrick to Reeves's list of examples in Irish hagiology of the subjection of the body to extreme cold, and gives an instance from a couplet under a painting at Carlisle Cathedral, and another from the Life of St. Godric (p. 146). But he does not refer to the case of Drythelm,[1] although allusions to Bede in the notes are frequent and interesting, not only to the

[1] Bede, v. 12.

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Historia gentis Anglorum, but also to the *Vita S. Cuthberti* and the *Historia Abbatum*. It is perhaps because Dr. Fowler's notes are so suggestive that we are inclined to think that additions might have been advantageously made to them in some places. Thus, in a note on the custom of the Wednesday and Friday fast (p. 37), it would have been better to go further back than St. Augustine, and to quote Tertullian.[1] The intercourse between Gaul and Britain and Ireland, mentioned on p. 39, *n.* 3, might be copiously illustrated, although Dr. Fowler confines himself to one reference. In the note on the tame crane that followed St. Columba into church (p. 151) we are sorry that a little collection of similar stories was not made. The obedience of brute animals to the word of the Christian preachers is a favourite incident in such early works as the *Acts of SS. Paul and Thecla*,[2] for 'he who is joined to God with a pure spirit finds all things uniting themselves to him in God.'[3] We should not have exclaimed against padding if Dr. Fowler had given us St. Cuthbert and his eider ducks, St. Guthlac and his swallows, St. Hugh and his swan.[4]

There is no authority that we know of for saying that the 'albus caballus' mentioned by Adamnan in iii. 23 was an *old* white horse, as is assumed by Dr. Fowler in his introduction (p. lxxiv), in his index, and in the marginal note on p. 156. It is a slight error which has escaped the notice of another historian,[5] but not of the Bishop of Edinburgh.[6] The note on the text, '*Inquirentes autem Dominum non deficient omni bono*,' on p. 157, notices that the Vulgate reads *minuentur*, but does not say that *deficient* is the reading of the old Italic version. In arranging his materials under the heads of glossary, index, notes, and corrections and additions, Dr. Fowler has sometimes repeated his information and sometimes left matters incomplete, so that we have to supplement the materials in one place by those from another. Thus, both in the glossary and in the corrigenda we are told that *tiaga* is the plural of *tiag*, and that we are to read *tiag* in the

[1] *On Prayer*, § 19; *On Fasting*, §§ 10, 14. Note also the *Shepherd* of Hermas, iii. 5.

[2] Salmon's *Introduction to New Testament*, p. 419 (ed. 1).

[3] Felix of Jarrow, *Life of St. Guthlac*, § 25.

[4] See Job v. 23; Psalm l. 10, 11. The Dean of Chichester collects allusions in the writings of St. Chrysostom (*Life of St. John Chrysostom*, p. 163). For a beautiful account of St. Godric, to whom Dr. Fowler alludes on p. 146, who 'feared the hissing of a viper no more than the crowing of a cock,' and who said, 'He who denies himself the converse of men wins the converse of birds and beasts and the company of angels' (see *England under the Angevin Kings*, i. 77-79). On St. Francis Assisi see Mrs. Oliphant's *Life* (pp. 119, 250), and cf. *Church Quarterly Review* for July 1888 (p. 347). Kingsley's love of creatures, especially of birds, is mentioned in his *Life* (ii. 9). Compare Goldwin Smith's *Life of Cowper* (p. 48) and Sir E. Arnold's *The Light of Asia* (p. 111). Dean Gregory tells us that 'it was no uncommon thing to see the St. Paul's pigeons on Dr. Liddon's shoulder or pecking out of his hand' (*Church Monthly* for May 1892, p. 100).

[5] Bright, *Early English Church History*, p. 279, *n.* 4.

[6] *The Celtic Church in Scotland*, p. 115, *n.*

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note on p. 78. The list of Grecisms under 'Græcismi' in the glossary is incomplete, for it omits 'xenium,' which is given *sub loc.* as occurring on pp. 53 *n.*, 63. The index enables us to collect the various items of information on one subject from different parts of the book, but a reader who wants to see what Dr. Fowler has to say upon the typography and the name of Iona will think that he has to turn up scattered references which might have been all put into one place with advantage. And, after all, Dr. Fowler only indirectly notices that Y is pronounced *ee* by saying that 'Ee-choluim-cille' is at present the recognized vernacular' (p. lxvi). The same amount of hunting is necessary for the full illustration of the word 'coracle.' The notes would have been much improved if the information had been massed in a note on a single passage, and merely cross references given in all other places where the subject occurred. We are bound to say, however, that we have hunted about in the notes with very great pleasure, for we were continually coming upon some instance of Dr. Fowler's diligence and accurate judgment. Thus he infers that Bede did not know either Cummian's Life or Adamnan's from the cautious 'feruntur,' so characteristic of Bede, in *Hist. Ecc.* ii. 4. And his estimate of Dr. Smith's *Life of S. Columba* (Edinb. 1798) —that it 'is not of much value' (p. xi)—is confirmed by a quotation on p. 140. A list of Scripture texts is given, and we think that Dr. Fowler must be said to have left no stone unturned to produce a fully annotated edition of the great biography, even if he has left something to be desired in the arrangement of his materials. To the corrections must be added 175 for 17 on p. xiv.

A Brief Directory of Elementary Ritual, chiefly Eucharistic. By the Very Rev. T. I. Ball. With a Preface by the Bishop of Argyll and the Isles. (London: J. Masters and Co., 1894.)

A great part of this book is filled with most reasonable and common-sense advice, that might have been given by Dom Claude de Vert in the last century, or by Mr. Micklethwaite in this. Some seems so elementary that it is a wonder that it is needed; but then, the Bishop of Argyll and the Provost of Cumbrae have doubtless sufficient knowledge from experience that it is needed. It is insisted upon that everything in the church should be clean, neat, orderly, and tidy; for example, that the cross should be in the *middle* of the altar, the two candlesticks equally distant from its ends, and the candles standing *straight* in their sticks (p. 11). Anything like a fussy ceremonial is to be avoided; the priest is to be in church at least a quarter of an hour before service; the sign of the cross to be made 'with dignified and composed moderation' (p. 15). All this is excellent; and there are many people who will accept warnings given by the Provost of Cumbrae who would not take them from the Monk of Cluny. But though we agree with the Provost in so many of his principles, yet there are instances in detail in which he seems to have taken over modern High Church practices without sufficient examination of their history. The *vetus zyma* has not been sufficiently purged out. If there be one direction plain in the Scottish Office, plainer even than

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in the English Office, it is that the bread and wine are to be set on the altar after the alms. Yet the Provost's directions in the text, on p. 24, exactly reverse the rules of the Service-book—an irritating example of private judgment; for such directions are not only unrubrical, but unhistorical. So, too, his directions to leave the linen cloths always on the altar are inconsistent with those which he gives to take away that on the credence. If it be desirable to put out the Eucharistic vestments for each celebration (p. 17), why not the linen cloths on the altar? The modern practice of leaving them on the altar is an infirmity of the sexton, who did not want the trouble of putting out the cloths for each service. Seen abroad by some wandering ecclesiologist, the custom must have been brought home as a 'Catholic practice' without the least knowledge of its history. On the other hand, there is good advice (p. 22) not to let the corporal hang over the front edge of the altar, a practice which has sprung up among us within ten or fifteen years only. But why does the Provost allow a layman to serve the altar without a surplice? A lay server is bad; but unsurpliced, vile. On the whole, the book would have been greatly improved by a little attention to 'antiquarian research,' of which, however, the Provost seems to think but little, though it would have saved him from recommending some modern Roman practices which have sprung merely from idleness, or indeed from poverty, such as the directions that the cruets are to be always of glass. In England, such antiquarian research is absolutely necessary if we are to understand the rubrics, of which the Ornaments Rubric is one of the very first in ceremonial matters; and this neglect of an appeal to history is a blemish upon a book which has good principles and intentions.

Divine Worship; or, the Ceremonial of the Holy Eucharist, with some Explanation of its Meaning. (London: J. Masters and Co., no date.)

It is hard to treat a tract like this seriously. It is anonymous, and seems to have been written by someone just ordained, or about to be ordained, as a sort of trying of the pen. While all the old, unhistorical, mystical explanations of ceremonies are given (exploded since the time of Dom Claude de Vert), a number of modern Roman practices are applauded and suggested which a whiff of history would sweep away. The writer might have learnt that everything that is done in the Church of Rome at the present day is not of necessity a 'Catholic custom,' or even approved by the central authorities at Rome; but elementary information on ceremonial has evidently yet to be acquired.

Official Year-Book of the Church of England. (London: S.P.C.K., 1895.)

It is with pleasure that we welcome another year's account of the work of the Church in the various provinces of religious, benevolent, and social efforts that she is making for the benefit of the people of England. As we turn over its pages we feel not only that much is

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being done, but also that it must have caused great and anxious labour to its able and industrious editor to collect all the information it contains. Each year Mr. Burnside has succeeded in arranging the facts he has collected in a more usable shape, and each year he has succeeded in making more complete the statements of facts with which he deals. Last year he was enabled to tell us that he had received answers to his paper of inquiries from 12,875 incumbents, and that only 687 had to be accounted for; this year the number of defaulters is reduced to 487, whilst that of the incumbents who have replied is increased by 213. This must be very nearly exhaustive, as there must always be many benefices vacant from death and other causes, and also many others where the incumbent has been in charge for too short a time to justify him in giving the important returns for which he is asked. The attempt to disestablish and disendow that portion of the Church of England which is found in Wales has evidently led the editor to take special interest in all that bears upon the present position of the threatened dioceses. This is well and temperately explained in the preface.

'Mindful of the character and work of our great Head—"He shall not strive nor cry, neither shall any man hear His voice in the street"—the Church would instinctively recoil from vain boasting, or from any temptation to rest the authority and claims of her mission upon mere popular demonstrations of success. Now, however, that the Church's enemies threaten to deprive her of that influence which through long ages she has exerted on the national religious life, and to alienate the material resources she has inherited from the piety and devotion of her children through the centuries, and thus to cripple her power and usefulness, it is an urgent and manifest duty to place before the nation the records of her work. These records are presented for thoughtful study, not only to arouse and encourage Churchmen to zeal and faithfulness and to the bold defence of all that should be dearest to them in this great crisis, but also in the fervent hope that others, who are prominent in endeavours to seek the disestablishment and disendowment of the Church, may be led, upon thoughtful and conscientious reflection, to consider whether the spiritual, moral, and social well-being of this great nation would be advanced by a measure which, if successful, would hamper the Church's work.'

After this introduction we turn to what is recorded of the Church work in Wales. If we look first at the tables of statistics for all England at the commencement of the volume, we find that the four Welsh dioceses compare far from unfavourably with the rest of England. If we take all England through we find that the number of baptisms in Church is rather more than seventeen for every thousand of the population, whilst in Wales it is twelve for every thousand; but when we come to the number of communicants it is estimated at 5 per cent. of the population in England and 6½ per cent. in Wales. Board schools in Wales are instructing 152,177 children, whilst Church schools are educating 73,875. When the poverty of many of the rural parts of Wales is taken into account this is a not unsatisfactory proof of the religious earnestness of her people. If we turn to the language census, about which a good deal has been said,

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we find that English alone was the language of 719,416 of her people, and Welsh alone of 508,036, whilst there were 402,253 who spoke both languages. During the last ten years 185 churches have been consecrated in Wales, showing that the Church is actively exerting itself, and that an increasing number of people are glad to have her services; and at the same time mission rooms and other buildings scattered about the hill-sides and the poorer portions of the larger towns can accommodate 57,153 worshippers. If we turn from the provision made for work, and the use made of the opportunities within their reach by the people in bringing their children to baptism and themselves being present at the Holy Communion, to the provision made for the support of the clergy, we find that the nett income of the incumbents of 1,081 parishes, arising from tithe rent charge, glebes, pew rents, fees, Easter offerings, interest on funded property, and from the Ecclesiastical Commissioners amounts to 186,046*l.*, or 172*l.* for each incumbent if the amount were equally divided. The sums contributed by Church people for infirmaries, hospitals, &c., contrast favourably with these figures, as during the year they appear to have given for such objects 251,858*l.*, whilst the Nonconformists are credited with only 24,006*l.* Assuming that these figures are correct, and that Church people place the interests of their Church in the first place, they might deprive the sick poor of all the comforts and advantages they now enjoy by transferring what they now contribute to promote their welfare to the support of their own clergy. That a considerable portion of these funds would be so transferred is possible, for benevolent people with limited incomes who now do all they can for the sick poor would be compelled to discontinue a large part, if not the whole, of their charitable contributions to make good the revenues of the Church of which they had been unjustly deprived. Besides benefactions for hospitals Church people contributed during the year 240,643*l.* for the promotion of Church work; a large part of this would have to be otherwise applied if the jealousy and greed of the enemies of the Church should deprive the clergy of the limited incomes they now derive from the liberality of Church people in past generations. These figures have all been taken from the book which we are noticing, which thus sums up what the Church in Wales has done during the last fifty years:

It has doubled the number of its clergy.

It has spent more than three millions in church-building.

It has built or restored 1,228 churches in the 1,080 parishes.

It has spent more than a million in voluntary gifts to National schools.

It has more than doubled the number of children in Church schools in Wales.

It has contributed three-quarters of a million for the building, founding, and maintaining hospitals, infirmaries, and similar institutions.

For anyone who has to speak on this important subject this book would be invaluable.

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THE

CHURCH QUARTERLY REVIEW.

Nº LXXX. *JULY* 1895.

ART. I.—ARCHBISHOP LAUD.

PART II.

'March 27, 1625.—The king died at Theobald's about three-quarters of an hour past eleven in the forenoon. . . . That day, about five o'clock, Prince Charles was solemnly proclaimed king. God grant to him a prosperous and happy reign.' [1]

So writes the man who of all others was most identified with the good and evil fortunes of the ill-fated Charles I.

In estimating the relationship between Laud and the new king it is important to insist upon a truth which might be considered a truism were it not systematically disregarded by some of Laud's critics. That truth is that a man must be judged by the standard of the age in which he lived, not by that of later ages. Mr. Simpkinson complains, most justly, that 'historians and essayists take pleasure in discussing how the king and Parliament might have been reconciled; in discoursing as if in some nineteenth century newspaper on the value of responsible ministers, and the advantage that a king should reign and should not govern.' [2] What Dr. Mozley says, in his own racy language, about Laud's friend, Strafford, applies at least as truly to Laud himself: 'In that transition state of things there was in fact no precise limit as to what the king could do, and what he could not do: if he did what his predecessors did, he could do anything; if he did what his successors have done, he could do nothing. . . . Strafford knew something of the predecessors, but nothing at all of the successors.' [3] And so did Laud. The whole gist of the

[1] Laud's *Diary*. [2] *Life of Laud*, p. 64.
[3] J. B. Mozley's *Essays*, i. 86–7, 'Lord Strafford.'

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matter lies in those five words, 'that transition state of things.' There does not appear to be much room for a comparison or a contrast between two such very different men in such very different positions as William Laud and John Wesley. But they resembled one another in this respect—they both lived in 'a transition state of things.' Wesley unconsciously moved in the direction *to* which things were tending; Laud, as unconsciously, in the direction *from* which things were passing. Wesley rose on the crest of the decuman wave, which, in spite of the appearances to the contrary, was certainly carrying a vast number of people in the direction of an emotional religion; Laud was submerged in the torrent which was sweeping away the old theory of a *real* monarchy.

The personality of the new king might well cause Laud to hope that Charles would realize his grand conception of a true nursing father to the Church who would also be (if the paradox may be allowed) her most obedient son. Charles I. was the first monarch since the Reformation in whose favour anything like enthusiasm could be aroused in the breasts of churchmen *as* churchmen. It was impossible to set up Henry VIII. as a hero, or even as a decently respectable Christian. Edward VI. had died too young. Mary was a name which only called forth execration. Elizabeth might justly be regarded with pride by the *patriot*, but she was too much 'of the earth, earthy,' to be a *spiritual* heroine. James I. was, in his way, a very able defender of the Church, but he was too ludicrous a personage to be placed on a pedestal as a hero in any cause. But Charles I. had many of the elements of the ideal king for churchmen. A grave, decorous man, with a sincere attachment to the Church of England, and a thorough knowledge and appreciation of its system; with a dignified presence, and an interesting, melancholy face well befitting a martyr; with a gift of attracting and even fascinating friends; with an unblemished character, a highly trained intellect full of 'sweetness and light,' a taste for science and the fine arts, he might well appear from one point of view as the man of all others adapted to carry out Laud's ideal. There was, indeed, another side, which Laud showed that he afterwards discovered when he happily described Charles as a 'mild and gracious Prince, who knew not how to be, or to be made, great;' but at first Laud only saw the golden, not the silver side of the shield.

The same, we think, may be said of Laud's relationship to Buckingham. Knowing, as we do, what Buckingham was, it

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may seem almost grotesque to read the terms in which Laud speaks of him. But we must remember that we do not see Buckingham as he appeared, or rather as he chose to show himself, to some of his contemporaries. Like Charles, he had a fascinating personality, though of a different kind. His sense of religion was real in its way, though it was not strong enough to keep him pure and good. Can Laud be justly blamed for utilizing the influence he possessed over the powerful favourite for the benefit of the Church? It *does* make such a difference, *who* does a thing! The Puritans profited by the favour of the worthless Leicester and the worthless Warwick, and it was all right; Laud, or rather Laud's Church, profited by the favour of the certainly not more worthless Buckingham, and it was all wrong! In our opinion there was nothing wrong in either case, provided that there was no unworthy compliance; and there is certainly no evidence that there was any in Laud's dealings with Buckingham. Laud stood to him in the relation of a spiritual director towards his penitent—a rather slippery penitent no doubt, but not exactly a hypocrite: rather in the position so naïvely described by the poet:

'Video meliora proboque,
Deteriora sequor.'

Buckingham owns as much himself. In his defence before the House of Commons in 1626, probably composed under the direction of Laud, he refers, among other things, to 'his sincerity in the true religion established in the Church of England (though accompanied with many weaknesses and imperfections, which he is not ashamed humbly and heartily to confess).' He had no doubt confessed them already in rather a different sense, for it is merely the sensitiveness of Protestantism which can have induced anyone to believe that when Laud wrote, 'I became C. to my Lord of Buckingham,' he meant 'chaplain' not 'confessor.' Laud was then Bishop of Bath and Wells; and noblemen, even such powerful noblemen as the Duke of Buckingham, do not usually appoint diocesan bishops as their chaplains. Buckingham's regard for Laud was one of the best traits in his complex character. Laud established a real ascendency over the better self of the favourite, who, in Church matters, did all that Laud told him; in fact, Buckingham ruled Charles, and Laud ruled Buckingham—and became all-powerful.

One of the first acts of Charles was to place virtually the Church patronage of the Crown into Laud's hands:

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'Die Martis, schedulam exhibui, in qua nomina erant virorum ecclesiasticorum sub literis O. et P. Nomina ut sic digererem jussit ipse dux Buckinghamiæ, traditurus ea (ut dixit) Regi Carolo.'

Thus wrote Laud in his *Diary* for April 5, 1625, only ten days after the king's accession. We give his own words because different interpretations have been put upon them. Some[1] understood them to refer simply to the royal chaplains who had, of course, to be reappointed at the commencement of a new reign; but Laud himself makes no such limitation; and it is a matter of fact that for the most part only those who would be marked 'O' (orthodox), not 'P' (Puritan), were advanced to any high post in the Church. Laud himself was brought rapidly to the front. He was charged to consult the Bishop of Winchester (Dr. Lancelot Andrewes) as to 'what he would have done in the cause of the Church, and bring back his answer, especially in the matter of the Five Articles &c.'[2] 'The Five Articles &c.' were the five points of Calvinism sanctioned at the Synod of Dort, and, to a certain extent, tacitly accepted by the English Church. Bishop Andrewes was consulted as to whether they should be brought before Convocation with a view to their rejection; with characteristic wariness he doubted the temper of Convocation, and advised that nothing should be done, and so the matter dropped. The incident illustrates the difference between the two leading churchmen of the time. Andrewes possessed a prudence, a delicacy, a tact, which were utterly wanting in Laud, and which go far to account for the fact that while Andrewes had, and still has, almost everybody's good word, the very name of Laud had, and still has, upon the minds of many the same effect as the sight of a red rag has upon a bull.

At the same time the advantage is not all on one side. It is, doubtless, not only pleasanter to be popular than to be unpopular, but it also enables a man in one way to be more practically useful; he can carry his point without stirring up bad passions, while the unpopular man sets people's backs up, and does *not* carry his point. But it is very hard for a man to retain his popularity when he sets himself with dogged determination to reform definite abuses. Now this is what Laud did, and what Andrewes did not do to anything like the same extent. A notable instance in point soon occurred, but before this, other important steps in Laud's rise had been

[1] See, *inter alia*, Mr. Baines's *Life of Laud*, ch. viii. p. 54.
[2] *Diary* for April 9, 1625.

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taken. In fact, both Charles and Buckingham were bent upon bringing him to the front on every possible occasion. He was at once appointed to act as Clerk of the Closet (April 13, 1625) for his old friend and patron, Bishop Neile, 'being sick'; he was appointed preacher at the opening of both the first and second Parliaments of Charles I., and on neither occasion poured oil upon the waters which were troubled from the very commencement of the new reign. By an arrangement, into the details of which we need not enter, he supplied the place of the Dean of Westminster (that is Bishop Williams of Lincoln, who was obnoxious to the king) at the magnificent coronation of Charles and Henrietta Maria in Westminster Abbey, where he was quite in his element and enabled everything to go off admirably. On June 20, 1626, the king nominated him Bishop of Bath and Wells, desiring, no doubt, to have him nearer at hand; and on the death of Bishop Andrewes (September 25, 1626) Laud was at once appointed his successor in the office of Dean of the Chapel Royal. This brings us to the point at which Laud's conduct contrasts favourably with that of Andrewes. He found that it had been the evil custom at the Chapel Royal, for the officiating priest immediately to leave off the prayers and begin the sermon when the king entered; and,

'on November 5, I desired His Majesty, King Charles,' he tells us, 'that he would please to be present at prayers as well as sermon every Sunday, and that at whatsoever part of the prayers he came, the Priest then officiating might proceed to the end of the prayers. The most religious King not only assented to this request, but also gave me thanks. This had not before been done from the beginning of K. James's reign to this day. Now, thanks be to God, it obtaineth.' [1]

Now Bishop Andrewes had held the post of Dean of the Chapel Royal for seven years, having been appointed to it in 1619, and all that time he made, so far as we know, no attempt to correct so glaring an abuse; at any rate he did not succeed in correcting it, as Laud at once did. One can quite understand Andrewes's unwillingness to meddle in purely political affairs; it would have been well, in some respects, if his great admirer, Laud, had followed his example. But this was not a political affair; it was one that came strictly within the province of the Dean of the Chapel, who was, of course, mainly responsible for the chapel services; and the contrast between the two Deans may be commended to the attention

[1] *Diary* for November 14, 1626.

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of those who love to exalt Andrewes at the expense of Laud.[1]

Meanwhile the relations between the king and his 'faithful Commons' were becoming more and more strained, and the latter thought, not perhaps without reason, that Laud was at the bottom of the disputes between them. On April 2, 1627, he was made a Privy Councillor, and he shared with Buckingham the office of confidential adviser to the king, while in ecclesiastical matters he ruled them both. Now it *was* an ecclesiastical matter which was the chief bone of contention between the king and his Parliament at this time, viz. the famous case of Dr. Montagu, which King James had left as a sort of *damnosa hæreditas* to his son and successor. The House of Commons knew perfectly well that Laud would not approve of its practically resolving itself into a sort of committee of amateur theologians. It actually *did* appoint, as had been done before, a committee of religion, but virtually it was 'a committee of the whole House,' which was busy with the 'Appello Cæsarem' question. The spectacle of a number of country gentlemen, lawyers, and city merchants, discussing profound and delicate questions of theology, not in a debating society, but in an assembly where the most important practical results would issue from their deliberations, would naturally jar upon Laud's sense of the fitness of things, alike as a scholar and as a divine. What had laymen, who had neither the training nor the authority to deal with such questions, to do with settling points of doctrine which could only be grasped by trained theologians, and could only be settled by men who came with a higher authority than that of Parliament? So Laud would argue; but Puritan M.P.s thought otherwise; they were, in their own opinion, quite as competent to settle questions of doctrine as questions of supply. 'Methinks,' writes Laud in reference to this question of Dr. Montagu, 'I see a cloud arising and threatening the Church of England. God of His mercy dissipate it.' The

[1] Among others, no less an authority than Professor S. R. Gardiner, appears to take this line: 'Ignoring the example of Andrewes, who, without irritating anyone, had simply recommended the observance of the religious usages of which he approved, Laud held it incumbent on him to compel external observance even by those who disapproved of them,' and so forth (see article on 'Laud, William,' in the *Dictionary of National Biography*). The incident recorded in the text is a curious comment on these remarks. Mr. Ottley also, in his very able and interesting sketch of Bishop Andrewes in the 'English Religious Leaders' series, touches naturally upon the points on which his hero contrasts favourably with Laud. This is all quite fair, but an outsider may venture to do a little to redress the balance.

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cloud did arise, and spread over the whole sky. Laud was involved in the increasing unpopularity of Buckingham, who, after the unsuccessful expedition to Rhé, became an object of extreme odium. The two were evidently linked together in the angry minds of the Commons. On June 11, 1628, Laud records in his *Diary*, 'My Lord Duke of Buckingham voted in the House of Commons to be the cause, or causes, of all the grievances in the kingdom,' and on the very next day, June 12: 'I was complained of by the House of Commons for warranting Doctor Manwaring's sermon to the press.' Laud's support of Dr. Manwaring would be even more exasperating to them than his support of Dr. Montagu; for Montagu was, at any rate, an able and prominent man.[1] Dr. Manwaring was not; had it not been for his sermon advocating the most extravagant views of the royal prerogative, he would have been an obscurity. When both the victims eluded the grasp of the Commons by being raised to the Lords, one as Bishop of Chichester and the other as Bishop of St. David's, we can well understand how enraged the Commons would be; and the blame of both appointments was of course laid upon Laud. For the moment, however, Laud thought that he had escaped the Manwaring difficulty. 'By God's goodness towards me,' he writes on January 14, 1628, 'I was fully cleared in the House.' But on the very same day he adds: 'The House of Commons were making their remonstrance to the king. One head was, innovation of religion. Therein they named the Bishop of Winchester [his friend Dr. Neile], and myself.' In the midst of all this odium, as if in defiance of public opinion, Laud was translated (July 15, 1628) to the see of London. If he had been a self-seeking man, he would have declined the dangerous eminence, for he was rushing into the very jaws of the lion when he came to London. London had long been a stronghold to Puritanism; it was there that he found, as he knew that he should find, his bitterest enemies; but there he also found, as he knew that he should find, a splendid vantage-ground for doing the work which he had set his mind upon doing, viz. the restoration of the Church of England to that which it was the original intention of the Reformation to make it—Catholic, but not Roman Catholic. The assassination of the Duke of Buckingham (August 23, 1628), bitterly as it grieved him, only cleared the way for that work; for it left him without a rival in the confidence of the king, whom he regarded

[1] On what grounds Mr. J. R. Green (*Short History of the English People*, chap. viii. § iv. p. 496) asserts that 'Montagu was in heart a convert to Rome' we know not.

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as God's vice-gerent, through whom the great work was to be accomplished.

Under the somewhat sleepy rule of Bishop Montaigne, Laud's predecessor, the London Puritans had had it almost all their own way, though the bishop himself was not a Puritan; but they found the difference now. In the very year of Laud's appointment to London came out the famous Royal Declaration which is still prefixed to our Thirty-Nine Articles.

'Laud moved the King,' writes Heylin, 'that the Book of Articles might be reprinted, and such a Declaration placed before them as might preserve them from such mischievous misconstructions as had of late been put upon them, and keep them in their native, literal, and grammatical sense.'[1]

Which, being interpreted, means that the Puritans had been wont to read into the Articles the mind, or supposed mind, of their compilers, and so given them a kind of Calvinistic twist. Laud's object was to put a stop to this; and few of his earlier acts gave greater offence than the issue of this 'Declaration of His Majesty'; for all perceived that the voice was Jacob's voice, though the hands were the hands of Esau. It was said to have come 'from the depths of Satan,' to be a 'Jesuitical plan to subvert the Gospel,' and so forth.[2] Parliament took the matter up, declaring:

'We, the Commons in Parliament assembled, do claim, protest, and avow for truth, the sense of the Articles of Religion which were established by Parliament in the thirteenth year of our late Queen Elizabeth, which by the public act of the Church of England, and by the general and current expositions of the writers of our Church, has been delivered unto us. And we reject the sense of the Jesuits, Arminians, and all others wherein they differ from us.'

Laud, not in the least daunted, wrote scholia upon the Declaration, which only aggravated the Commons the more.

But the time was fast approaching when the House of Commons could no longer make its voice heard on this or any other question. On March 10, 1628–9, Parliament was dissolved, never again to re-assemble until eleven years had elapsed; and thus, a number of able and angry men were sent down into different parts of the country, burning with indignation against Laud, whom they regarded as the real author of their troubles, and biding their time to take a terrible vengeance upon him.

The feeling against Laud was very bitter. Shortly after

[1] *Cypr. Angl.* p. 178.

[2] See Mozley, i. 165.

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the dissolution of Parliament a paper was found 'in the Dean of Paul's his yard before his house,' which said: 'Laud, look to thyself; be assured thy life is sought. As thou art the fountain of all wickedness, repent thee of thy monstrous sins, before thou be taken out of the world, &c. . . . And assure thyself, neither God nor the world can endure such a vile counsellor to live,' &c.[1] And this was the precursor of many similar libels. But Laud was not in the least diverted from his purpose. On the contrary, he took steps which would be sure to make him many enemies in another quarter, even among his own order. He incited the king to issue Injunctions to all bishops to reside in their own dioceses instead of hanging about Court; and we may depend upon it that these dispersed prelates would carry with them no friendly feelings towards the instigator of their dispersion, especially as the Injunctions also prohibited them from executing ruinous leases on pain of forfeiting all hope of translation.

But there were other officers, or quasi-officers, of the Church who were attacked still more fiercely by Laud. These were the lecturers and the domestic chaplains. Both classes offended alike Laud's theology and his love of order; for they were both mainstays of Puritanism and excrescences on the regular system of the Church and thorns in her side. The lectureships were an old grievance, dating from the days of Queen Elizabeth. Lecturers were of different kinds, but all agreed in this: that they were opposed to the parish priests, and were, it is to be feared, generally appointed by corporations or parishioners for the very purpose of opposing them. In 1626 a trust had been formed to buy up lay impropriations and restore them to the Church. The object appeared to be an excellent one, but what the 'feoffements,' as they were called, really aimed at was to weaken, not to strengthen, the Church system. The lecturers under the feoffments were paid servants of the feoffees, as lecturers generally were dependent upon their patrons, who could dismiss them at a fortnight's notice. Such a system was, on the face of it, not conducive to the harmony of a parish; and the purchase of lay impropriations for its support had made it assume formidable dimensions. Peter Heylin, as he informs us with great complacency,[2] first drew general attention to the designs of the feoffees in a sermon preached at Oxford in 1630, and Laud at once set himself to put a stop to the feoffments. The matter was brought before the Court of Exchequer by Noy, the attorney-general, a warm supporter of Laud. The

[1] *Diary*, March 29, 1629.

[2] *Cypr. Angl.* p. 199.

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Court decided that the trust was illegal, and the tithes were restored to the parishes to which they had originally belonged. Laud had previously procured Royal Injunctions to regulate the proceedings of the lecturers; they were henceforth to be bound to read the Church Prayers in a surplice before preaching; they were to preach in a gown, not in a Geneva cloak; catechizing was to take the place of preaching at the Sunday afternoon service; and controversial subjects relating to Calvinism and Arminianism (so called) were not to be handled in the pulpit. There was one special lectureship at St. Antholin's in the City, paid for by the tithes of Presteign, in Radnorshire, which was used chiefly for the training of Puritan lecturers, and to this Laud put a stop altogether.

The system of domestic chaplaincies had become as inimical to parochial organization as that of the lectureships. Anyone who chose to afford the luxury—and it was not an expensive one—might retain in his household a chaplain, who was quite independent of diocesan and parochial authorities. When we remember what the feeling of the country gentry, as represented in the late Parliament, was, we can well understand how necessary Laud felt it to be to put some check upon these irregular divines. He procured the king's orders that none but noblemen and duly qualified persons should keep domestic chaplains; that the chaplains should have a proper title to Holy Orders; and that they should be bound to accept a cure of souls if it were offered to them.

Another cause of exasperation against Laud was his conduct in the High Commission Court. The Court itself had never been popular, though its legal sanction was unquestionable. It had been instituted by Parliament itself in the time of the Tudors to exercise the royal jurisdiction in ecclesiastical matters, and was composed of bishops, privy councillors, and lawyers;[1] its special duty was to enforce the Acts of Supremacy and Uniformity, but its functions were by no means limited to this duty, and it was quite within its limits to do what Laud used it to do. But what men would bear under the Tudors they would not bear under the Stuarts—a fact which Laud never seems to have realized. That his object was a praiseworthy one no one can deny who has any regard for public morals; but it is easy to understand how it would add to the already formidable number of his enemies. It cannot be better stated than in the luminous language of Clarendon:

'He intended the discipline of the Church should be felt, as well

[1] Simpkinson, p. 117.

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as spoken of, and that it should be applied to the greatest and most splendid transgressors as well as to the punishment of smaller offences and meaner offenders; and thereupon called for or cherished the discovery of those who were not careful to cover their own iniquities, thinking they were above the reach of other men, or their power or will to chastise. Persons of honour and great quality, of the Court and of the country, were every day cited into the High Commission Court, upon the fame of their incontinence, or other scandal in their lives, and were there prosecuted to their shame and punishment; and as the shame (which they called an insolent triumph upon their degree and quality, and levelling them with the common people) was never forgotten, but watched for revenge, so the fines imposed there were the more questioned and repined against, because they were assigned to the rebuilding and repairing of S. Paul's Church, and thought therefore to be the more severely imposed, and the less compassionately reduced and excused.'[1]

It does seem to us that this last arrangement was a singularly injudicious one. Knowing how deeply Laud had at heart the repairing and beautifying of the great cathedral, the accused might reasonably conclude that at least justice would not be tempered with mercy, when their condemnation and the severity of the sentence against them would tend to promote Laud's cherished project.

It was in his political capacity as privy councillor, rather than in his clerical, that Laud sat in the Star Chamber, which was essentially a lay court. Judging by our modern notions, we should certainly be inclined to say that he was out of place in such an assembly; but we must beware of taking the standard of the nineteenth century by which to estimate the seventeenth. As a matter of fact, Laud's name is more closely connected in the minds of many with the doings of this obnoxious court than with any other tribunal. Four cases in especial which were dealt with in the Star Chamber were set as black marks against him, and had not a little to do with his subsequent downfall. The first was that of Alexander Leighton, who, in 1630, was severely, indeed barbarously, punished by the sentence of the Star Chamber for writing a most abusive book, entitled *Sion's Plea against Prelacy*, against the Church in general and the episcopate in particular. Leighton in his own *Epitome* declares that when the sentence was passed, Laud 'off with his cap and gave thanks to God who had given him the victory over his enemies;' and Daniel Neal[2] repeats the story as if it were an undoubted fact of history; but it rests entirely upon

[1] Quoted by Mr. Hutton, pp. 101–2.
[2] *History of the Puritans*, i. 540.

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Leighton's words, and is confirmed by no good authority. The next was the more famous case of William Prynne, who, in 1632, published a huge volume of more than a thousand pages, under the title of *Histrio-Mastix*, or 'The Player's Scourge,' which was full of the most violent abuse, not only of plays and of actors, but of other amusements, and which also glanced, not obliquely, at the conduct of both the king and the queen. It may be quite true that it was at the instance of Laud that the case was brought before the Star Chamber (February 7, 1632–3), when Noy, the attorney-general, prosecuted on behalf of the king; but for the cruel severity of the sentence Laud was no more responsible than any other member of the court. The next case was that of John Bastwick, a physician, who, in 1634, was punished in the High Commission Court for writing in Latin a work against episcopacy, entitled *Flagellum Pontificis*, and in 1637 was brought before the Star Chamber for publishing a book called the *Letanie of Dr. John Bastwicke*, which was not only most abusive of the bishops, but perilously approached blasphemy. Proceedings were taken for a second time against Prynne on the same occasion, and also against Henry Burton, rector of St. Matthew's, Friday Street, who used his pulpit for pouring forth violent invectives against episcopal practices, and published several works of a similar tendency. Bastwick 'sat under' Burton, and no doubt derived from him his opinions. Both were punished very severely, and all three seem to have regarded Laud as the 'fons et origo mali.'

We have dwelt on these ungrateful topics at some length because it appears to us that they have been rather slurred over by Laud's friendly biographers. Now it is always wise to grasp your nettle; if you handle it lightly it will be sure to sting. Grapple boldly with the facts: remember carefully that Laud's 'lot was cast,' as Canon Bright expresses it,[1] 'at the parting of the ways,' and that the way he followed was the old way, not the new, and all is explicable enough. Let us listen to Laud's own account of the matter. Having spoken of 'the rage and hatred of the people,' 'who,' he says, 'were highly offended with me because I hindered and punished (as by law I might) their conventicles and separation from the Church of England,' he goes on:

'And though I pitied them, as God knows, from my very heart, yet because necessity of government forced me to some punishment, their malignity never gave me over. Among and above the rest there were three men, Mr. Henry Burton, a minister beneficed in

[1] *Waymarks in Church History*, 'Archbishop Laud.'

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Friday Street, London; Dr. John Bastwick, a physician; and Mr. William Pryn, a common lawyer; who were censured, Junii 14, 1637, in the Star Chamber, for notorious libels printed and published by them against the hierarchy of the Church. They were then and there sentenced to stand in the pillory, and lose their ears; and because they should not stay further to infect London, they were sent away by order of that Court; Mr. Burton to Guernsey, Dr. Bastwick to Scilly, and Mr. Pryn to Jersey. In the giving of this sentence, I spake my conscience, and was afterwards commanded to print my speech. But I gave no vote, because they had fallen in many passages so personally upon me, that I doubted many men might think spleen, and not justice, led me to it. Nor was it my counsel that advised their sending into those remote parts.'[1]

Now we are very far indeed from justifying Laud's sentiments; but we do maintain that it is most unfair to judge them by our modern standard; we believe that he had not the faintest suspicion that he was doing aught that was unjust. 'As by law I might'—the law as it stood it was his duty to enforce. And cruel as the sentences were, they were mercy itself when compared with what they would have been fifty years earlier. 'Most certain it is,' Laud adds with perfect truth, 'that, howsoever the times went then or go now, yet in Queen Elizabeth's time Penry was hanged and Udal condemned and died in prison for less than is contained in Mr. Burton's book, as will be evident to any man who compares their writings together.'[2] There were several other Star Chamber cases for which Laud bore the blame, notably that of Bishop Williams, who, in the same year 1637, was suspended and imprisoned for subornation of perjury; but enough has been said on the ungrateful subject.

Scarcely less offensive than his doings in the High Commission Court and the Star Chamber was his insistence upon the principle that externals were a very important part of divine worship. He acted steadily upon this principle all through his public career.

'It is true,' he says, 'the inward worship of the heart is the great service of God, and no service acceptable without it; but the external worship of God in His Church is the great witness to the world that our heart stands right in that service of God. Take this away, or bring it into contempt, and what light is there left "to shine before men that they may see our devotion, and glorify our Father which is in Heaven"?'[3]

On this principle he made a point, in whatever sphere he

[1] *History of Troubles and Trial*, cap. v. pp. 389–90.
[2] *Ibid.* p. 391.
[3] *Epistle Dedicatory to Conference with Fisher.*

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was, of repairing and beautifying the buildings, making all their fittings, not only decent and orderly, but suggestive and symbolical, and insisting upon such forms and ceremonies as would impress the senses of the worshippers. Thus, as we have seen, his first act at Gloucester was to improve the outward building and the outward worship at the cathedral; when he was at Oxford he did the same for the college chapel of St. John's; when he was Bishop of St. David's he rebuilt and adorned the bishop's chapel at Abergwilly; and now that he was Bishop of London he made it one of his chief objects to render the great cathedral of the metropolis worthy of being the central church of the land; it was a gigantic task, and he did not live to complete it, but he raised, by one means or another, the enormous sum of 100,000*l.*, exclusive of private gifts, for the purpose. He encouraged in every way the work of church building and an ornate ritual in his diocese. His most notorious effort in this direction was his consecration of the church of St. Catharine Cree [Creed] in the City in 1631. The ceremonial on the occasion was, no doubt, very elaborate, and perhaps ostentatiously defied public opinion, but Prynne's account of it, which made an important count of the indictment at Laud's trial, is obviously a ridiculous travesty. The service he used was simply one that had been compiled by Bishop Andrewes. And here again the contrast between Laud and Andrewes is marked. Personally Andrewes valued beautiful and elaborate buildings and furniture and ornate ritual for divine worship quite as much as Laud did; his own private chapels both at Ely and at Winchester were eminently 'ritualistic' places of worship, and, as such, came under the lash of Prynne. But Andrewes, as Fuller says, 'was content with enjoying without enjoining,' a comfortable frame of mind, which had its undoubted advantages, but not one which was calculated to make a mark upon the Church. Laud, on the other hand, when he thought a thing was right, was not content with practising it himself, but made it a point of conscience to bring all he could over to his side.

This was notably illustrated in his relations to his own university. One would have thought that a Bishop of London bent upon unpopular reforms would have had quite enough upon his hands in his own diocese; but Laud found time to institute reforms at Oxford as well. No wish was nearer to his heart than that his beloved Oxford should be a real seat of sound learning and religious education. He had always kept in touch with the place, principally through his intimate

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friend and successor at St. John's, Dr. Juxon; through Dr. Baylie, who was afterwards, by Laud's influence, also president of St. John's; and through Sir William Paddy, a royal physician. He kept sending valuable manuscripts both to his own college and to the Bodleian. In 1628 he sketched out a new scheme for the election of proctors, substituting for the system of an election by Convocation—which was apt to result in unseemly and undignified disputes among that learned body—the plan, which still obtains, whereby the proctors are chosen by the colleges in a regular cycle; and he records with great satisfaction that 'the statutes which he had drawn' for the purpose 'were passed in Convocation at Oxford, no voice dissenting.'[1] On the death of the Earl of Pembroke, in April 1630, he was immediately chosen chancellor of the university; and during his incumbency the chancellorship became a more active power than it has ever been before or since. He kept up a weekly correspondence with the vice-chancellor on university affairs, in which the correspondents entered into the minutest details. The Westminster supper at Christ Church, the famous Brasenose ale, the conduct of the Mitre Hotel, the studies of the Winchester scholars at New College, the chronic disputes between the city and the university, the very dress and amusements of the undergraduates, were among the matters which he did not think at all beneath his notice. He founded a lecture in Arabic, and appointed as the first lecturer the greatest Oriental scholar of the day, Edward Pococke; he insisted upon the Divinity professors doing their duty; he procured the annexation of a canonry at Christ Church to the professorship of Hebrew; he obtained from the king a patent for the university to print books, and was thus the founder of the University Press; and, above all, he codified the university statutes with immense care, and the 'Laudian Code' was in force for more than two hundred years. And all this he appears to have done with little or no friction. He found it a very different thing to deal with the Oxford which he had had so large a share in making what it was, twenty years before, from dealing with the London Puritans.

But the London Puritans were soon to be rid of Laud as bishop of the diocese. In August 1633 Archbishop Abbot died, and Laud became actually, what he had long been virtually, Primate of all England. Nearly seven years before (October 2, 1626) the Duke of Buckingham had intimated to him the king's intention that he should be Archbishop of

[1] *Diary*, December 30, 1628.

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Canterbury, and now at last the opportunity occurred. For the next six years Laud's power was quite unbounded, and his energy quite amazing. He had a firm supporter and lieutenant in Dr. Juxon, whom he had persuaded the king to make Clerk of the Closet in 1632, 'that,' he says, 'I might have some one that I might trust near his Majesty if I grew weak and infirm.'

Immediately after he was appointed to the archbishopric he was twice offered a cardinal's hat. They were not formal offers from the Pope, and we can only conjecture whence they came and what was their object. 'My answer,' he says, 'was, that somewhat dwelt within me which would not suffer that, till Rome was other than it is.' This answer, as recorded in his *Diary* (August 17, 1633), was brought against him at his trial as a proof that he had a leaning towards Rome. Of course it proved nothing of the sort; but it *did* prove, what the whole of his life bears out, that he did not regard Rome in the same light in which his Puritan enemies regarded it. He never called it opprobrious names; it was to him a real, though a diseased, branch of the true Catholic Church. But he laid great stress upon the fact that it *was* diseased; and therefore threw the whole weight of his influence into the scale against Rome. The Pope would no doubt be encouraged by the reports that reached him of the Roman tendency of the Laudian movement in England; and he had a most persistent and uncompromising partisan in Queen Henrietta Maria, who had great influence over the king. He sent, therefore, a legate (Panzani) to England in 1635, to whom it it is quite possible that the king, urged on by the queen, might have lent a favourable ear. But Laud told the king that 'if he wished to go to Rome, the Pope would not stir a step to meet him,' and nipped any such inclination in the bud. About two years later another papal agent, called Con, who had been sent in the place of Panzani, really *did* make many converts. But again Laud stood in the breach. He complained in the Council of the favour that was being shown to Roman Catholics, and singled out two well-known cases. One was that of Walter Montagu, son of the Earl of Manchester, who was an active proselytizer; the other that of Sir Toby Matthew, son of the Archbishop of York of the same name. Both were expelled from court, and the queen, with whom they were both favourites, was highly displeased with Laud. The royal displeasure, however, did not divert Laud from his purpose; and he did more than any man to check the progress of Romanism in the only quarter in which

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it was at all likely to make any way. With very good reason was it said, when the news of his death reached Rome, 'They had cause to rejoice that the greatest enemy of the Church of Rome in England was cut off, and the greatest champion of the Church of England silenced.'[1] Laud could say with very truth in his last speech or sermon on the scaffold: 'I was born and baptized in the bosom of the Church of England, established by law: in that profession I have ever since lived, and in that I come now to die.'

Archbishop Laud was the last man in the world to waive any of his rights, and he claimed, as metropolitan, the right of visiting all the dioceses of his province. The claim was resisted, especially by his old enemy, Bishop Williams; but Laud, as usual, carried his point. For three years Sir N. Brent, as the Archbishop's vicar-general, went about from diocese to diocese, rigidly enforcing uniformity in public worship, bringing moral offenders before the High Commission Court, reforming abuses, and enforcing the law in every way. Laud still believed that ecclesiastics were the proper persons to manage everything in Church and State. The satisfaction with which he records the appointment of his friend Bishop Juxon to a secular office shows the mind of the fifteenth rather than of the seventeenth century:

'Sunday, William Juxon, L. Bp. of London, made Lord High Treasurer of England. No churchman had it since Henry 7. time. I pray God bless him to carry it so, that the Church may have honour, and the King and the State service and contentment by it. And now, if the Church will not hold up themselves under God, I can do no more.'[2]

Personally Juxon was well fitted for the post, and, even by the admission of Laud's enemies, fulfilled its duties excellently; but the time was really past when such offices were to be discharged by the clergy.

It is quite bewildering to follow Laud in his various occupations; never was a man who, to use a homely phrase, had more irons in the fire. We find him insisting upon the use of the Book of Common Prayer—now in the English regiments in the Dutch service; now in the church of the Merchant Adventurers at Delft; now in chapels for the use of foreigners in England, taking care that it should be translated into their own language, and, if they had been naturalized, insisting upon their attendance at their parish churches, declaring that their conventicles encouraged schism. Now he

[1] See *Laud's Works*, iv. 504.
[2] *Diary* for March 6, 1635[-6].

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is enjoining the use of the cope in the cathedrals and college chapels; now he is composing a new body of statutes for his own cathedral at Canterbury; now he is opposing the raid made by the Puritans against amusements (of which more anon); now he is busy with the erection of a residence for the Bishop of Oxford at Cuddesdon; now he is occupied with the question of titles to holy orders.

And, as if England did not bring work enough and trouble enough, he becomes involved in the affairs of both Ireland and Scotland.

With Ireland he was brought into close contact by the fact that the Lord Deputy was his intimate friend (though a recent one), and his most constant and regular correspondent. The names of Laud and Strafford (Sir Thomas Wentworth, by the way, did not become Earl of Strafford until 1640) are indissolubly linked together, though the friendship does not appear to have dated earlier than 1632. But they were kindred spirits, and their meeting seems to have been a case of love at first sight. Their union was further cemented by a perfect identity of opinion as to the best method of dealing with the difficult question of the Church in Ireland. Both desired to make it Catholic, but not Roman Catholic; both had an equal dislike to Calvinism; Strafford succeeded, though with difficulty, in persuading the Irish Convocation to accept the English Thirty-Nine Articles instead of the Calvinistic Lambeth Articles; and Laud and Strafford stood shoulder to shoulder in the very important matter of conferring preferments in the Irish Church. In 1634 Laud was elected chancellor of Trinity College, Dublin, and, *more suo*, at once set about the task of reforming the Irish university, as he had reformed the English one, and after the same model. But Laud's connexion with Ireland must not detain us longer, for it only affected his destiny as it bound him up inextricably with Strafford; the fall of Strafford seeming to involve as a necessary corollary the fall of Laud.

Far otherwise was it with Scotland, which was virtually the proximate cause of Laud's ruin. If Laud's ideas and Laud's doings were ill calculated to commend themselves to the English Puritans, most of whom professed after all to be Church of England men, still less likely were they to do so to the Scotch Presbyterians. There was an ominous alliance between the nobles and the preachers, backed up by a strong popular feeling, in favour of non-interference on the part of England in Scotch affairs generally, and in Scotch religious affairs in particular. It is not too much to say that the

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Scotch as a body (*exceptis excipiendis*) did not want bishops, did not want a Liturgy, did not want a state-directed religion at all. All these things Laud, and the king under Laud's direction, determined that they should have. In justice to the Scotch on the first point, it should be said that their recent experience of episcopacy had not been happy. That miserable travesty of the episcopate, 'the Tulchan bishops,' one of whom had actually been consecrated by a layman and two presbyters, had been superseded amid inextinguishable laughter by the General Assembly, which first bullied, and then abolished the unfortunate impostors. The Assembly in 1581 declared bluntly that 'the office of a Bishop, as then used within the realm, was unlawful in itself, as having neither foundation, ground, nor warrant within the Word of God.' James I. did, indeed, restore the proper episcopate, three bishops being duly consecrated to the three sees of Glasgow, Brechin, and Galloway, in 1610; but the lordly way in which the royal theologian lectured them on their duties would not tend to enhance Scotchmen's ideas of the dignity and authority of the episcopal office. Charles I., as one might have expected, treated the Scotch bishops in a more respectful fashion; but in a different way he incensed the Scotch still more against them. He attempted to reclaim the Church lands for the Crown, intending to restore them conscientiously to their original purpose—that is, the support of the clergy. But this touched many of the nobles on a very tender point, viz. their pockets; the blame was dexterously laid upon the bishops, against whom a strong feeling was raised among a powerful class. As to a Liturgy, the Episcopalians of Scotland had none. In fact the Scotch Church which Laud strove to restore, was in a singularly unsatisfactory state in every way. Perhaps he was deceived by the reception which the king and he met when they visited Scotland in 1633, in order that Charles might receive the crown of that ancient kingdom. 'Junii 18, 1633,' he writes in his *Diary*: 'Tuesday after Trinity Sunday, King Charles crowned at Holyrood Church in Edinburgh. I never saw more expressions of joy than were after it,' &c.[1] The coronation ceremony was a repetition,

[1] In the *History of his Troubles and Trial*, chap. ii., Laud gives an account of the affair which conveys a different impression from that conveyed in the *Diary*: 'In the year 1633, his Majesty went into Scotland, and was crowned there. I attended his Majesty in that service. The Parliament then sitting in Scotland was very quick about some Church affairs, and the king was much unsatisfied with some men and their proceedings' (*Works*, iii. 278). If there is any discrepancy between the two accounts, it is very easily explained by the fact that one

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on a humbler scale, of that which had taken place at Westminster Abbey eight years before; and it passed off on the whole so satisfactorily (though not without some indications of dissatisfaction) that Laud may well have been encouraged to hope that a Liturgy, corresponding as nearly as might be with the English Liturgy, might safely be introduced as the recognized national form of worship. At any rate, the Scottish bishops were commissioned to draw up such a Liturgy. They took four years over the task; but meanwhile a storm was brewing, and mutterings of its approach were heard in 1635, when the Scotch canons, which enjoined what *we* should consider a barely decent form of worship, were introduced by royal authority, and were received with the utmost disapprobation. To recognize state authority at all in such matters was, in the view of the Scotch, gross Erastianism. The catastrophe arrived on July 23, 1637, when the Scotch Liturgy, which was in some points more 'Popish' than the English, was introduced in the cathedral church of St. Giles, Edinburgh. In the land of Knox all 'conceived prayers' were an abomination. So the very form, apart from the matter, was distasteful; but the matter made the form still more objectionable. Perhaps the Scotch bishops were not altogether judicious; they did not consult the Lords of the Council; they kept everything secret; and then, when the Liturgy *was* introduced, it was introduced, as it were, at the point of the bayonet, and through the interference of England, of which the Scots had always been jealous. But it is hard to blame the bishops too much for the *manner* of introducing that which, however introduced, would have been pretty sure to give offence. Jenny Geddes's stool—if there ever *was* a Jenny Geddes—really dealt the first blow in the Civil War. Some years elapsed before that war actually broke out; but 'the beginning of the end' may be traced to that memorable Sunday in July 1637, when the service at St. Giles's Cathedral was interrupted by a riot. The blame was laid both by the Scotch and by the English Puritans upon Laud, who, it will be remembered, in this very same year incurred additional odium by his doings in the Star Chamber.

The disturbances in Scotland led eventually to the calling at last of a Parliament. For money was required; and, after an abeyance of eleven years, Parliament again assembled, April 13, 1640, but only to be again dissolved three weeks later, May 5, 1640. The blame, again, of this abrupt breaking

was written in 1633, the other in 1641. The experience of those eight years threw much light upon what happened.

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up of Parliament, fell upon Laud, who was beset with threats and libels, and narrowly escaped personal violence.

The dissolution of the Short Parliament affected Laud in another way. As a general rule Convocation only sits while Parliament is sitting; but the acts for levying the six subsidies which the clergy voted to the king for the Scotch wars were not completed; and the king desired the Convocation to sit on for the completion of these acts, and also of the seventeen canons which they were engaged in framing. Laud felt his responsibility as president of the Convocation, and was somewhat doubtful about the legality of the sitting after the dissolution of Parliament. But the Crown lawyers were consulted, and they decided that as Convocation was *summoned* by the king's writ, it could only be *dissolved* by the king's writ or a commission under the Great Seal. Convocation accordingly continued its session 'under,' we are oddly told, 'the name of Synod'—as if it had ever been anything else than a Synod. The subsidies were granted, and the seventeen new canons framed without any demur being raised against them, except in one case, in which the objection arose from just the opposite quarter to that from which the coming troubles originated. Exception was taken against the first canon, against Rome, by Godfrey Goodman, Bishop of Gloucester, who had the strongest of all reasons for objecting to sign it, inasmuch as he was himself at the time a concealed Romanist. The new canons stated, but in very moderate terms, Laud's views of the royal authority, of the episcopate, of the necessity of uniformity as well as unity in the Church. An unfortunate slip was made in the Sixth Canon, which prescribed to the clergy a new oath, which concluded: 'Nor will I ever give my consent to alter the government of this Church by Archbishops, Bishops, Deacons, Archdeacons, *etc.*, as it stands now established.' It is difficult to conceive anyone really believing that this 'etc.' was meant as a plot to trap the swearer into declaring upon oath that he would maintain the government of the Church by mysterious persons unknown. The oath was constructed *by* Churchmen *for* Churchmen, among whom there was never the slightest ambiguity as to what the government of the Church was. But the oath formed a convenient pretext. 'What,' it was asked, 'is this ominous *et cetera*?' The true answer probably is, 'Nothing at all; it was put in to save unnecessary verbiage.'

But whether the alarm was serious or not, it is certain that the new canons in general, and the '*et cetera* oath' in

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particular, were serious counts in the indictment of Laud. On November 3, 1640, the Long Parliament met, and the long-pent-up indignation against him found a voice at last. On December 16 the canons were condemned in the House of Commons as being 'against the King's prerogative, the fundamental laws of the realm, the Liberty and Propriety of the subjects, and containing divers other things tending to sedition and of dangerous consequence.' On December 18 he was 'accused by the House of Commons for high treason without any particular charge being laid against him.'[1] From that hour his fate was sealed. The sequel need not be told in many words. How he was delivered to the charge of Black Rod until the charges against him should be particularized; how, after ten weeks, he was sent for to the Bar of the Lords and accused in general terms of 'traitorously subverting the fundamental laws,' instances being then given; how he was committed to the Tower (March 1, 1641), and suffered to linger there for more than two years; how his private papers were searched (May 31, 1643) by his implacable enemy, Prynne, in the hope that they would disclose matter against him; how he was at last brought before his peers (November 13, 1643) at Westminster; how the trial was postponed until the following January, and then until the following March; how he defended himself with wonderful spirit and ability (his enemies being judges); how all the spring, the summer, and the early autumn the trial dragged its slow length along; how he was then (November 1) summoned before the House of Commons, and how a bill 'attainting him of High Treason and adjudging him to suffer the punishment of death' was passed and sent up to the Lords (November 16); how, in spite of the popular clamour, the Lords at first bravely refused to agree to the ordinance, and desired a conference with the Commons on the law of treason; how the judges declared 'they could not deliver any opinion in point of treason but what was particularly expressed to be treason in the statute of 2 Edward III.' (a sufficient proof of the iniquity of the whole trial); how at last (Jan. 4) the Lords, in an absurdly thin House, passed the attainder; how, four days later, Laud was beheaded on Tower Hill, keeping firm to his Church principles, and maintaining his undaunted courage to the very last: all this is told with substantial agreement by all the biographers. Instead of repeating it all here, it will be more profitable to dwell, in conclusion, upon two or three points which do not appear

[1] *Diary.*

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upon the surface, but which are all essential for the right understanding of Laud and his work.

1. The object of Laud was not to narrow but to widen the horizon of men's views; not to promote intolerance, but tolerance. Mr. Gladstone, who, in literary and ecclesiastical matters, at any rate, has a wonderful knack of hitting the right nail on the head, sounds the true key-note for understanding Laud's career when he describes him as 'the first Primate of All England for many generations who proved himself by his acts to be a tolerant theologian.'[1] To those who have been taught to regard Laud simply as the narrow-minded bigot who cut off the ears and slit the noses of those who did not agree with him; the formalist who spent all his energies in enforcing outward ceremonies; the pedantic trifler, who busied himself with the anise and cummin to the neglect of the weightier matters of the law, such an assertion will appear to be a most audacious—well, untruth! We believe, on the contrary, that it is literally correct. Laud had a vein of sympathy with men of the most different views, being, as Mr. Gladstone adds in justification of his startling assertion, 'the patron, not only of the saintly and heroic Bedell, but, on the one hand, of Chillingworth and Hales, on the other of Ussher, Hall, and Davenant: groups of names sharply severed in opinion, but unitedly known in the history of ability and learning.'[2] And his own acts were, from one point of view, of a distinctly tolerant tendency. It was against the narrowness and intolerance of the Puritans, quite as much as against their divergences from historic Christianity, that he waged internecine war. We trace this in the actions for which he was most condemned. Take, for instance, the *Book of Sports*, which King Charles, under the influence, no doubt, of Laud, revived in 1633. Some, perhaps, who do not agree with Puritanism in all points will agree in this: that it was actually wrong thus to violate the sanctity of the Lord's Day; others, without going so far as to think it was wrong, will yet think it was highly injudicious to throw out such a bone of contention at such a time; but all must own that it was intended not to curtail, but to extend, the liberty of the subject. Those who held that the Christian Sunday ought to be kept like the Jewish Sabbath were still at perfect liberty to carry out their principles; but those who did not were not to be forced to do so. The only hardship was to the clergy, who had to read the Declaration in their churches; but one has often to read what one does not entirely approve of. The men who

[1] *Romanes Lecture* for 1892, p. 38. [2] *Ibid.*

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would 'hang the cat on Monday for killing a mouse on Sunday' would never be content until they had forced everybody to do the same; and against this intolerance Laud entered a practical protest.

It was the same with regard to Prynne's *Histrio-Mastix*. Prynne and those who agreed with him might set their faces against plays and play-actors, but they must not insult those who did not; they must not drive plays and play-actors off the face of creation. And the *Histrio-Mastix* took a far wider range than this—interludes, music, dancing; hunting, public festivals, Christmas-keeping, bonfires, May-poles: all these 'levities' were the object of Prynne's vituperation. 'Merrie England' was to be merry no longer if Prynne had his way; but Laud determined that he should not, and took sharp (too sharp) measures to put a stop to such narrowness.

So, again, with regard to Calvinism, which was the narrowest and most intolerant of all religious systems. The Calvinist might still hold his gloomy creed, but Laud would not have it foisted upon all as the true creed of the Church. He was not, indeed, above the spirit of his age, which led men of all parties to conceive it their duty to force everybody to think as they did; but the religion he desired to enforce was certainly a less narrow system than that of the Romanists on the one hand, or of any of the sectaries on the other.[1]

[1] The keen eye of Professor E. A. Freeman, who can hardly be called a 'Laudian,' detected this phase in his character. The whole letter, which appears in the Dean of Winchester's *Life and Letters of E. A. Freeman* (published since the passage in the text was written), is worth quoting:

To the Rev. Dr. Allon.

'Somerleaze, Jan. 22, 1880.

'Whether one admires or condemns him [Laud], Macaulay's mere contempt is certainly out of place. Remember, in his main ritual point he succeeded. For 200 years every English church has been arranged as he would have it, no party objecting, and that though the rubric still allows the other arrangement. Also, as you say, there was a liberal side to him. I suspect that he was much less strait-laced about pure dogma than either his supporters or his enemies. His notion of Church and State suits no side now; it seems to have been the Byzantine notion of making the Sovereign the chief power *within* the Church, not *without* it. But there must have been some special twist in him. People hated the man himself, beyond anything that he said or did. He seems to have had an unpleasant way of doing everything, which offended people more than the things which were done. For instance, how he *bothered* everybody to give to St. Paul's! Set on the other hand a patronage of learning the most ready and enlightened going at the time. Depend upon it, he is a complex study, with many sides to him—not to be daubed off in a hurry by either friend or foe. You know Mozley's

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2. Laud was essentially an apostle of culture and learning and the fine arts generally. Hence his deep and life-long interest in Oxford, his noble benefactions to that university, his care for the minutest details of university and college life; hence his encouragement of the fine arts, of painting, of architecture, especially as applied to ecclesiastical buildings; hence his interest in men of marked intellectual eminence like Pococke, Hales, Chillingworth, Ussher; hence his anxiety to enlist in the service of the Church men of such gifts as George Herbert; hence his delight in the cultured retreat which he found established at Little Gidding. He had not the leisure to produce any *magnum opus* himself in the field of literature; but he was one of the staunchest patrons of learning in others that England ever saw.

3. Considering Laud's comparatively humble origin and rapid rise, it is wonderful how little he was affected by social considerations. His intimacy with Charles and Buckingham may seem to be a contradiction, but is really a proof, of this. It was *he* who affected *them*, far more than *they* who affected *him*; and there was certainly no sycophancy, no cringing, in his relationship with either of them. Again, we have become so accustomed to regard the Royalist as the 'gentlemanly side' in the Civil War that we are apt to forget that it was not altogether so at the outset, and still less so in the days which immediately preceded the war, the days of Laud's power. It was the gentry who were Laud's bitterest enemies; against the vices of the gentry that he directed his fiercest attacks, in the High Commission Court and elsewhere. The Parliaments with which he was constantly brought into collision were composed mainly of the upper and upper middle classes. It was one of their grievances against Laud that he was a *parvenu*; but, so far from acting like many *parvenus*, and courting those who were above him by birth, he rather erred on the other side. Without any undue subserviency, he might with advantage have been less rough, less peremptory, more conciliatory.

4. Beneath this rough exterior, however, there beat a very warm heart. Hard, dry, unsympathetic as Laud appeared to many, there was a tender side to his character. His poor neighbours at Lambeth loved him, and were generously helped by him. He was very considerate of the wants of the poorer clergy; the deaths of favourite servants, to whom he was a kind and good master, affected him deeply, as his

Essay on him . . . strongly, of course, on Laud's side, but bringing out many points very forcibly.' (Vol. ii. p. 194.)

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Diary plainly shows; and so, at the other end of the social scale, did the death of King James and of Buckingham. There are no more pathetic stories in history than the stories of Laud's tender and loving care for the son of Nicholas Ferrar, and of the last parting with Strafford; there are no more heart-felt compositions in the English language than Laud's many prayers, which are the expressions, not only of a religious, but of a very soft heart.

To sum up: Laud was very far indeed from being a perfect character; but he did a great work, and his very imperfections helped him to do that work. He was very warm-tempered, and thus rushed in where milder and more delicate-minded men would have shrunk from interfering. We can well understand his being objected to as prying and meddlesome, but the exigences of the day required some one who *could* be prying and meddlesome. He produced nothing less than a revolution in the Church of England, and revolutions are proverbially not made with rose-water. Loyal English Churchmen, who value the English Church as it is, and know how narrowly it escaped degenerating into a Puritan sect, should be slow indeed to blame the defects of the man who, above all others, prevented the catastrophe.

ART. II.—THE MOSAIC LAW AND THE HIGHER CRITICISM.

Lex Mosaica; or, the Law of Moses and the Higher Criticism. With an Introduction by the late Right Rev. Lord ARTHUR HERVEY, D.D., Bishop of Bath and Wells. Edited by RICHARD VALPY FRENCH, D.C.L., LL.D., F.S.A. (London, 1894.)

THE book at the head of this article is well calculated to allay the anxiety which has been widely felt ever since men, beloved and trusted as leaders of an influential school of thought in our Church, seemed inclined to surrender principles hitherto regarded as an integral part of the deposit of the faith. We have more than once expressed our opinion that such suggestions of surrender were premature, and would ultimately be found to be unnecessary. The position undoubtedly seemed serious when most of our leading Hebraists in both universities had either committed themselves to the theories of Jewish history maintained by

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Wellhausen and Kuenen, or had at least been disposed to treat them as reasonable and probable. It was felt, and not unnaturally felt, that for men who were not themselves experts to reject unconditionally, on *a priori* grounds, the conclusions of trained scientific investigators would have been to assume a very grave responsibility. There existed, moreover, a reason why a *non possumus* attitude on the part of theologians in general towards the new theories might be regarded as especially undesirable at the present moment. For many centuries the love and reverence felt in this country for the Bible had been verging on Bibliolatry. Instead of promulgating a *Faith*, the Christian Church had been frequently represented as circulating a *Book* as the groundwork of her teaching, and by degrees it had come to be believed that every single portion of that Book stood upon precisely the same footing, and must equally be received and believed by every Christian who hoped for salvation. Thus the Book, instead of being regarded as an official exposition, by inspired men, of the principles of Divine Revelation for the special needs of those who were, or might hereafter become, members of the Christian Church, had gradually usurped the place of the deposit of faith committed to the Christian society; and a belief in the impossibility that any error, even on the most minute point, could be found in its pages had been substituted for acceptance of the Catholic Faith. Those who were dissatisfied with the extent to which the Book had occupied the place of the Spirit of Christ dwelling in the Christian society, and leading it by degrees into all the truth, were naturally not indisposed to listen to those who insisted strongly that there was a very considerable human element in the Bible. And in days like these, when everything is questioned, it was felt, reasonably enough, that we had no right to exempt the historical documents of the Jews from the searching inquiry to which all other literature has been subjected.

There were, therefore, sound reasons for an attitude of reserve, and even to a certain extent of friendly reserve, towards the new criticism. The only mistake was that some eminent Churchmen were too ready to believe all that modern critics told them. They jumped to the conclusion—undoubtedly, to some extent, in consequence of the attitude of infallibility adopted by certain scholars—that criticism had said its last word, and that the critics had succeeded in establishing a series of propositions extremely difficult to prove concerning the mode of composition of the books of

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the Old Testament and the general accuracy of the history they contained. Had they been more fully acquainted with the history of German criticism, they would not have been so hasty. Readers of the recent Life of Dr. Pusey will see that that eminent Hebrew scholar had all the theories before him, in their main features, which we have before us, and that he deliberately and decidedly rejected them. The separation of the Pentateuch into Priestly Code, Elohist, and Jehovist was as perfectly well known to him as it is to us.[1] But later German scholars have found it necessary to introduce a good many modifications of this theory, in order to meet objections, and our modern scholars of the traditional school have scarcely yet had sufficient time to point out the weak points in the armour of their antagonists. It is, moreover, unfortunate that as knowledge increases there is a tendency among scholars to become almost exclusively specialists. This is especially unfortunate in Biblical criticism; for the criticism of the Bible cannot properly be carried on by specialists. To criticize the Old Testament aright a man must be at once a thinker, a theologian, a historian, a trained judge of the force of evidence, a Hebraist, an Orientalist, and a man of deep and earnest religious sympathies. Such a man was Dr. Pusey. Of such men we have, alas! but few among us now. Consequently, a narrow, one-sided, exclusively academic manner of regarding these great questions has superseded that which never forgot the relative proportions of the details with which it was called upon to deal, nor the place of the Jewish history in the history of the world.[2]

[1] The *names* were different, but even as far back as the end of the last century the main features of modern German criticism had already displayed themselves.

[2] If any should think that we are too severe on the methods of criticism now in favour among us, essentially German as they are in their character, the following expression of opinion, from one whose lightest word is deservedly held in honour among us, may serve to dissipate the impression:—'Mr. Matthew Arnold, alluding to an eccentric work of rationalizing tendencies, written by an English scholar, and using Renan as his mouthpiece, expresses the opinion that "an extravagance of this sort could never have come from Germany, where there is a great force of critical opinion controlling a learned man's vagaries and keeping him straight." I confess that my experiences of the critical literature of Germany have not been so fortunate. It would be difficult, I think, to find among English scholars any parallel to the mass of absurdities which several intelligent and very learned German critics have combined to heap upon two simple names in the Philippian Epistle, Euodia and Syntyche.' Baur, he goes on to say, regards Clement in that passage as a semi-mythical person, embodying in himself the reconciliation of the opposing Pauline and Petrine tendencies in the Church. Schwegler

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Critics of the traditional school, as well as the religious public at large, have been apt, wisely or unwisely, to pay but little heed to the theories of the school of research which, for a century or so, has been dominant in Germany. But when writers in *Lux Mundi* showed a disposition to come to terms with those theories, it was recognized that the matter had become pressing, and that it was necessary to take steps to show that things were not so absolutely settled as in some quarters they had been represented to be. Various attempts were made to discuss the question, but, as is remarked in the preface of *Lex Mosaica*, they were 'sporadic.' They lacked authority, and to authority, in the vast range to which modern knowledge extends, men in general are more and more inclined to defer. A debt of gratitude is therefore due to Dr. Valpy French, the editor of this volume, for having collected the suffrages of a number of Hebrew scholars of more or less reputation, and having issued them as a plea for further investigation of a problem somewhat prematurely assumed to have been solved. The principle on which the inquiry proceeds is unexceptionable. It takes the history of Israel period by period, and endeavours to show that on the new theories 'the history is unworkable in *any one* of the centuries between the period of the great lawgiver and the completion of the Canon.'[1]

finds in Euodia and Syntyche the representatives of these two parties, and in Peter himself the 'true yoke-fellow.' Volkmar further discovers in Euodia (Right-way) orthodoxy, and in Syntyche (Consort) the incorporation of heterodoxy with orthodoxy; while Hitzig, who, Bishop Lightfoot adds, must surely have been 'laughing in his sleeve,' thinks these two persons represent Asher and Gad, and through them the 'Greek and Roman elements in the Church,' while the Epistle 'itself is a plagiarism from the *Agricola* of Tacitus' (*Essays on the Work entitled 'Supernatural Religion,'* p. 24). If German criticism thus runs riot where it can be confronted by plain facts, what may be expected of it when, as in the Old Testament, there are no facts but the Old Testament itself with which to confront it? The need for a most careful scrutiny of German criticism and criticism imported from Germany will be further seen when we consider that Hitzig, whose vagaries have been alluded to above, is regarded on all hands as quite a sober critic on Old Testament subjects! Professor Ramsay, again, in his *Church in the Roman Empire before* A.D. 70 (Preface, p. viii), says: 'Pure criticism must be sympathetic; but in investigations into religion—Greek, Roman, and Christian alike—there appears to me, if I may venture to say so, to be in many German scholars (the greatest excepted) a lack of that instinctive sympathy with the life and nature of a people which is essential to the right use of critical processes.' And again (p. 180) he says: 'In one branch of history alone do we find still in full vigour, unaffected by sounder methods of inquiry, the superficial and uncritical way of getting rid of such difficulties by tampering with the date of documents, and moving them about like pieces on a chess-board.'

[1] Preface, p. vii.

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The Introduction strikes a note of pathos. It comes from a hand now cold in death, and we learn that the manuscript was only completed a few days before the late Bishop of Bath and Wells was called to his reward. If the higher critics were wont occasionally to complain that Lord Arthur Hervey did not catch the drift of their arguments, it may at least be retorted that they did not always take the trouble to grapple with his. The Introduction to *Lex Mosaica* is, however, purely formal. The only noteworthy point about it is the declaration that while the Pentateuch contains 'contemporary records,' 'we are not told' who the author is (p. xxxvi).

Professor Sayce's article is of first-rate importance. We may not always agree with his conclusions—*e.g.* on the authenticity and date of the Book of Daniel—but we can have no question of the soundness of his methods. The strongest objection to those of the new critics is that they are purely subjective, and therefore uncertain. No number of suppositions or probabilities, how great soever, can establish a fact. It is undeniable that not one single historical fact has been adduced to prove the critical case. It rests entirely upon conjecture and opinion. Professor Sayce, on the contrary, rests his case on facts alone; and the facts which he has put together to show that the age of the Exodus was a literary age, that Moses must have had a literary education, and that the Jews cannot possibly be said to have depended for many centuries on mere tradition for their history, have so dismantled the fortifications erected by Wellhausen and Kuenen that their English admirers have been compelled to beat a hasty retreat and to seek safer ground. What that ground is to be, however, is not yet settled. They are content at present with saying that they never asserted that the age of Moses was not a literary age. Perhaps not; but they have accepted the conclusions of those who did, and it will be very difficult this time to execute the favourite manœuvre of the German school, of removing bodily the superstructure of their theory, and placing it on a new foundation. For if the Israelites did not rely upon tradition until the eighth century B.C., when the Elohist and Jehovist, as was lately supposed, began to put these floating traditions into shape, it becomes necessary to inquire on what written documents the researches of the Elohist and Jehovist were based. And if some of these documents were contemporaneous with the events to which they refer, then the Elohist and Jehovist cannot be represented as having merely collected traditions. To a very considerable extent, at least,

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they must have been narrating facts. It follows that the whole of the Elohist-Jehovist theory, date and all, will have to be reconsidered, if not entirely abandoned. So Professor Sayce tells us, in no hesitating language:

'What, then, becomes of those boasted "certainties" of the "higher criticism" about which of late we have heard so much? Time after time we have been told that the acumen of the modern scholar has settled for ever the question of the date and historical trustworthiness of the Pentateuch. Moses has become a shadowy personage whose very existence has been denied; the narratives of Genesis have been turned into fictions; the story of the Exodus has been rejected; and the composition of the greater part of the Pentateuch brought down to the age of the Exile. Indeed, it is upon the supposition that the Pentateuch must have been written centuries after the events recorded in it that the historical sceptic has been allowed such free play. As soon as we can show that the supposition is false, the ground is cut from under his feet. His edifice of doubt and negation has been raised upon an assumption which Oriental archæology denies in the clearest tones. The age of Moses was a literary age; the lands which witnessed the Exodus and the conquest of Canaan were literary lands, and literature had flourished in them for numberless generations before. The Book of Genesis, in its present form, may have undergone that revision and editing to which Jewish tradition points, and which the Second Book of Esdras definitely describes; but the documents of which it consists, the materials which it contains, are of far earlier date than the closing days of the Jewish monarchy. Such is the testimony of archæology, and it is a testimony which rests upon something more solid and trustworthy than the "tact" of the critic or the theories of philological dissectors' (pp. 17, 18).

The essays on the Levitical and Deuteronomical Code, by Canon Rawlinson and Professor Douglas respectively, especially the former, strike us as a little disappointing. Canon Rawlinson deviates into a discussion on the testimony of our Lord and on the Kenosis. Professor Douglas also makes one allusion to this subject which would, we think, have been better omitted. For these are questions, it appears to us, with which the writers of *Lex Mosaica* have nothing to do. They are theological, not critical questions; and, as we take it, the object of the volume is to show critically that the theories which have lately been advanced among us are not in accordance with the facts. There was, doubtless, not sufficient space in a volume such as that before us for a complete treatment of the subject. What is really wanted is a minute analysis of the whole Pentateuch, dealing with its diction and style, its religious ideas, its legal enactments, the mutual relation of its several parts, and the signs of its

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having been quoted by later writers: such a work, in fact, as Dr. Watson has done to a certain extent for Genesis.[1] But if the treatment of the Levitical and Deuteronomic codes be incomplete in consequence of the limits to which the writers are of necessity confined, this must not blind us to the points they do make in dealing with the critical hypotheses. Canon Rawlinson reminds us of the combined Arabic and Egyptian character of the legislation which, we are required to believe, was on the whole attributable to the period after the return from the Babylonish Captivity. There are, he contends, marked traces of acquaintance with Egyptian and Arab manners and customs, indicating that the writer had sojourned in Egypt and Midian. We will not follow Canon Rawlinson into his argument from tradition in favour of the Jewish Law, because once more it seems to us beside the point to which he was expected to address himself. Nor shall we comment on his remarks on the testimony borne by the subsequent Jewish history to the Mosaic institutions, because he is here on the ground assigned to those who have followed him. But we may be permitted to express our regret that he did not spend more time in proving *from the Levitical Code itself* that it was written for a people which were not as yet in possession of the territory they ultimately acquired, and is intended to form their character in that territory, not to reform a character which has been formed already.

Professor Douglas makes a point when he compares the place of the Book of Deuteronomy in the Old Testament with that of the Gospel of St. John in the New. Each of these works displays a marked difference in style and tone from the other narratives of the same events. And as all attempts to prove that St. John's Gospel does not belong to the same epoch as the other three Gospels have notoriously failed, there is reason for the expectation that Deuteronomy will ultimately be shown to be contemporary with its companion narratives of Israel in the Wilderness. Professor Douglas grapples boldly with the new critics in regard to the late date of Deuteronomy. Why, he says, lay down the law of the One Sanctuary when the rival sanctuaries had already

[1] On the question of diction criticism has hardly yet said its last word. Thus, no one has remarked on the precise similarity between the language and construction in Gen. ii. 4, part of which is given to the Jehovist, and that in v. 1, which is assigned to the Priestly Code. In each case we have תולדות followed by ביום, and this followed by a verb in the infinitive. Characteristic as this construction is, the critics ruthlessly tear away ביום with its attendant infinitive, in Gen. ii., from the words on which it depends.

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disappeared? Why promulgate it at all, when it is clear that Josiah himself was not prepared to carry it out?[1] If Deuteronomy were written a considerable time before it was promulgated, with what object was it so written? And, we may add, if it were in truth a document privately circulated, and of no real authority, how did it get into the Temple at all? And why all these details on points which, if the new critics be correct, had been settled centuries before?

'Thus provision is made for the case of the land of Israel becoming too large for carrying out the old regulations (xii. 20, 21; xiv. 24; xix. 8). Would it not have been a mockery and an insult to introduce these provisions at the time when the Ten Tribes had been carried into exile, or were on the point of being so carried; and, indeed, when a similar catastrophe was ready to befall Judah?

'And there are the laws for the kingdom (xvii. 14–20); against returning to Egypt, and against the king multiplying horses, or wives, and requiring him (as in later usage every Israelite was required) to write out a copy of this Law in a book, to be with him for continual reading, so that he might learn to fear Jehovah his God, and not have his heart lifted up above his brethren. Would anything like this law have taken shape in the age of Solomon, or after it? It has been objected, indeed, that this law cannot have been known at the time when the events recorded in 1 Sam. viii. occurred. On the contrary, the demand of the people is framed in language taken from Deuteronomy. The action of the people was sinful. But their sin lay in their wish to displace Samuel, and in the spirit in which their demand for a king was made. It showed how utterly carnal they were; like their ancestors, who imagined they were to fight their battles successfully if only they had the Ark along with them. Samuel opened up the future to them, and showed them how a carnal people were to have a carnal king; and to what sin against Jehovah and what oppression of the people this would lead.

'If Deuteronomy was promulgated only in the reign of Josiah (having been written then, or not long before), how did it come to be accepted by the Jewish nation scattered everywhere, from the time of the destruction of Samaria and of Jerusalem, except the little remnant in Judah under Josiah's authority, and the other, probably smaller, remnant that remained after the edicts of Cyrus and Darius and Artaxerxes? The law of the central sanctuary is reckoned by critics to be one of the greatest novelties. How was this galling restriction, against which the kings and people had struggled for centuries, accepted in the end, without a dissentient voice, by the whole of the Israelites dispersed over the world? And how did the movement of the priest Onias, who built his temple at Leontopolis, fail to enlist the sympathies of the Egyptian Jews? It would have been so obvious an argument, that Onias was making an effort to

[1] 2 Kings xxiii. 9.

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rescue their old liberty from this comparatively recent subjection to Jerusalem' (pp. 73-4).

In a note, Professor Douglas deals with Professor Driver's remark that the prohibition of intercourse with the Canaanites would be an 'emphatic protest against tendencies which, under Ahaz and Manasseh, became disastrously strong,' by saying that the form of the prohibition is altogether at variance with the supposed circumstances. He refers to the absence of any allusion to the Temple, which would have been almost impossible in the days of Manasseh ; to the further absence of any allusion to the service of song in the Temple, established by David ; to the provision in case of the land becoming too large for them—a gratuitous insult if written when Israel had been carried away captive, and with Judah in imminent danger of sharing the same fate. Professor Douglas, like Professor James Robertson, also points out how vulnerable the more conservative modern critics are from the side of those who go further than they do. Vernes, for instance, gives credence neither to the Books of Jeremiah nor Kings. But at least he shows that Jeremiah 'knows nothing' of Josiah's Reformation. And he adds that such a 'pretended centralization of worship at Jerusalem' as is suggested 'would have been as incredible an act of madness on the part of Josiah as it would be on the part of the Archbishop of Paris to-day to forbid the saying of Mass anywhere throughout his diocese except at the cathedral of Notre-Dame.'

Of Canon Girdlestone's essay there is not much to be said. Incidentally, no doubt, some points are made. But he does not attempt to deal critically with the Book of Joshua, still less to grapple with the critical presentation of the book by his adversaries. The same cannot, however, be said of the essay of Dr. Valpy French, which follows. It literally bristles with points. He begins by dealing with the 'Tendenz-Schrift' theory. He frankly admits that there is such a 'tendency.' But he shows that you might just as well re-fashion the works of an historian who happened to hold the view of Victor Hugo that the defeat at Waterloo was owing neither to Wellington nor Blucher, but to God, as dismiss the narrative of Judges as unhistorical because it recognizes God as guiding the course of Hebrew history. 'You must,' he says, 'show adequate grounds for the supposition that "the tendency" of the writer was strong enough and daring enough to transfigure history' (p. 131). He refers to an instance of Wellhausen's peculiar mode of dealing with his authorities which could only excite a smile

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in any other department of inquiry but one connected more or less closely with revealed religion. This ingenious writer first of all strikes out all mention of the Tabernacle in Judges, and then triumphantly remarks that 'the principal mark of the Priestly Code is wanting.' Dr. French proceeds to notice how in Judges we meet not only with the Tabernacle, but the Ark, the inquiry at the hands of the High Priest, the Ephod, and the position of the Levites, under such circumstances as to establish the historical accuracy of the reference. The historians of the Tabernacle, he says, 'would have been indeed clever to invest the material of the structure with all its Egyptian and wilderness colouring, its wood, metals, embroidery, dyes, &c., and at the same time never intrude, even by accident, the materials of the Temple, with which they were conversant' (p. 135). In answer to Wellhausen's theory, that the Tabernacle was an afterthought, intended to give respectable authority for the institution of the One Sanctuary, which it was desired to introduce, he contends that it represents those who thus manipulated the history as guilty of nothing less than a fraud, and he further points out that we have evidence in the pages of the Old Testament of later legislation which was not only not Mosaic, but which does not even pretend to be such (p. 135). The Ark, he observes, is introduced in Judges xx. 27, 28, in the most natural way possible. 'The critics may writhe, but the Ark is there, and the Tabernacle is there; they reflect light on one another, they are mutual guarantees' (p. 140). There is but one way out of the difficulty. The statement is an unpleasant and inconvenient excrescence. The knife of criticism must be applied. The passage, according to Wellhausen, is a 'gloss,' and it is removed accordingly. It is extraordinary how easily difficulties may be made to disappear provided one has but the courage of one's opinions! Then Dr. French points out how the abuse of the Ephod 'by the pseudo-priest Jonathan' bears witness to a previous use of it. But he does not draw the conclusion which necessarily follows, that, unless the Ephod had previously been in use, then the whole narrative of the Micah-Jonathan worship must be unhistorical, for it assumes that the Ephod was recognized at the time as a sacerdotal vestment. The further questions then arise, If so, for what purpose was the narrative fabricated? and, Why was the fabrication handed down in the Book of Judges as we now have it? With both these questions the critics will find it difficult to deal. For the present they have very wisely steered clear of them altogether.

We have not space for any notice of Dr. French's observa-

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tions on the Levites, and his treatment of the scanty references to the custom of sacrifice which meet us in Judges. He shows, however, as do other writers, that the Mosaic institutions in relation to sacrifice are represented in the Book of Judges as perfectly well known to all who are mentioned as worshipping God. He then refers to the Nazarite vow as observed by Samson. To Professor Driver's plea, that the appearance of the regulations of P in the historical narratives does not prove that 'the precise formalities prescribed in P' were already in existence, and that in the earlier narrative they were frequently 'much simpler and less systematically organized than in P,' Dr. French replies, 'Does not this suggest a fox run to earth? Can we argue that because the ritual of the Reformation period was simpler than that of the mediæval, therefore it was earlier?' (p. 159).[1]

A very useful portion of Dr. French's essay is that in which he compares the speech of Jehovah (ch. ii.), the Song of Deborah (ch. v.), and the speech of Jephthah (ch. xi.), with the Pentateuchal narratives in the shape in which they have come down to us, and shows that the compiler of those speeches lays J, E, D, and frequently also H and P, equally under contribution for them. Portions of *all* these writers are found combined in the speech of Jehovah in ch. ii. These documents must, therefore, either have been in existence at an early period, or the speech in question must have been composed after H and P had become authoritative documents. If they were, as the critics allege, composed some time after the Exile, how long after this did it take for them to have

[1] An ingenious paper appears in the *Guardian* of March 19, 1865, signed F. H. Woods, which displays very strikingly the characteristic merits and defects of the new criticism. Its merits, in that, whether correct or not, the paper is extremely original and suggestive; its defects, in that it absolutely ignores all that is said on the other side, both elsewhere and in the volume before us. The writer, in speaking of the 'Law of Holiness,' which he calls P_h (another new notation, by the way), says that it has close relations with Ezekiel, by which he means that on the ordinary laws of literary criticism Ezekiel would be regarded as quoting it, and that it is post-Exilic, without explaining how, if this be the case, the pre-Exilic writers quote it, as it is shown abundantly in *Lex Mosaica* that they do. He gives Dr. French's argument in the text another turn by saying that mediæval Christian ritual was far more complicated than primitive, thereby ignoring the universally acknowledged fact that Judaism was, and Christianity was not, a religion in which ritual occupied a prominent place. The paper does not inquire whether it was likely that Moses, coming from a country in which the Ritual of the Dead was in force, would have been likely to institute a religion in which ritual had little or no place. And he moreover forgets that the ritual of Exodus, Leviticus, and Numbers is by no means excessively minute in its details.

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acquired sufficient authority to become, in common with J, E, and D, the foundation of the narrative in Judges?

There is an able sketch in this essay of the argument derived from the Book of Judges in favour of an original national unity of Israel, in opposition to Kuenen's statement that 'as yet there was no such thing as an Israelitish nation.' But we prefer to cite Dr. French's defence of the continuity of Israelite worship.

'The *revivals of religion* point to this continuity of worship. They reveal inextinguishable forces at work within the nation. The Hebrew race had the distinguishing mark throughout their history of being the one people of God. And it cannot be explained on merely historic grounds how this great truth was derived and persistently maintained. Notwithstanding the continual lapses into idolatry, they always recovered themselves. How are these hidden forces to be accounted for? Is it traceable to the warning voice of prophet spasmodically uttered, or to the ever-ascending flame of priestly devotion? This cannot be. The regular worship failed to be widely influential, the irregular voice was mainly silent. The answer is to be found in "the Law of God by his servant Moses," a law embedded in the nation's heart, whose dying embers were fanned into glowing flame at the blast of Jehovah, His messenger, or His judge. The critical school elect to fix upon the apostasy and degeneracy as the real representatives of antecedent cult; as well may we suppose the debasements of Christianity to be its original type' (pp. 179, 180).

Dr. French makes a keen retort on the objection to Ruth that 'its idyllic colouring is in irreconcilable contradiction to the Book of Judges.' 'But,' he says, 'according to the same school, the Book of *Judges* is not historical. Surely if Ruth contradicts the non-historical Judges, itself might possibly be history' (p. 180). The truth is that criticism of this kind is neither abstractedly reasonable nor consistent with itself. Are accounts of the details of village life in England, *e.g.* the *Paston Letters*, regarded as spurious because they have little in common with Hume's *History of England*? And if we rejected Hume's narrative as consisting to a great extent of fabrication, would it be reasonable to turn round and assert the *Paston Letters* to be forgeries because in style and tone and local colouring they differed from Hume? The fact is that our modern critics are dominated by one object—one passion, we might say. Their aim is to disparage, by any arguments which may be for the moment convenient, the historical accuracy of the Old Testament narratives. And it has not occurred to their minds, preoccupied as they are with a fixed idea, that after having destroyed the historical character of one book of Scripture, they cannot very reasonably turn

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round and assume its genuineness in order to discredit another. The appendices of Dr. French's essay are worth reading. In one of them Dr. French gives his reasons for supposing, in opposition to the assertion of Professor Driver to the contrary, that the writer of Chronicles modernizes his language when excerpting from Samuel or Kings, as well as when 'he relates speeches which are not recorded in the parallel books.'[1]

Mr. Lias's essay, in point of literary form, is the completest in the volume. This is obviously due to the shortness of the period assigned to him—that of Samuel and Saul—the history of David having been given to Dr. Watson. So he commences with a discussion of the true functions of criticism. After this, following what he describes as the true scientific method, he applies the formulæ of the critics to a given case—the Book of Chronicles—and draws the conclusion that the one specimen we have of the work of a post-Exilic redactor does not correspond with the results supposed to be obtained by critical methods. He then discusses the linguistic features of 1 Samuel, and the comparative purity of the LXX and Hebrew texts. Next he examines the alleged traces of an earlier and later narrative in the account of the choice of Saul as king, and dismisses the theory as unproved, and some of the allegations of the critics concerning the character of the narratives as absurd. He touches on the probable date of the book, and then proceeds to analyse it, with the object of discovering what traces of the institutions of Israel it betrays. The character and acts of Samuel are shown to be explicable only on the supposition that the Law of Moses was in existence in his day. The Tabernacle, the Ark, the Ephod, the High Priest, are all introduced into the story; and while the existence of the Mosaic Law as a whole is woven into the woof of the narrative, we have distinct traces in its pages of what Professor Driver regards as 'part of the original legislation of P,' and therefore as subsequent to the Exile. He next discusses the question of Samuel's assumption of priestly functions, and contends that he may be regarded, in virtue of his prophetic office, as filling

[1] Professor Driver has replied to Dr. French in the *Expositor*, and Dr. French has rejoined in the same publication. Into the merits of the controversy, as it relates to a side issue, we need not enter. But this fastening on side issues, and attempting to overwhelm an opponent on one or two such issues, while ignoring all his main arguments, is a remarkable characteristic of Professor Driver's methods of controversy. He dealt in a precisely similar manner, it will be remembered, with the article on his 'Introduction' which appeared in the pages of this *Review*.

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the place of the High Priest under special circumstances, when the separation of the Ark and the Tabernacle rendered the ordinary worship for the time impossible. He further shows that worship at high places is nowhere forbidden in the Law, and that it only became sinful to worship there because it was a breach of the law of the One Sanctuary. Samuel was thus perfectly justified, on the principles of the Mosaic Law itself, in worshipping in the high places while worship at the One Sanctuary was impossible. Mr. Lias finally argues that the only alternatives between which we have to choose are the genuineness of the history in 1 Samuel as it stands, with all the consequences such genuineness entails in the shape of the Mosaic origin of the Mosaic Law, and the mythical character of the whole book (though many of the most advanced critics regard it as in the main historical), and that this last theory would require it to have been written after P had become a universally recognized part of the Jewish formularies. He then challenges the critics to answer the following questions, which, he says, 'must receive a satisfactory reply' before the critical conclusions can be regarded as proved :

'1. At what date, on the critical theory, did the Mosaic Law actually assume its present shape?

'2. At what date did the reception of the Old Testament as Canonical actually take place, and how long after it had been published in its present form?

'3. How do you account for so universal a reception, if it substituted later and garbled accounts of the facts for earlier and authentic ones, especially when, as many of the higher critics contend, the former were so little regarded as Canonical about 150 B.C. that the Greek translators took liberties with them in order to harmonize their contradictions?

'4. On whose authority was the Old Testament promulgated as Canonical?

'5. How do you account for the entire disappearance of the earlier and more authentic accounts, especially when, as is clear from the statements of the critics themselves, many of them must still have been in existence after the return from the Captivity?' (p. 274).

There is sometimes a little repetition in this essay ; and although it is almost the longest in the book, Mr. Lias has allowed one or two very important points to escape him. The first is the characters of Eli and Hannah. Mr. Lias has enlarged on the character of Samuel, as displaying the influence of Mosaic institutions. The history of Eli and Hannah presupposes this influence as emphatically as that of Samuel. There is literally nothing in the religious colouring of the picture, save the Tabernacle, which would be out of keeping

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with an English country parish in the nineteenth century A.D. And it is absolutely unlike all Greek, or Roman, or Egyptian, or Babylonian, or Palestinian modes of religious thought, or those of any other peoples with which we are familiar. Whence, then, this close similarity between the religious conceptions of Eli and Hannah and those of our own time? Either the history is literally true down to the smallest detail, and the ideas of Eli and Hannah were as much coloured as our own by the Law of Moses, or once more we have a master of fiction as great as Shakespeare, evolving the history out of his own imagination after the completed Priestly Code had been for some time accepted as binding on the Jewish conscience.

Another point is the reverence paid to the Ark. Its history is precisely analogous to the history of the veneration of relics in the Christian Church. Wise and holy men regarded the Ark, as the symbol of the Divine Presence, with the profoundest reverence. In later days, and among men of less devout and spiritual minds, this reverence degenerates into superstition. Joshua, Phinehas, Eli, ever display towards the Ark the profoundest awe and affection. Hophni and the second Phinehas regard it as a charm which will bring them victory in battle. Like Louis XI., or our own King John, they blend together the most daring unbelief and the most grovelling superstition. Nor can we pass over the wondrous pathos and fidelity to Nature combined in the finishing touch in the story of that disastrous day. 'And it came to pass, when he made mention of the Ark of God, that he fell from off the seat backward by the side of the gate, and his neck brake, for he was an old man, and heavy.' If this be not indeed a picture drawn from the life, it is difficult to know where a picture from the life is to be found. There is one slip in this essay to which it is necessary to call attention. We read (p. 248) that 'we have no mention of the High Priest in the Book of Judges.' But a note at the bottom of the page refers to the mention of Phinehas in Judges xx. 28. Mr. Lias must have meant to except the episode Judges xix.–xxi.[1]

Dr. Watson's essay establishes some important facts. He has not followed Dr. French and Mr. Lias in citing passages which prove the Law to have been in existence when the narrative was written, because, as he observes, the assailants

[1] It should be remembered, however, that Phinehas is not expressly *called* High Priest in the passage cited above. He is simply spoken of as the direct lineal descendant of Aaron, who undertakes to stand before the Ark and inquire of God.

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have a way of taking the offenders in flank by pronouncing the narrative itself to be post-Exilic. But, as Mr. Lias has shown, the attempt to treat all these narratives as post-Exilic is not without difficulties of its own, the more especially, he might have added, as we find the present division of the Old Testament into Law, Prophets, and Hagiographa to have been a tradition fully accepted in the days of the grandfather of the writer of Ecclesiasticus, *i.e.* about 250 B.C., if not earlier. But it is impossible to crowd all the arguments which may fairly be used in defence of the Books of Samuel and 1 Kings into forty-six pages. As Mr. Lias has argued in the case of Samuel, so Dr. Watson argues in the case of David. We must assume, he contends, in order to the formation of such a character, that there was 'a long previous religious history of Israel' (p. 292). Dr. Watson here rather inverts the order of his argument by assuming the Davidic authorship of some of the Psalms, which he does not begin to prove till p. 312. He 'fully admits that many of the provisions of the Mosaic Law seem to be systematically disregarded in the reigns of David and Solomon' (p. 282). But inasmuch as the Prophets claimed a developing power, the fact hardly proves that those provisions were not in existence. The very care with which the whole narrative has been 'gone over,' as we are informed, from a Deuteronomic and post-Exilic priestly point of view, would have ensured the omission or rewriting of all passages in which the later provisions are treated as unnecessary by the heroes of the priestly revision.

Dr. Watson's argument from the relation of the Mosaic Law to the Temple is worth citing at some length:

'Solomon's Temple, it will be generally acknowledged, exercised a most important influence on the development of Israel's religion. It was not, indeed, for generations, probably never was, Israel's sole shrine. As in the ordinary Jewish mind Jehovah was not the one God, but rather the greatest amongst gods; so Jerusalem was the chief, but not the only place of acceptable worship. It was, however, generally recognized to be pre-eminently the place in which the presence of the God of Israel was vouchsafed. It was Jerusalem's spiritual glory, and, by consequence, a defence of greater efficiency than her walls and towers. It is further plain that there is no single shrine which, like that of Mount Gerizim in later times, could be called a rival to the Temple of Jerusalem. It was in vain for the various high places to look askance at the mountain which God had desired for His abode. It would seem to follow that there can have been only one legitimate recognised "Use" in Israel. One pre-eminent Shrine, one legitimate Use, is the only possible order of things.

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'It is further plain, from the nature of things, that the building of the Temple must have introduced, or established, one or both, a definite system of worship in Israel. When "every man did that which was right in his own eyes," the priests may have done the same. Whilst the Mosaic Tabernacle was travelling from place to place, and was separated from the Ark, the anomalous and changing circumstances left the door wide open to eccentricities and variations in ritual. The Tabernacle in the days of the Judges, and, even more, in the days of Samuel and Saul, lost much of its national importance. In private institutions there is room for the working of individual caprice. But when the Temple was fixed on Mount Zion, it became as a city set on a hill, which could not be hid. The national worship must then have been conducted according to fixed rules. The definite, unalterable shrine thus implied a definite and (in the main) unalterable "Use"' (pp. 297, 298).

And he proceeds:

'But if we put the Chronicler aside, and suppose he is romancing, both when priest-like he is exalting the priest and when unpriest-like he is exalting the king; if we rest our case simply on the statements in Kings, still the fact remains. The Temple implies a definite code and had one. If no fixed rules for worship existed before the building of the Temple, they were at that time made, and probably by David and Solomon. The fixing and fossilizing of the tent of wood and curtains implies a similar process in regard to the sacrificial worship. The kings who planned, built, and consecrated the Temple were, it is plain, competent to fix the order of worship. They would have done so if it had been necessary. If it was not necessary, it was because there was a previous code. The alternative must thus be offered;—a priestly code drawn up by David and Solomon, or one more ancient far. And we may hazard a conjecture as to its contents. The code enjoined by lawful authority in the first Temple from the beginning can hardly have differed (except in extent) from that now found in the Pentateuch. The current of reform always sets towards David. It is to David's rules and regulations that good kings recur. It is plain a Priestly Code of David's or of Solomon's time and making would be almost as fatal to the critical theory as one made by Moses; for it is part of that theory that almost everything in Israel's worship is fluent and alterable for centuries after 1000 B.C.' (pp. 299, 300).

Dr. Watson remarks that the 'importance' of the fact, acknowledged by Kuenen and others, that the Temple contained no idol 'can hardly be exaggerated' (p. 301). If David, when preparing for building the Temple about the year 1000 B.C., contemplated the introduction of no idol into it, what becomes of the theory that Israel's worship was originally polytheistic, and only gradually developed into monotheism about 700 B.C.? The critics are surely bound,

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having formed a theory so precise and so positive, to point out with some approach to accuracy the steps of the development of which they profess to have proved the existence. Between 1492 B.C. (or, as there seems now more reason to believe, *circa* 1300 B.C.) and 1000 B C. the idols have disappeared. How was this brought about, especially if, as we have already seen, we are expected to believe that there was no national unity in the days of the Judges, and that the history of Samuel is largely mythical? But, as we have also seen, a critical tool, when it has done its work in destroying some ancient tradition, is laid upon the shelf to rust. When we come to criticize the history of David and Solomon, it is our duty to forget what we have learned from the critics of the history of Samuel and the Judges.

We do not find ourselves altogether able to accept Dr. Watson's estimate of Chronicles. He seems to us to concede too much to the destructive criticism. He regards the Chronicler's narrative as 'partial.' By this, he explains, he does not mean unfair, but one-sided and incomplete. It may be that by placing Chronicles among the Hagiographa, those who drew up the Old Testament canon gave it a position of inferior authority to those writings which were classed as those of Prophets. The Chronicler's narrative is, however, absolutely necessary to the proper understanding of Israelite history. His object in supplementing the earlier narratives seems to have resembled that of St. John in supplementing the Synoptic Gospels. He desired to give the Divine and spiritual side of the history of Israel. The prophetical histories dwell on the *life* of the Israelitish kings and people; the Chronicler dwells more fully upon their *worship*. And as it was the obstinate neglect of that worship by Israel which had wrecked Israel's life, the Chronicler resolved to picture to the returned exiles the Temple and its ritual in all its pristine pomp and magnificence, that they might thus be encouraged to avoid the errors which had wellnigh proved fatal to their national existence.

In regard to David as a poet, Dr. Watson complains of the modern critic as considering himself able to 'squash peremptorily'—surely rather an undignified expression—'the verdicts pronounced by generations.' And he continues:

'Some traditions, so far as we are able to trace them, rest on a few titles or isolated notices. These, as capable of easy interpolation and peculiarly liable to corruption, cannot be regarded as witnesses of strength. The proofs of David's poetical powers seem to be intertwined with the history, and meet us at every turn. His poetical feeling betrays itself in casual remarks, and great events in

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his own or in the national life are marked by him by a suitable dirge or prayer or thanksgiving. Of no other person in Israel's history could this be said. It may be observed that the only occasions to which Psalms are ascribed in the titles are events in David's life. We could not have a stronger recognition of the peculiarly close relation between David's poems and the national history. The 'Sweet Psalmist of Israel' did not, we are able to see, get his distinctive title for nothing. David is the national poet, and there is absolutely no one to place by his side. Is it rational to deny a pre-eminence in poetical gifts to a man thus marked out by a people's voice to be their one and only lyric poet? The claim of David to the title of poet can, indeed, hardly be gainsayed. It is the strength of his claims to a pre-eminent place, a place by himself, on which we wish to insist. *Aut David aut nullus* is the alternative. That is to say, there is no Israelite on whom we may place David's mantle if it is stripped from him by the critics. David discredited,—all Israel's poets died and left no name' (pp. 313, 314).

Dr. Sharpe's subject is the Northern Kingdom. He deals first with the evidence of Amos and Hosea. He points out—(1) that the writings of these Prophets are accepted on all sides as genuine; (2) that they appeal to, and are 'saturated with,' allusions to the ancient history of Israel; (3) that though addressing a hostile audience, they treat this ancient history as common ground to themselves and their adversaries; (4) that the practices they denounce are practices of long standing, and therefore could only be condemned, as these Prophets condemn them, on the ground that they were violations of a pre-existing law; (5) that they speak, not as innovators, but as reformers; and (6) that Amos distinctly appeals to a body of statutes in support of his rebukes. He then pursues the subject in detail. He shows that Amos quotes indiscriminately *all* the various portions into which modern criticism has divided the Mosaic legislation, and places all, even the supposed post-Exilic 'Law of Holiness,' on precisely the same footing. It is surely time that the adherents of our critical school should cease to be content with proclaiming the fact that they are 'agreed' in thus assigning different dates and authors to what has hitherto been considered a homogeneous production, and should attempt to grapple with the facts which Dr. Sharpe and others have collected in opposition to their view. Dr. Sharpe also shows that in a single chapter of Hosea we have references to J, E, D, and H (the supposed post-Exilic Law of Holiness). He has surely, under these circumstances, a right to ask for some definite evidence in support of the assertion that these laws were first combined into a whole after the Exile, and also to inquire what part of

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them was new and what old when they were thus codified. A list of the references to the so-called post-Exilic portions of the Mosaic Law in the pre-Exilic writers would be a great help to a sound criticism. But even if it were found that some laws to be found in the Pentateuch in its present shape are not mentioned by the pre-Exilic Prophets, we should still have a right to protest against the assumption that, because they were not mentioned, they could not have been in existence in the Prophets' day. But we suspect that the provisions in the Pentateuch which are not mentioned in the pre-Exilic writings, even if we confine ourselves to the undisputed Prophets, will turn out to be a far slenderer body than anyone at present anticipates.

We must pass over much that is interesting in Dr. Sharpe's essay, and give his explanation of the existence of the Carmel altar in the history of Elijah:

'The question still remains to be answered, If the law of one altar were in existence, how is it that we find an altar of Jehovah upon Mount Carmel? How is it that Elijah, who does not appear to have been a priest or Levite, sacrifices upon it?

'In answer to this question we must observe first of all that the story of Elijah has been recorded and preserved by men who were ardent supporters of the law of one altar. The facts evidently do not appear to them to be fatal to the existence of a Mosaic Law of one altar. In selecting their materials they could easily have omitted the story, or such parts of it as conflicted with the religious views in support of which the Books of Kings were compiled. The same holds good of the acts of David and Solomon. Since they admitted all these facts, which critics hold to be fatal to the theory of Mosaic authorship, they must have had some explanation which they deemed satisfactory.

'The fact is that every law requires certain conditions in order that it may be carried out. Where those conditions do not exist, some modification of the law is made. The Law of the Passover, and, indeed, all the Laws of Moses, are still held by the Jews to be binding; but, as they cannot be carried out, they are in abeyance. No one supposes them non-existent, or infers from the existing Jewish Paschal meal that the Mosaic Law must be different from that which is found in our Pentateuch.

'When the policy of Jeroboam prevented the worshippers of Jehovah from going up to Jerusalem, the law could not be kept. It would be necessary to adopt one of two courses—either to leave the sacrificial law altogether in neglect, as do the modern Jews, or to carry out such parts of it as were still possible, to sacrifice, even though not at the one altar. The worshippers of Jehovah in the Northern Kingdom appear to have adopted the latter course, until they were prevented by the destruction of their altars and the persecution of their prophets (1 Kings xix. 10). Since they could not

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carry out the Mosaic system, they reverted to the patriarchal, rather than risk the absorption in idolatry which would be the certain consequence of the abandonment of all external worship of Jehovah' (pp. 345, 346).

He proceeds to show that the Prophets Hosea and Amos fully corroborate the statements of the author of the Book of Kings that David did *not*, and that Jeroboam *did*, set up a quasi-idolatrous worship. And with a brief notice of some of Wellhausen's characteristic objections his essay abruptly concludes.

Professor Stewart, in dealing with the Southern Kingdom, travels over much the same ground as Dr. Watson. This is unfortunate, for the book is not half large enough for the task it attempts. A volume, instead of some fifty or sixty pages, might very well have been given to each contributor. It is a pity, therefore, that space should be wasted by two writers repeating the same arguments. But at least we get what is extremely useful—namely, the independent treatment of the same events by two competent hands. It is surprising, considering the vastness of the subject, and the freedom from the fetters of tradition with which many of the writers have approached their task, how very little divergence of views is expressed in this volume. Professor Stewart and Dr. Watson are in exact accord about the Davidic authorship of the earlier Psalms, save that the former is disposed to regard the titles of the Psalms with somewhat more respect than the latter.[1] Professor Stewart cites with approval some remarks by Sir J. Dawson, in the *Expositor*, casting some doubt on a favourite assertion of the critical school—that we have in the Book of Genesis two independent accounts of the Creation, combined by the redactor. Sir J. Dawson may or may not be correct. But at least it may be well to point out that nothing in the remotest degree approaching to a *proof* of this opinion has ever been offered.

He then points out how the critical dissection and reconstruction of the narrative destroys its organic unity. In an organic whole—such as the human body, for instance—every

[1] We cannot agree with Professor Stewart that the 78th Psalm was composed in the reign of David, although its *résumé* of the history stops short with David's appointment to the throne. For (1) it is surely impossible that anyone writing under David would have been so injudicious as to stir up the smouldering animosities between Ephraim and Judah; and (2) the object of the writer may just as reasonably be supposed to be to glorify David's posterity as David himself. The Psalm is thought by many sober critics, and not without reason, to have been written not long after the revolt of Jeroboam.

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part has its own proper place. Separate the parts, rearrange them in a different fashion, and the organic unity disappears.

He next arraigns the critics for their 'loose thinking and illogical reasoning.' He points out how Wellhausen, who had 'shown' in his usual manner that the story of the captivity of Manasseh in Babylon was an invention, refuses to retract, even when confronted with a cuneiform inscription, now in the British Museum, in which the narrative in Chronicles is corroborated. But what was poor Wellhausen to do in such supremely uncomfortable circumstances? He could but follow the example of the art-critic who pointed out the false drawing of a fly on a rosebud, but, happening to approach too near to the picture with his finger, in the emphasis of his denunciation of the worthless pretender whose work he was inspecting, the fly flew away. The critic, we are told, discreetly said nothing, but turned away with 'the wise man's wink.' Other critics have found themselves compelled to do the same when brought face to face with inconvenient facts. Why should we complain of silence when there is in truth nothing to be said?

It must be confessed that Professor Stewart departs a little from his subject in the early part of his essay, though what he says is interesting enough. He does not buckle to his work on the Southern Kingdom till he has reached his tenth page. He falls into the same mistake—we must venture to characterize it as such—as some of his brother-essayists by citing the testimony of our Lord to the Davidic authorship of Ps. cx. Before that testimony it is our belief that all good Christians will be found ultimately to bow. But questions of this sort are, we repeat, rather theological than critical, and therefore can have no place in an inquiry of the kind *Lex Mosaica* was planned to carry out. But the Professor's refutation of the monstrous theory that Ps. xlv. was an *epithalamium* to Ptolemy Philadelphus, if not too happily expressed, is nevertheless crushing:

'Yet another instance to show reason why we must reject the conclusions of the critics regarding the Psalms. The 45th Psalm contains many very express Messianic references, *e.g.* the hero of the Psalm is recognized as Jesus, and thus addressed: "Thy throne, O God, is for ever and ever" (Heb. i. 8); "Therefore God, thy God, hath anointed Thee" (Heb. i. 9). But instead of Jesus thus announced, in the New Testament, Professor Cheyne puts Ptolemy Philadelphus. He it is who is addressed by God the Father, and to whom language is applied which we have hitherto regarded as blasphemous, inasmuch as it ascribes attributes to a merely human person which belong to God only. Surely this Ptolemy Philadelphus must have

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been among the purest and most excellent of the earth. Yet we find Canon Rawlinson writing thus concerning him: "Ptolemy divorced his first wife, Arsinoë, the daughter of Lysimachus, and banished her to Coptos, in Upper Egypt, in order that he might contract an incestuous marriage with his full sister, Arsinoe, who had been already married to his half-brother Keraunus." [1]

'Professor Cheyne knows that this foul blot rests on the character of his chosen hero, but he thinks that when he was made the subject of this glorious song "time could not as yet have revealed its darker aspects"—those darker aspects of "the personal character of Philadelphus" (p. 170).

'But what is gained by this charitable surmise? Nothing is gained, but much is lost. The character of the Word of God is lost. It may be wholly undermined by immorality, because of ignorance. It must be divested of the guidance of the Holy and Omniscient God, hence unreliable as a moral guide. Confidence in the canon of Scripture must be abandoned; for after these "darker aspects" came to light, on what principle of pure morality did that 45th Psalm get into the sacred canon? It is also self-evident that inspiration is entirely discounted, and is in no way accounted for, although very expressly announced in Scripture: "All Scripture is given by inspiration of God" (2 Tim. iii. 16)' (pp. 367, 368).

After this Professor Stewart follows on the same lines as Dr. Sharpe, with the same results. Their work ought to be carefully compared. Though the same ground is gone over by each, there is very little repetition. Professor Stewart attacks Professor Ryle's 'negations' in his book on the Canon, as indicative of the 'great weakness of his case.' He makes a very apposite citation from Smart's *Old Testament Canon* on the difficulty of finding a copy of the Bible in Paris after the Reign of Terror, as explaining the almost entire disappearance of copies of the Law during the Reign of Terror under Manasseh. There are Jewish legends, it must be remembered, in reference to this subject, which represent Manasseh as having not only ordered the destruction of the Jewish Scriptures, but also of all books in which the Divine Name was to be found. Professor Stewart concludes with an energetic defence of the Books of Chronicles against their assailants.

We next come to Professor Stanley Leathes, whose subject is the Eighth Century B.C. Those who are familiar with his most valuable book, *The Law in the Prophets*, will understand the line he takes. He first of all boldly challenges the whole of the supposed results of modern criticism, including even the 'second Isaiah':

'Of course it is possible to call in question the accuracy or

[1] *Present Day Tracts*, No. 71.

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fidelity of the historical records, and to correct and supplement them to any extent by conjecture; but this is a precarious process, and it will be to take unwarrantable liberty with the only records that remain to us. It is also possible to throw doubt upon the genuineness of the several prophetical writings; to affirm that very much more than half of the Book of Isaiah is not by him; that, instead of being of the eighth century it is of the middle of the sixth, and the like. But this cannot be done without resorting to hypotheses which cannot fail to conflict with some very awkward facts, and therefore in endeavouring to find traces of the existence of the Mosaic Law in the historical and prophetical writings of the eighth century B.C., we shall take the several books as we find them, treating the evidence, however, in such a way as to make it, as far as possible, independent of the traditional assumption which, for convenience, it is desirable to adopt' (pp. 409, 410).

There can be no doubt that he is fully justified in his denial that any of the positions he challenges can be said to have been established by proofs. Once more Amos and Hosea pass in review, with the same results as those reached by Dr. Sharpe and Professor Stewart. Professor Leathes points out how impossible it was that the prophecies of Hosea could have 'fallen like a thunderbolt out of a blue sky,' with no 'framework of history and revelation to account for it' (p. 415). Professor Leathes does not, however, like his predecessors, in dealing with these two prophets, confine himself to pointing out similarities in thought between the Prophets and the Mosaic Law. He sometimes introduces a little linguistic criticism, as when he observes on the fact that the word for *congregation*, which occurs over a hundred times in Exodus, Leviticus, and Numbers, but is not found in Genesis or Deuteronomy, drops out of use in the later writings, being found fifteen times in Joshua, four in Judges, and only five times in the rest of the books altogether.[1] It is worth while inquiring how far this phenomenon falls in with the idea of Deuteronomic and post-Exilic revisions of the historical books. Then, Hos. xii. 6 is shown to presuppose, not only the institution of the Feast of Tabernacles, the antiquity of which institution is pretty generally conceded, but the mode of observance, which the modern critics regard as introduced by the author or authors of the Priestly Code. Reference is next made to an odd piece of criticism in the *Encyclopædia Britannica* on Joel. The allusion to the locusts as running on the

[1] The word occurs occasionally in the later writers in the sense *company*, as, for instance, in Job xvi. 7, Ps. lxviii. 30, lxxxvi. 14, cvi. 17, 18, but not in the technical sense, in which it is found *once only* in Hosea, and once or twice in Jeremiah, and not at all in the other Prophets.

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wall is supposed to refer to the construction by Nehemiah of a wall for them to run upon. Apart from the somewhat grotesque assumption that there were no other walls for them to run upon but those of the city of Jerusalem, we may imagine with what derision a conservative critic would be received if he were to argue that Joel wrote in the days of Hezekiah, and were to instance Rabshakeh's allusion to the wall of Jerusalem in support of his contention. Dealing with some citations of Deuteronomy in Micah, he makes the following pertinent observations :

'The literature contained in the Old Testament is unique in this respect, that the several parts of it bear such ample references to each other. There is no similar instance in any other literature. In how many points do Horace and Virgil touch each other? Where is the contact between Pindar and Demosthenes? Whereas the Law, the Prophets, and the Psalms are all mutually connected, and the relation is so closely interwoven, and yet manifestly so undesigned, that it can only be regarded as the spontaneous expression and proof of a deep underlying unity inherent in the national life, and springing from the same source' (pp. 425, 426).

Professor Leathes might have gone further. He might have said that this deep inward unity, so unmistakably present in the books of the Old Testament, must have had a cause. It could not have been due to a 'development' from an immoral polytheism to its exact opposite, a deeply moral monotheism. Such a 'development,' if such a name can possibly be given to what is in fact a complete revolution, could only have had as its literary result a moral and religious chaos, an *olla podrida* composed of materials the most heterogeneous. No Deuteronomic or post-Exilic revision could have given form to what was so essentially 'without form and void.' The only rational explanation of Hebrew history and literature as they have come down to us is that which regards them as having had a definite moral and religious shape impressed upon them at the outset, and as being guided through the course of their development by fixed moral and religious principles.

Professor Leathes tells us that further study and reflection have only deepened the conviction he has already expressed in his *Law in the Prophets*, that the theory of the post-Exilic origin of a considerable portion of the Law is absolutely baseless. It, moreover, contradicts the great principle laid down by St. Paul, that we proceed from natural to spiritual, not *vice versa*. But, he proceeds, let us suppose for a moment the theory to be true, and then let us ask what it involves.

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'Let us, for example, try to imagine the position. A body of priests in the fifth century, smitten with the laudable desire of promoting the sacred services of the second Temple and raising the tone of popular morality, determined upon issuing the Priestly Code under the sanction of the name of Moses, the mythical lawgiver of a thousand years before. All they had to work upon was a certain body of traditional law, written by nobody knows who, and preserved nobody knows how, and deriving whatever authority it possessed solely from custom and prescription, and the works of the prophets of the eighth and following centuries. It was highly desirable that the writings of earlier prophets should be not inconsistent with the code about to be promulgated, and therefore they selected any such words in the older prophets, as "jealous," "gracious," "merciful," and the like, as applied to God, and any allusions to the "new moon," "Sabbath," "day of restraint," "solemn assembly," "burnt offering," "oblation," "trespass offering," "fat of the kidneys," "images," "groves," "wizards," "familiar spirits," the "priestly girdle," "cherubim," and the like, and made these the nucleus around which they spun a collection of laws more or less referring to these things; so that it might seem that the Prophets, as a body, were neither ignorant of nor opposed to the rites and ceremonies thus connected with them, and so, for instance, though the ordinance of the new moon was a post-Exilic ordinance, yet the mere mention of the event in an ancient Prophet would seem to lend a sanction to the ceremonial that was prescribed for its observance, and if this was done in the name of Moses and announced as part of a Divine precept given to him, it might be supposed to carry with it all the authority needed for the novel introduction of a strange rite, and the nation as a whole would be only too ready to acquiesce in the innovation. This was at once the explanation of the ordinance of the new moon, &c., and of any apparent allusion thereto in Isaiah, Amos, or any other prophet; or perchance it might be assumed that there was some ancient precept concerning the new moon, but that it was superseded and set aside by the modern code brought back from Babylon, or promulgated by Ezra a century later' (pp. 430, 431).

It is impossible to follow Professor Leathes through his most valuable essay. We extract one more passage, in regard to the supposition that the book found in the Temple in the reign of Josiah was not the work of Moses, and then we must pass on.

'But there is another question we have to answer, which always appears to be avoided or ignored, and that is this: On the supposition that the roll had been produced in the last fifty years by an unknown person, whether priest or prophet, how are we to know on what authority he wrote? If he were a priest, his work would somewhat resemble the modern historical novel, but it could manifestly lay claim to no authority, either in respect of its historical statements, its legal precepts, or its gloomy forebodings; but if it was the work of a

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prophet, then, not only does he come with no credentials, because unknown, but the very fact of his speaking in the name of Moses as no one else does, entirely nullifies his authority, because he comes with a lie in his right hand, and offers it to us as the gift of God. How can we recognize such a prophet, or honour his work? But "Huldah the prophetess" had no such scruples, for she at once recognized the message of the book as the message of the Lord by the hand of His servant Moses. Persons who advocate this preposterous theory seem to hold that the Jewish Church had the power and right to create its sacred books and invest them with Divine authority, and that the authority with which they come to us is a fictitious and conventional authority derived only from the Jewish Church, which cared nothing about the origin or history of the books it adopted' (p. 444).

Professor Leathes here touches upon a most important point—the formation of the Old Testament canon. It has lately been assumed, by those who have written on the subject, that this canon was formed at a late period of Jewish history by a process of arbitrary selection. We have no means of proving that this was not the case. But we have at least one or two facts before us which point very strongly in the opposite direction; while those who maintain the formation of the canon on the principle of arbitrary selection have no facts whatever to support their theory—nothing but the 'may haves' and 'must haves' with which those who study the works of the critical school are so painfully familiar. The two facts to which we have referred are the formation of the New Testament Canon and the belief in Inspiration. The sole subject of inquiry in the formation of the New Testament Canon was that of the authority of the writers of the books. If they might reasonably be believed to have been handed down as resting on Apostolic authority, they were received;[1] if not, they were rejected. The same principle of authority is recognized throughout the Old Testament. 'Holy men' are there regarded as having spoken and written under the immediate direction of the Holy Ghost. It seems reasonable, therefore, to suppose that in the selection of the books of the Old Testament the same rule held good. Those works, and those only, were handed down as authoritative which had the stamp of prophetic authority. The reason why Chronicles has been relegated to the position of Paraleipomena may thus have been because Ezra laid no claim to prophetic powers. The peculiar position of Daniel, to which the different versions of its text no doubt contributed, may be due to

[1] The Gospels of St. Mark and St. Luke, the Acts, and the Epistle to the Hebrews, though not written by Apostles, had at least the stamp of Apostolic authority.

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the fact that it was originally, like the Epistles of St. James and St. Jude, and the Second Epistle of St. Peter, among the *antilegomena*, and, like them, was ultimately received into the Canon. But if this be the true view of the formation of the Old Testament Canon, it follows that there must have been at least something approaching to contemporary evidence for the genuineness of each particular book.

Dr. Sinker's essay, if a little deficient in literary form, is not less suggestive and convincing than the rest. Indeed, literary form is almost impossible on the conditions under which this book has been produced. Each writer has to select from a vast store of materials ready to his hand only just so much as can be crowded into about fifty or sixty pages. If the result is frequently, like an antique *torso*, full of vigour and animation, but lacking completeness, we have no reason to be surprised. This volume is but the opening fire of a campaign which is likely to give the critical school some trouble. The raw levies, if we may venture to call them such, may lack finish at their first onset, but they lack neither purpose nor vigour. Dr. Sinker's arguments are no easier to answer than those of his predecessors. He appeals first to the prophecy of Habakkuk, which he assigns to a period not long after the fearful reign of Manasseh, one of the three kings who, according to the Talmud, have no portion in the world to come.

He is not unfairly severe in the observations which follow :

'In the case of Professor Driver we are, of course, happily free from the irreverence of Kuenen and Wellhausen ; and he rejects as improbable the view that Hilkiah was concerned in the composition of the "Book of the Law," but adopts the theory that it is approximately of the age of Manasseh. That an *unbiassed* reader will agree with his conclusion that "Deuteronomy does not claim to be written by Moses," because the author speaks in the third person of what Moses said or did, we can hardly believe ; the same argument would rob Cæsar of the *Commentaries*. Perhaps there is no more surprising view than that put forward by Professor Cheyne, who suggests that "to the priests and prophets who loved spiritual religion *God had revealed that now was the time to take a bold step forward*, and accomplish the work which the noblest servants of Jehovah had so long desired" [the italics are ours]. Accordingly, to "ancient laws adapted to present purposes" are added "perfectly new ones framed in the spirit of Moses. . . . It had apparently been placed in a repository beside the Ark, and there . . . Hilkiah professed to Shaphan . . . to have found it." Thus one of the chances "which mark the interposing hand of God favoured the project of Hilkiah," and so the *dénouement* came about. Yet Professor Cheyne protests indignantly : "To say that [Hilkiah] was 'the forger of Deuteronomy' is, of

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course, a gross misrepresentation of my opinion." We fail to see any great amount of misrepresentation ourselves. Anyhow, it has been reserved for an Anglican clergyman to make the Deity Himself an instigator of the fraud, call it by what pleasant euphemism we will' (pp. 463, 464).

He next shows—though in doing so he is not confining himself strictly to his subject—that Deuteronomy has special linguistic affinities with the other books of the Pentateuch. The same affinities do not exist between it and the books which are supposed to be written about the date to which modern criticism ascribes it. He mentions the fact that Dr. Routh, the almost centenarian President of Magdalen, had talked to a lady who had seen Charles II., and he uses the argument, as a similar one has been used in the pages of this *Review*, to show that the manners, customs, and traditions of an age are not likely to die out so soon as our modern critics are inclined to assume. If the book found by Hilkiah in the Temple were not an authentic document, there must have been plenty of people then living who could have proved that it was falsely ascribed to Moses. And the circumstances of the time—a time of violent and even passionate antagonism between opposing principles—were certainly not such as to make it probable that the document would be accepted as genuine without a long and bitter controversy. Of such a controversy the literature of Israel, full as it is of controversial matter, does not enable us to detect a single trace.

Dr. Sinker's contribution ends by a careful analysis of the Book of Jeremiah, with a view of pointing out the influence of the Mosaic Law upon his mind. If we might make a suggestion, it would be that his argument would be more forcible still were he to point out the period to which the critics assign the passages of which Jeremiah makes use. He does, however, refer to the obvious quotation of Genesis i. 2 (assigned to P) by Jeremiah. It is most unlikely that an obscure passage of Jeremiah would have been adopted by the supposed post-Exilic writer in his description of chaos. The quotation implies that the graphic narrative of Creation, which bears ineffaceable marks of a genius capable of originating laws and institutions, was already in existence, and that Jeremiah could give no more forcible description of the state of things he desired to picture than to compare it with chaos as described by the creator of the Israelite polity.

Mr. Spencer's able book on the Mosaic authorship of the Pentateuch [1] will have prepared those who are acquainted with

[1] *Did Moses write the Pentateuch after all?*

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it to expect an adequate treatment of the still more difficult subject of Ezekiel. The critical theory of Ezekiel, though it is quite impossible to establish it by proof, is nevertheless very difficult to refute. It is thus stated by Kuenen:[1]

'Ezekiel, in a word, is the first designer, so to speak, and in so far *the father of Judaism.* A band of faithful disciples *must have* gradually gathered around him. Thus rose what we might call "the school of Ezekiel," only that we must not think of it as a close and organized body. In this school the "ordinances, the laws, and the statutes" of Jahveh were reduced to writing, partly in accordance with the scheme drafted by Ezekiel himself, partly in accordance with the oral priestly tradition. From this school there sprang, a century after Ezekiel's death, the man who put his ideas into practice—the priest and scribe, Ezra.'

We have placed some of the words in this statement of Kuenen's case into italics. For, first, we desire to call attention to the fact that there is absolutely no historical foundation for Kuenen's assertions. They are simply an ingenious set of suggestions about Ezekiel's place in Jewish history, which might possibly be defensible if we had no information from other sources concerning the religious institutions of Israel. And so, when we are told that this 'father of Judaism' 'must have' gathered together a band of faithful disciples, we are naturally enough tempted to ask the question, *Why* must he have done so? The reply, of course, will be that he must have done so if Kuenen's theory be true. But there is not the slightest *scintilla* of historical evidence that Ezekiel ever founded a school. He is never mentioned in the after-history of Israel. And we cannot fail also to observe in the passage just cited the peculiar dexterity of the modern German or Dutch critic. He always has a door of escape left open in case he is hard pressed. Thus, though Ezekiel is the 'father of Judaism'—that is to say, if there be any meaning in words, the originator of the Jewish religious system—he nevertheless built that system partly on the basis of previous 'oral priestly tradition.' So, if any part of the Jewish religious system can be shown to be of earlier date than Ezekiel, it is permissible to argue that it was a part of the earlier religious ordinances which were 'codified' in P. But it is obvious that if we discover—and the pages of *Lex Mosaica* have shown that we do discover—very considerable portions of the distinctively Jewish institutions in the writings previous to Ezekiel, the claim for Ezekiel that he was the 'father of Judaism' must be given up. The critics cannot be allowed

[1] In the *Modern Review*, October 1884.

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to lose themselves in vague generalities on this point. They have constructed an elaborate theory of the origin of Jewish religious observances. They must be pressed to elaborate it a little further, and tell us explicitly of how much of the Jewish institutions Ezekiel was the 'father,' and how much was due to the piety of preceding generations. If they cannot do this, how can they claim to have proved Ezekiel to have been the 'father of Judaism' at all? And if a considerable part of the provisions of the Jewish law can be shown to have been in existence before Ezekiel's time, then the assertion that Ezekiel is to be considered as the 'father of Judaism' must be withdrawn. Ezekiel cannot at once be the father and not the father of the Jewish religious system. Still, it cannot be doubted that the Janus-like attitude of the new criticism makes it very difficult indeed to grapple with. Let us see how Mr. Spencer treats the complicated question with which he has to deal. His opening words show that he has gauged the true importance of the inquiry:

'The Darwinian hypothesis of the rise of the Hebrew literature gains much in apparent force from the Protean shapes it may be made to assume. Conclusions which certainly result from it, and which are boldly set forth by its originators, it is considered by its advocates possible to ignore. Processes which are essential to its validity take the field. They are shown, "our enemies themselves being the judges," to be unsatisfactory and shifting. They amount, when tested by common sense and historical analogy, to a strict *reductio ad absurdum* of the whole system. The same microscopic and one-sided ingenuity applied to other ancient and modern literatures would result in general historical scepticism. But the test honestly applied is evaded. We are told we do not understand. The matter can only be handled by the elect. It is dependent upon delicate historical considerations, which it is not for rude minds to enter upon. We are only "Apologists."

'The grave matter at issue is confused. We are confronted with an attack upon the reality of the historical revelation of the Lord to our fathers, and the genuineness of much that has come down to us of real interest and importance from the ancient world before Herodotus. We endeavour to grapple with it. The assailant vanishes into thin air. He holds the premises, but recedes from the conclusion. You do not understand, he says.

'Nor is it easy to understand some things which are advanced to comfort us withal. Dr. Driver, in his *Sermons on Subjects connected with the Old Testament* (the prefatory essay), holds that "the moral and devotional value of the Old Testament, as, indeed, its religious value generally, is unaffected by critical questions respecting the authorship or date of its various parts." He extracts, still, ideas of God, and high principles of conduct from it. But there must be a

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source for ideas—a support for principles. And this source and this support surely *are* affected. The Hebrew writings derive them historically from above; hypothetical "criticism" evolves them by a process of legend and fiction from the tendencies and growth of the times. The source predicated by the one is Divine, by the other human. "Critical questions of authorship and date" may or may not affect the value of a series of writings. It entirely depends upon the kind of critical questions mooted. But to say that the critical questions now in debate amongst us do not affect the religious value of the writings called sacred by us, seems to stultify the understanding. Where we believed we had "the work of the Lord" and ancient history of the first rank of importance for the world, we are given legends. Where we were taught by the Church to find inspired symbols, we are given the fictions of a school. Is there no difference?' (pp. 493, 494).

We have only one word to add to this able arraignment of modern Biblical criticism. Not only does it frequently 'hold the premises but recede from the conclusion,' but it very frequently maintains the conclusion while abandoning the premises.

After remarking with just severity on Wellhausen's flippancy, and the superior attitude which Kuenen adopts 'to such a person as Ezekiel' (p. 497), Mr. Spencer describes a little more in detail than is done in the passage just cited from Kuenen the 'bed of Procrustes on which the whole Hebrew literature is stretched.' He then proceeds to ask—'(1) What direct support Ezekiel, or history after Ezekiel, gives, if any, to the suppositions under review; (2) what conclusion a general view of the book of his prophecy would lead us to take with regard to them; (3) and, coming a little to detail, what bearing Ezekiel's code or ideal has on the presumed work of P' (p. 500).

We cannot follow Mr. Spencer step by step in his masterly analysis of the contents of Ezekiel, and in the unsparing way in which he tests the ingenious theories of Kuenen and Wellhausen by a rigorous comparison with the facts. There is not a word or an argument in his essay which is beside the point. The only complaint we have to make against it is that it is not twice or three times as long as it is. The ingenious theorists we have mentioned have fared badly enough as matters stand. Had more space been allowed to Mr. Spencer, it is difficult to imagine that anything would have remained of them.

We must take Mr. Spencer's points *seriatim*, and leave the arguments by which he supports them to be studied in the essay itself. He first points out that the theory is

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in direct conflict with the history as we have it. Then he asks for evidence for the existence of this alleged 'school of Ezekiel,' and for the traces of its influence on the after-history. He pleads, and cites the Dutch commentator, Doedes, in support of his plea, for a sympathetic treatment by the critic of the author criticized. He describes Ezekiel as 'a man of wide knowledge and culture, with a competent grasp of all that was going on around him' (p. 501). So far from 'expecting, or even demanding an entire breach with old Israel,'[1] it is precisely the fact that such a breach exists which most distresses the prophet. If Ezekiel, again, knew that the 'statutes and the judgments' of which he speaks were the gradual growth of ages, why does he (xx. 10, 11) speak of them as given immediately after the Exodus, in order that Israel might 'live by them'? and why does he never mention any others but those then given? The answer is plain, and we may give it in a favourite phrase of the modern critic: Ezekiel 'knows nothing' of any such. He either 'quotes or alludes to'—so Mr. Spencer continues—'every part of the supposed P document' (p. 503). Ezekiel, moreover, concerns himself but little with priests or priestly policy or influence. There are, doubtless, priests in his ideal temple, as there are priests in most temples. But he does not insist much upon them. When he speaks, he speaks as a prophet. Mr. Spencer next asks for evidence that the practice of writing and compiling *began* after the Exile, and points out, in opposition to the theory, that the prophets of the Exile belong, not to the golden, but to the silver, age of Jewish literature (p. 506).[2]

He next deals with the conclusions in regard to the actual course of Jewish history we should be justified in drawing from a general survey of Ezekiel's writings. He first rejects what he calls the 'algebraical or mathematical method' of dealing with literature. He remarks on the undeniable fact that anyone, however slender his literary training, would be able to determine at the first glance the approximate age of any work that fell into his hands. Bacon, Addison, and Macaulay, as essayists; Shakespeare, Milton, Wordsworth, or Tennyson, as poets; Andrewes, Bull, Newman, as sermon-writers, have characteristics impressed throughout their writings which it is impossible to mistake. Now 'P,' though the product of various ages, as all later thought must neces-

[1] Kuenen, *Modern Review*, October 1884, p. 626.

[2] He cites Renan, surely an unprejudiced witness, in support of this assertion.

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sarily be, was *ex hypothesi* written down after the Exile. If so, then, he asks, *Where are the traces* of the 'school of Ezekiel' in the diction and thought of P? It would be an anachronism to attribute to the men of that age the skill in imparting verisimilitude to a fictitious narrative possessed by a novelist of the nineteenth century. The 'P school' had, therefore, no power to transplant itself 'into an almost forgotten past, and forget all else' (p. 512). How, then, comes it that P shows no traces of contact with the wider experience of other nations which the Jews had enjoyed from the time of David, and of the Babylonian colouring which their thoughts unquestionably received from the Captivity? Why are elaborate instructions written down for the Levites when the Levites had almost disappeared (Ezra ii.)? (p. 514). Why did the writers of P so constantly avoid the technical words which Jewish custom had brought into use for the particulars of the sacred service?[1] Then, again, Ezekiel is evidently surrounded by the influences of the Babylonian Captivity. We 'cannot fail to be struck with the largeness of the world in which he lives,' the signs he displays of having come in contact with various influences, and a varied culture (p. 517). But the influences visible in P are those of the Sinaitic peninsula and the land of Egypt. There were, Mr. Spencer further points out, several 'pitfalls' into which the P school, fresh as it was from Babylonian influences, was likely to slip in its ideal picture of a world long since passed away. Yet Ezekiel's supposed disciples do not introduce the trees likely to be known to him into their list of the materials for the Tabernacle. The ark and other furniture of the Tabernacle are made of a wood which was to be found in the peninsula of Sinai, and scarcely anywhere else. The linen, too, which is represented as being used in the Tabernacle is not the *byssus*, which is mentioned in Chronicles as being in use in the Temple, and which was a Syrian, and possibly also a Mesopotamian, product, but the 'fine twined linen' which Ezekiel himself (xxvii. 7) tells us came from Egypt.

Another point is worthy of attention. Bezaleel, one of the artificers of the Tabernacle, was of the tribe of Judah. But what caprice made the concocters of the post-Exilic narrative select his coadjutor, Aholiab, from the tribe of Dan? How did they, with Hiram before them, escape the anachronism of making the artificer of the Tabernacle a Tyrian, especially

[1] Mr. Spencer here instances, among others, the word דביר. His argument will be found anticipated in the *Church Quarterly Review* for January 1892, p. 365.

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when Ezekiel has so much to say of Tyrian art? Mr. Spencer disposes of the answer of which mention has already been made, that though 'the chief ceremonial institutions of Israel were in *their origin* of great antiquity,' it is only 'in the shape in which they are formulated in the Priests' Code that they belong to the Exilic or early post-Exilic period,'[1] by saying that the essence of the critical theory is the newness of the 'hierocracy' of Israel, and he contends that the idea that Ezekiel was the 'first designer' or 'father of Judaism' 'must either mean something or nothing,' and that it cannot be alternately something or nothing at pleasure.

It would be impossible, in the space at our disposal, to follow Mr. Spencer in the steps of his demonstration that Ezekiel was acquainted with the Priestly Code in its present shape, and that his allusions to it, as well as his quotations from it—these last being neither few nor unimportant—are just of the kind which a writer in Ezekiel's position would make from a document well known, and recognized as authoritative at the time at which he wrote. He sums up his argument as follows:

'It is admitted, with some reluctance, that Ezekiel "presupposes parts" of the Priests' Code. An imperfect survey of the evidence shows that his allusions and references are fairly co-extensive with the whole of P. The verbal and idiomatic nature of his references make it certain that he refers to a written document; so they would be conclusively regarded in any other literary history. Further, the observed character of the working of Ezekiel's mind implies more than the bare enumeration of passages gives as an absolute result. We have proof that Ezekiel was a profound and daily student of the Torah of the so-called Priestly Code, saturated, so to say, with a sense of its Divine value. All the *principles* which move in the Priests' Code, and are the cause of its precepts, are involved in Ezekiel's references to it, as well as the actual details reproduced. According to all laws, therefore, of that literary analogy which we commonly and satisfactorily apply to like cases, the inference is on certain ground that Ezekiel's references to a document are to the document that has come down to us, and not to something else of which we have neither trace nor evidence. The literary presumption, amounting for the historian to practical certainty, is that he refers to a whole, not to "parts."

'But, again, we have proved that Ezekiel's allusions are to a *public* document having immediate and binding force upon the consciences of the better sort of the people. The doctrine of the ancient roots of P, and of its being a transcript of Temple usages, will not sufficiently account for this, and does not sufficiently reckon with it. Mere traditionary custom with a mixture of late legends, both a

[1] Driver, *Introduction*, p. 135.

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growth of many years, do not reach to the conscience. Such things have no Divine authority. The theory fails to account for the facts in the greater significance of them.

'And, in conclusion, the theory necessarily involves an inference abhorrent to our sense of justice. Ezekiel was a man of great and lofty sentiments; his prophecies were fulfilled in a marvellous and literal manner as to detail, and, as to subject, preach the loftiest ideal attainable to man. There is evidence of a Divine inspiration of the man, which set him higher than his age. But by direct assertion and manifold implication of many kinds he discredits the theory of "ancient roots and Temple customs." He says of the Priestly Code, with which his writings are saturated, speaking in the person of Jehovah, "Wherefore I caused them to go forth out of the land of Egypt, and brought them into the wilderness. And I gave them My statutes, and showed them My judgments, which, if a man do, he shall even live in them." Further, it becomes certain from this that the constantly recurring references of the Priestly Code referring its precepts to God by the mediation of Moses, were in his copy of them, as in ours. Ezekiel knew the facts thoroughly. If the theory of "ancient roots and Temple customs" is true, he was practically dishonest, and his school were too. Consider his character; consider the character of the Torah. Is it likely?' (pp. 539–41).

Mr. Spencer's argument would be strengthened by considering the analogous case of the Prayer Book of the Church of England. The religious life of this country has been saturated with the ideas and phrases of that book for nearly three centuries and a half. Yet how many direct quotations of it would be found in the sermons of men so devotedly attached to it as Dr. Pusey, Cardinal Newman (when a member of our Church), Frederick Robertson, or even Charles Kingsley? How easy it would be for a critic of the Kuenen and Wellhausen stamp to 'prove,' according to the ideas of proof entertained by such writers, that the religious institutions of England, though 'in their origin of great antiquity,' were not in existence during the nineteenth century 'in the shape in which they were' ultimately 'formulated' in the Prayer Book.

Mr. Spencer's last point is the traces of Ezekiel's influence on the Priestly Code. He can find 'nothing but an easy confidence in the pliability of facts' in the minds of those who see in Ezekiel's vision of the Temple the 'first step,' or 'first draft,' of P. 'It is not a "first step," because it is full of references to a document which existed before it. It is not a "first draft," for both its character and contents show it not to be a draft at all. . . . It is full of the dream-like symbolism of the visions of God' (p. 545). Professor Robertson Smith, he continues, represents it, not as a 'draft,' but as an 'ideal.' 'The Priestly Code'—to quote the Professor—'has too many points

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of contact with the actual situation at Jerusalem, to admit of its having been evolved in Babylonia, and its *author* must have stood outside the petty local entanglements that hampered the Judæan priests.'[1] So that Professor Robertson Smith throws over the Babylonian authorship of the scheme, and Ezra as its introducer into Jewish worship. We are thus once more at sea. The Priestly Code was not formulated *by* a priest *for* priests, but by someone who stood aloof from the priestly body. This is confusion worse confounded. For if the author of the Code were not of the priestly party, how did he contrive to secure their acceptance of his work? Well may Mr. Spencer ask if this is 'even a plausible account' of the phenomena before us. We close our notice of his essay with his own concluding words:

'One further observation we should like to make in conclusion. We find that in the supposed evolution of P, Ezekiel is given a leading and initial part. His was the first step, the first draft, the first ideal in the ritual development from Ezekiel to Ezra, and after Ezra.

'We have proved that this conception of Ezekiel's vision is thoroughly erroneous. He was a prophet, not a legislator. But if this hypothesis is held by the critics to be a scientific one, we are entitled to press the further difficulties with which it is involved, to treat it for the moment, and for the purposes of argument, as though it were so, and to observe what results. It would seem, then, with Ezekiel as the first written draft of Wellhausen's temple praxis and Driver's ancient roots, that it is abundantly provable that the work of P is not in line with it, and cannot legitimately be considered its development.

'The mysterious changes, which are seen prophetically to symbolize a changing order in what is to come, in the view that Ezekiel's legislation is the first glimpse we get of the really historical worship developed in the Royal Sanctuary, are an obstacle in the way of the supposed P. He had so much to supply, so much to alter.

'1. With regard to the language, Ezekiel's language is not strictly classical. The language of P is classical, and in a large degree quite different. Where Ezekiel, in the use of P's idioms and in referring to P, reproduces "his" language, as he is constantly doing, there is no accompanying difference. The legislation which enlarges a first draft would naturally follow the expressions of the first draft. But P does not do this.

'2. Ezekiel's Temple is empty of the Ark, the table of shewbread, the candlestick, the vail, the cherubim, and other the like. The worship of P centres round the Ark, and is distinctly associated with the other omitted things. The description of the altar of burnt offering in Ezekiel varies from that of P, and differs in measurement (43. 13–18).

[1] *Old Testament in the Jewish Church*, note F, p. 382.

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'3. The Sabbath worship of the prince, in which he is the principal figure (Ezek. 46), disappears in P. The regulations for sacrifices and priests differ in detail, and in one or two P is less strict and less distinct.

'The distribution of land in Ezekiel differs from that of P. There is an equal inheritance of the stranger with the Jew of which P knows nothing. It appears that Ezekiel's alterations had no effect upon the practice of the Return. The High Priest and Day of Atonement are omitted in Ezekiel.

'4. But, most important, the whole atmosphere of Ezekiel is entirely different from that of P.

'The task that "criticism" has set itself is to explain how a Code the work of an unknown author or authors so predominated over the work of Ezekiel as to be adopted as authoritative in its place, and in its stead to be sent forth to posterity authenticated as the inspired legislation of Moses. The answer to the two questions, When this was done, and What influence between Ezekiel and the time of the LXX and the Samaritan Pentateuch gave the Code of the supposed P the authoritative position and unquestioned prerogative it has ever since at least possessed, has not yet been given' (pp. 555–7).

Professor Watts begins by an attack on Dr. Bruce's work on *Apologetics*, and succeeds in showing that this learned and able writer has laid himself open to a good deal of animadversion in his premature acceptance of the critical position. But a considerable portion of Professor Watts's essay appears to us to be beside the point with which he proposes to deal—namely, the post-Exilic period. And when he does come to close quarters with his antagonists, he too often assumes the historical trustworthiness of his authorities, a proposition, he should have remembered, which those antagonists are not ready to concede. We may be convinced, and feel that we have good grounds for being convinced, that the narrative as it stands is in all its main features both reasonable and accurate. But it is useless to quote it as decisive against those who hold that many parts of it are mere fabrications. The merit of *Lex Mosaica*, as a whole, is that it grapples fairly with the allegations of the critics, and demonstrates both the general accuracy of the writers assailed, and the futility of the arguments employed by their assailants. We cannot, therefore, but regret that Professor Watts has not refuted from the contents of Chronicles the assertion of modern critics that the chronicler has written a history made up of pious inanities, boastful exaggerations, and deliberate misrepresentations of facts.

We have been unable to do anything like full justice to the powerful defence of the traditional view of the Old Testament Scriptures contained in this volume. If the writers them-

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selves might reasonably complain of the narrow limits within which they have been confined, it is quite impossible, within the still narrower limits of an article, to give anything like an adequate idea of the strength of the case they have presented to the public. We have contented ourselves with stating that case in outline for the benefit of those who may be unable to find time to read the book itself. But valuable as the contents of the book are, the mere fact of its appearance will be found to have produced a considerable effect in restoring a confidence which has been seriously shaken. Its writers are men acquainted with Hebrew literature, and some of them have a high reputation as Hebraists. Therefore the boast that all scholars 'are agreed' in accepting the theories of the Kuenen-Wellhausen school is dissipated by the simple fact of the appearance of this volume. Moreover, the writers in it have subjected the conclusions of the critics to a severe and unsparing analysis, and have shown upon how slender a basis of fact, and on how vast a basis of assumption, very often plainly contrary to fact, many of the critical conclusions actually rest. At present there has been, so far as we are aware, no real attempt to grapple with the arguments it contains. Critics, it is true, of the stamp of Professor Bevan affect to have annihilated a treatise of 700 or more pages, bristling with arguments, in an article seven pages in length! Others, like the reviewer in the *Guardian*, have sought to minimize the effect of the book by complaining of the tone adopted in it towards the critics. Arrogance and contempt are, it would seem, the vested right of the critics, and of them alone. We are quite ready to accept this proposition. But we cannot go so far as to grant that if a defender of the orthodox view should unfortunately lapse into the faults to which his antagonists are prone, it can be said to invalidate the force of his reasoning. Others, again, take exceptions to the form of the book, its repetitions, its omissions, and the like. But these, after all, are shortcomings which do not in the least affect its main argument: namely, that on all the ordinary principles of literary and historical investigation, every century of Jewish history displays abundant evidence of the existence of the Mosaic institutions in the shape in which they have come down to us. The critics will, no doubt, take refuge, as usual, in silence. They will, as they are wont, repeat their assertions dogmatically, as the decisions of a tribunal from which there is no appeal. One thing we may be sure they will *not* do. They will not attempt the refutation in detail of the principal arguments by which the writers of *Lex Mosaica* have main-

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tained the Mosaic origin of the Pentateuch. From henceforth, therefore, the unlearned, who instinctively cling to the Bible as they have received it, may 'thank God and take courage.' This last attack on the trustworthiness of the Scripture narrative, though supported by a more formidable array of English authorities of weight than has ever been known before, will go the way of its predecessors. We shall be in possession of far fuller information than our forefathers concerning the conditions under which the Old Testament was produced, while its contents, as 'gold tried in the fire,' will come out all the brighter and purer for the ordeal to which it has been subjected.

ART. III.—SOCIALISM AND THE 'CHRISTIAN SOCIAL UNION.'

1. *A Lent in London.* A course of Sermons on Social subjects, organized by the London Branch of the Christian Social Union, during Lent, 1895. (London, 1895.)
2. *The Church of the People.* A selection from a course of Sermons on the Church of England's duty to the People of England. Preached at All Saints' Church, Notting Hill, May and June, 1894. With a Preface by the BISHOP OF ROCHESTER. (London, 1894.)
3. *The Economic Review.* Published quarterly for the Oxford University Branch of the Christian Social Union. (London, 1893–95.)
4. *The New Christian Socialism. Quarterly Review,* July 1894. (London, 1894.)
5. *Industry and Property.* A plea for Truth and Honesty in Economics, and for Liberty and Justice in Social Reform. By GEORGE BROOKS. Two Vols. (Published by the Author, Mells Lodge, Halesworth, Suffolk, 1894.)
6. *Socialism.* By ROBERT FLINT, Professor in the University of Edinburgh. (London, 1894.)

WE have arranged these books not in the order of their permanent or substantial value, but as they bear upon, and contribute to, decision on a practical and particular question: to wit, the complicity of the Church, through tacit allowance, with a movement 'reduced to iniquity;' and the substitution, by a gradual down-grade drift and perversion, of a New Goal and New Means for Christian effort in the place of the Goal

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and Means proper to the Gospel. In the volumes before us ample material for judgment is provided if they be studied collectively.

Lent in London is avowedly official, officially organized and selected; *The Church of the People* has almost a more representative character, because it is not official. The sermons themselves, as might reasonably be expected, are of unequal value; but we will endeavour as little to do justice to their excellence as to criticize their defects individually, or from any other view but one. A great enthusiasm, and the impressive eloquence that springs from enthusiasm, runs through them all. It is the unity of their ideal that gives them importance, an ideal which may be summed up in Gordon's saying, 'They strive to mend the world which is doomed to be destroyed.' On the relation that secular has to eternal salvation, we fear that either indefiniteness or definite perversion of the Gospel prevails, and we regret that the Archbishop of Canterbury, who introduces the official series, has not spoken more clearly; has left the impression that to guide the 'upward march of men'—the secular progress—is the essential office, in his view, of the National Church.

Not only the unity of the ideal presented in these sermons is a grave portent—the phrases, the catch-words, the methods of amelioration suggested are full of omen: they mark the weakness of an emotional receptivity—the thoughts and their expression make their way in from without—and, as has been the case with the New Criticism, the external forces are dominating and controlling the Old Faith. We have only to ask that these forces should be themselves examined, as they may be exhaustively, in the works of Mr. Brooks or Professor Flint; we have no hesitation in our certainty that the impartial judgment will ratify our conclusion that to absorb heresies instead of resisting them is a ready snare which has not, alas! been spread in vain before the feet of modern Christians.

The Economic Review we have included for two reasons: it is the organ of the Oxford University Branch of the Christian Social Union, containing, therefore, materials for the formation of a very clear conception of the sphere of the Union inquiries, and of the spirit in which they are conducted; it contains, also, from time to time, exposition and defence against criticism of the *motif* and tactics of the Union, as *e.g.* Canon Scott Holland's reply to Mr. Relton and the joint answers of Messrs. Rashdall, Fry, and Carter to the attack in the

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Quarterly Review of July 1894. Very full and particular details of the 'Movement' in all its forms are provided, and no single school dominates the current of thought. The policy of the Union is sympathetic interest and inquiry, and with it little fault could be found if it were not for the close connexion of the Union with the Church. That connexion appears to us to close the doors upon some discussions, and the want of any definite line—the free canvassing of the settled principles of justice, with the free admission of members holding views irreconcileable with the teaching of the Church—constitutes, in our opinion, a grave danger.

The general bias inclines, indeed, towards the innocent, but perhaps impracticable, Utopias of voluntary Co-operation and Profit-sharing, with which we have nothing to say against Christian men identifying themselves, as works which God has ordained for them to walk in. The spirit of the whole series is, however, unmistakable; it assumes throughout that the regeneration of *secular* society is the proper object of the Christian Church, and that the Church exists for that purpose.

A side issue, which is yet a principal one, is raised by the discussions on the New Casuistry. So far as the motive of this is the motive that inspired Law and Wilberforce we have no quarrel with it; but it will appear from the Review that it pretends not only to awaken the public conscience to manifest wrong, and to purify the individual life, but to investigate the ethical value of ideas and institutions always recognized by the Christian Church; and not only to reduce Christianity to conduct, but to lay down standards of justice in all commercial relations. That there is a tendency to adopt these standards from the Trade Unionism of the day is also a not irrelevant phenomenon. We are of opinion that if this kind of work is to be done, it should be done by the Church in her corporate capacity; then responsibility would be some guard against the vagaries of individuals. We are far, however, from believing that it is any proper work of the Church in any sense at all.

The character of Mr. Brooks's volumes may be gathered from their dedication to Lord Wemyss. They are animated throughout by the well-known principles which are generally grouped as Individualist. The criticism that is obvious to the superficial reader of his work is that the polemic is too impassioned, and the condemnation of his opponents too indiscriminate and unmeasured. He apprehends Socialism not only as a hostile force encamped over against civilization, and

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threatening it with destruction, but as a vicious principle corrupting, consciously or unconsciously, the whole age-movement; not merely as an academic curiosity, but a living concrete enemy with whom we are grappling, or a disease that is eating away the vitality of State and Church.

It is with the concrete manifestations that his main interest is found; the various struggles of Labour and Capital, the strikes that have paralyzed trade, the particular policies and proposals of demagogues, statesmen, philanthropists, as they exist in germ or in realization, are all presented with a dramatic force of diction and considerable power of grouping. A running commentary of hard-headed reasoning and keen analysis accompanies the narrative. The nexus with the avowed plans of Socialism itself is vigorously asserted, and a very complete mastery of the literature and the facts enables him to defend his position at every point. To review a work of this massiveness in all its bearings would be beyond our present purpose. It covers the whole ground of the great controversy of modern times—in its social, economic, moral, and religious bearings and manifestations. We, however, are directly concerned only with the light it throws on the reflex movement in the Church. The setting of that movement is of signal importance in judging it. The very passion and polemic of the volumes is suggestive; it is with an indignation so intense, with a moral hostility so fervid, that Christian Socialism has to reckon, and some measure is provided of the schism that the lack of definite guidance must ultimately provoke. The ethical questions raised are treated with a firm grasp of those elementary truths into which the 'candid inquiry' of the sophist can only introduce immoral confusion; and, in spite of the defect due to a Nonconformist conception of the Church, we find a very clear and true statement of certain axioms of the Gospel which the Church is, and must be, irrevocably bound by so long as she is true to her Lord.

We may, perhaps, say that on the secular side there is a corresponding theoretical weakness. It is admitted that the State may intervene in the interests of justice, or may limit man's liberties and encroach on his property for the common good. The limits of this intervention are discussed both by Mr. Brooks and Professor Flint, and they lay down certain general rules to guide particular decisions. We do not think that either of them brings out clearly enough the relativity of all these decisions to the varying stages of development of manhood and civilization. We believe as little in a universal right of labour to be free, or of capital to be secure, as in a

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universal right of man to live, to work, and to have for himself the whole produce of his work.

Practically, however, it is the rights and liberties which have been acquired in a long struggle upwards that actual Individualism is defending. The constitutional authority of the State, as it also has been formulated in the same struggle, is being simultaneously supported. Christianity in a certain sense does ethically consecrate the actual, and favours no subversive revolutions. More especially does she so consecrate it when the *status quo* is largely an embodiment of her own principles: however far it may be from her own ideal, any movement towards that ideal must not violate her ethical rules; and far less for any movement away from her ideal can she find sympathy.

The remaining volume on our list is by Professor Flint, and its general qualities will be therefore sufficiently known. He is non-socialistic, and his calm discussion is as adverse to the new propaganda as the polemic of Mr. Brooks. He proceeds by way of definition, and the exhaustive summaries, the clear analyses, and the ardent wish to do justice to every point of view, will have weight with many whose temper is judicial. The kinds of Socialism are clearly distinguished, and its relation to Economics, Social Organization, Democracy, Morals, and Religion separately treated. The appendices are full of valuable matter, and that knowledge of detail which is essential to decision is made easy for the reader. The spirit of impartiality—the recognition of good in that which the author rejects, of evil in that which he defends—renders all the more striking the final condemnation. He has no hesitation in declaring Socialism and Christianity irreconcileable and inconsistent with one another. His chapter on the duty of the Church in the present crisis we read with especial interest. We would gladly quote many of the *dicta*, but it is throughout so steadily balanced that we are afraid of misrepresenting the writer by borrowing any thesis without its antithesis. Thus the Professor asserts the 'Social Mission of the Church—which is to heal and sanctify both individuals and Society—to transform humanity itself into a wholly new creature in Christ Jesus' (p. 173), and that this mission 'is plainly taught in the New Testament.' We think that before any such teaching could be accepted as contained therein, it would have to be cleared of ambiguity. On the other hand, the Professor is quite clear that only through the Individual can Society be redeemed, and that the Church would have benefited both far more if she had thrown herself with less

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ardour into the questions of the day. 'Preaching up Christ and eternity is needed at all times. No teaching which does not preach up Christ and eternity will much profit any time.'

We have said, however, enough to show that in these volumes the reader will find very full material and competent guides for the formation of judgment, provided that he add to them that very familiar but so often forgotten authority, the Book of Holy Writ. We proceed, therefore, to indicate with their help some of the accusations which they seem to justify —accusations which are, indeed, already widely uttered in the Christian Church, and probably represent fairly enough the dissatisfied suspicion, mingled with sympathy and admiration, which animates the bulk of her most loyal and devoted adherents.

Vague and nebulous thinking, indefiniteness, emotion feebly directed by reason or faith, are complained of as the source of mischief. There is even in Christian critics a scarcely veiled contempt, a contempt mingled with indignation and regret at the aberrations of 'good men.' Over the contempt of critics who are not Christians no veil is drawn. Christian Socialism, in the eyes of Mr. Bax, is a pitiful strategic move to resist the true Socialism by adopting its Utopias, or it is an inconsiderate and inconsistent hybrid, in which the Christianity is a survival of sentiment or the Socialism a shallow pretence.

Mr. Brooks, who is an Individualist and a Christian, is at one with Mr. Bax, who is neither, in this matter; and Professor Flint, in more philosophically guarded language, practically agrees with both.

But the vague and nebulous thinking, over and above its mere nebulosity, and because of it, has sheltered and is sheltering dangerous heresies. The ideal of Karl Marx has captured the Churches—Secularism, Social Reform, has supplanted the Gospel. External conditions, the environment, are made the arbiters of virtue and vice. The ministers of Christ are absorbed in politics, economics, and the whole complexity of human arrangements, seeking to save souls, if they seek to save them at all, 'by public enactment.'

That these charges have, unfortunately, solid foundation is a conclusion forced upon us by the evidence presented, and indeed by the confessions of the accused; we only give utterance to a very widely spread feeling when we insist that it is high time for the conscience of the Church to declare itself. Congress is to deal with the subject, but the subject is ripe for authoritative treatment; limits and definitions are required,

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and the irresponsible vagaries of sentiment should be guided into the channel of deliberate judgment. Perhaps we may best bring before our readers the materials for decision by quoting from Bishop Westcott his well-known eulogy of Socialism delivered at the Church Congress, October 1, 1890, and reprinted in *The Incarnation and Common Life*:

'The term Socialism has been discredited by its connexion with many extravagant and revolutionary schemes, but it is a term which needs to be claimed for nobler uses. It has no necessary affinity with any form of violence, or confiscation, or class selfishness, or financial arrangement. I shall therefore venture to employ it apart from its historical associations as describing a theory of life, and not only a theory of economics.' [1]

Professor Flint [2] justly complains that 'this claiming of names for nobler uses is entirely unwarranted. Schemes essentially evil are and continue in actual possession, and they are deriving from the ambiguity the Bishop introduces a credit and an advantage to which they are not entitled.' The school of Maurice and Kingsley does much harm in this way. They claim the name of Socialist on the ground that they advocate co-operation and profit-sharing—they rely upon etymology: 'a Socius is a partner; Socialism is the principle of partnership.' But co-operation and profit-sharing are not Socialism. Others apparently reason in this way: 'Socialism is a scheme for removing the oppression of the poor—bettering their condition. This is a Christian work, and Christianity that tries to do this is Christian Socialism.' Others, perhaps more justly, lay stress on Christian legislation; they invoke public action as remedial: 'To invoke public action is Socialist; to invoke it in a Christian spirit is Christian Socialism.' Roughly, again, any action that deals with the body, the environment, is called Socialist, and Christian Socialism is Christianity dealing with the environment, as opposed to Christianity dealing with the soul direct, or the germ.

Meanwhile, the active aggressive system that stands over against them as Socialism proper, simply because it is definite, knows its own mind and has a clear issue proposed, assimilates and captures the 'nobler' imitations. There is already an avowed Christian Socialism which has adopted the 'economic theories and financial arrangements' of Karl Marx; and there is a school still more in evidence that has adopted the political programme of the Opportunists—the

[1] Professor Flint's *Socialism*, p. 25. [2] *Ibid.* p. 26.

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programme of 'the immediately possible'—in which economic theory and financial arrangements are painfully conspicuous.

The only justification Bishop Westcott could claim for his procedure would be effective power to take and keep the name—that power he is lamentably void of. Facts are against him. The Socialism that he rejects holds the field, and profits by the confusion.

But let us proceed to inquire what the theory of life is that the Bishop accepts.

'Socialism is the opposite of Individualism, and it is by contrast with Individualism that the true character of Socialism can best be discerned. Individualism and Socialism correspond with opposite views of humanity. Individualism regards humanity as made up of disconnected or warring atoms: Socialism regards it as an organic whole, a vital unity formed by the combination of contributory members mutually interdependent. It follows that Socialism differs from Individualism both in method and aim. The method of Socialism is co-operation; the method of Individualism is competition. The one regards man as working with man for a common end; the other regards man as working against man for private gain. The aim of Socialism is the fulfilment of service; the aim of Individualism is the attainment of advantage. Socialism seeks such an organization of life as shall secure for everyone the most complete development of his powers; Individualism seeks primarily the satisfaction of the particular wants of each one, in the hope that the pursuit of private interest will secure public welfare.'[1]

Professor Flint replies that 'an Individualism or a Socialism of this kind I cannot find to have ever existed.' The Socialism described is an ideal, the Individualism a caricature. Co-operation, service, patriotism, are inculcated by Christianity, and accepted as duties under every system. Individualism has two sides—*a business one*: 'The interference of the State with economic matters has been, as a matter of fact, and by the nature of things is likely to be mischievous; it should be a rule of the State, therefore, not to interfere unless justice, or a general State interest, imperatively demand it'—*an ethical one*: 'Minute regulation of individual lives interferes with human liberty, and mars the human character, while systematic "benevolence" weakens self-help and destroys vigour.'

Mr Brooks, who, like Professor Flint, admires Bishop Westcott's ideal, puts the antithesis quite differently: 'Individualism is a state of personal liberty; Socialism is a state of slavery' (ii. 212). Ethically, Individualism recog-

[1] Quoted by Flint, p. 29.

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nizes the duties of charity, patriotism, service, but the rough basis of actual society is Self-love. To enlighten this, to link on to this the Love of Neighbour and the Love of God is nevertheless necessary to the perfection, either of the Individual or of the State. The Bishop's ideal, then, is so far not a true ideal, that self-love entirely disappears and is merged in service. Moreover, an ideal requiring of humanity ideal virtues can be no basis of a practical constitution: it can only be the goal of hope, the inspiration of the prophet; it cannot be the principle of the lawgiver. To presuppose virtue, to presuppose the gifts of the Holy Ghost, to presuppose the ideal man, are fatal errors in constructive legislation, but it is with constructive legislation that practical Socialism is busy. Professor Flint (p. 379) quotes from Mr. Laurie a further complaint: 'The organic conception, if accepted in an unqualified sense, would reduce all individuals to slavery.' The metaphor of an organism which occurs so often in this context ('we are members one of another') is after all but a metaphor. St. Paul uses it of the Church—'We are all baptized into one body.' And in 'the city that hath the foundations' the metaphor may be more than metaphor: it may be the mystic expression of a literal spiritual fact. But it is applied promiscuously by Socialists to humanity on earth. 'Humanity on earth is an organic whole.' 'Humanity on earth is a vital unity.' Now there is a sense—and no one has more insisted on it than Adam Smith—in which this is actually true, and every day growing in truth. Whether we will or no, we are members of one another; whether we will or no, we are linked with one another—suffer and rejoice together—with certain reservations. It is true, again, that in States that have grown—as all States have—there is a measure of organic character. We do not 'combine' by our own will; our place in the organism, our consequent work, is determined for us by antecedents over which we have no control; and if the metaphor of the organism were carried out we should best promote its end and aim—which would be far greater and more glorious than our own—by efficiency and health just where we are; and, again, nourishment would come to us sufficient for our perfect development as members 'from above,' 'from an organic centre of distribution,' 'from authority organically supreme.' The limit to the metaphor is found in the individual consciousness; in the individual freedom; in the worthiness of the individual's end, and its identity with the end of the whole. In a thoroughly organic human society individuality would become a subordinate,

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directed, instrumental thing. Now, such a theory of life on earth, and such a constitution of human society, are exhibited to us in the well-known instances of the Christians of Paraguay and the Incas of Peru, and it undoubtedly approximates at some points to the ideal of militant Socialism; but whether we, who have waged so many wars for freedom, and conquered at the edge of the sword so many liberties, are prepared to become fed, unconscious workers in a body of whose end and aim we know nothing, even though that body be the New Municipality or the Cosmopolitan Federation, is more than doubtful.

But, as a matter of fact and in truth, militant Socialism has nothing organic in its character.[1] Its ideal is a combination of individuals for the individual good—to secure to each individual equality of material being, equality of social advantage. Community of goods is its condition; democracy is its necessary form of government, and its 'organic authority' and 'centre of distribution' is the Cæsar or the caucus that the 'members' elect.

It is easy to perceive that Bishop Westcott's ideal is fashioned on the ideal of the Church, and the question arises how far the theory and constitution of the Church is applicable to human society. Regeneration and the apostolic authority are two essentials for which satisfactory substitutes have not as yet been found. The immediate and natural solution is the Hildebrandine; and in the mediæval Papalism economic relations were subjected, like all others, to the casuistry of the Canon Law. The Christian Socialists of the Roman communion have to reckon with the fact that the Encyclical 'Rerum Novalium' has, as Mr. Brooks (ii. 295) points out, declared against Socialism in its fundamental tenet: 'Private property must be maintained.' Anglicans repudiate the old mediævalism, crying 'Vade retro!' with all the more energy perhaps because of that decision. Nevertheless, in spite of such repudiation, an 'organic humanity' can barely be constructed on any other lines. The Socialism of the Democratic Federation is frankly materialist, frankly non-organic; but Christian Socialism requires provision for the Christian religion, and the Church with her functional system cannot enter into any *ideal* community otherwise than as supreme—it must, in other words, ideally absorb the whole. But, as Canon Scott Holland has pointed out,[2] the Church has calamitously failed in this very thing—ideality falling short

[1] Professor Flint, from Mr. Bosanquet, p. 27.
[2] *Econ. Rev.* January 1895, p. 3.

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of practice. 'He would repudiate any attempt to revive the mediæval fallacy that the Church can understand and direct the social affairs of the State.' We, for our part, quite agree with him; but the admission is fatal to the Organic Ideal, as an ideal of human society. Humanity, in fact, lost its organic cohesion when it rebelled against God. The systems of government that arise on the earth are fragmentary, incoherent; Christianity supplies them with a corrective, with a vision of the best—but the best is not here realizable—men are fallen; even when redeemed, they wait the redemption of the body; and to present the vision as a practical standard for actual working here on earth, to encourage the construction of a political and social community on the assumption that ideal men will be found for it, that the weaknesses of human nature will be obliterated, that self-love will be entirely merged in service, is to lure humanity on to profitless ventures. Ideal men are, indeed, never *de trop*. With all the efforts of the members of the Christian Social Union—as *e.g.* Canon Barnett—to stimulate and encourage the growth of such; with the stress they lay on character (in which they do not yield to the strongest Individualists) we have the strongest sympathy. But even the ideal men of the C. S. U. are ideal citizens of London town, and the mistake of pressing on for the formation of New London town while the ideal men can at best be only prayed for is calamitous. Nothing but the faith that New London will regenerate character by its institutions, open spaces, libraries, &c., could excuse it, and this in fact is the faith of the C. S. U.

'God so loved the world, that He sent his beloved Son,' according to Canon Scott Holland,[1] to *recover the world*. It is scarcely credible how deeply the perversion of this truth has infected the whole thought of Christian Socialism—it may be called its central common belief. Therefore it is that the political office of the Church looms so large in their horizon. There are two great heresies which propagate and are propagated by Socialism proper, by Collectivism of the only true and powerful type: *that earthly well-being is the goal, for death is the end of life*, is one; *that man is the creature of circumstance: that virtue and vice are the products of Nature, heredity, environment*, is the other. Both these heresies have infected to the core Christian Socialism—so far as we can see, are tacitly adopted by the Social Union, and dominate their theories of the office of the Church.

Thus the Bishop of Rochester characterizes as a falsehood

[1] *Econ. Rev.* January 1895, p. 4.

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to be eradicated from the minds of men the idea that the chief duty of the Church is to prepare citizens for heaven; to render the people good citizens in this world is as much its office.[1] Mr. Hancock, from the healing of the cripple at the Beautiful Gate, enforces the truth that the Gospel is a Gospel of salvation, or making whole, for *body*, soul, and spirit.[2] 'The Church is the divinely-established and divinely-endowed representative of the rights of man as man, and of that entire humanity whereof every State is but a fragment.' It is the business of the Church in London, says Mr. Headlam, to organize labour, to sweep away the slums, to attack ground-landlords, to hasten the doom of the capitalist monopoly.[3] It is not the business of the clergy, says Mr. Sarson, to organize labour, to organize production; it is their business to teach and proclaim that to organize it is the cure for the problems of over-population. Christian Socialists liken themselves to the prophets of Israel; the prophets of Israel were the avengers of the oppressed, insisted on remedial legislation, dealt avowedly with the body: the priests of Judah were sanitary officers as well as offerers of sacrifice—the union of the two functions has never been broken, says Mr. Horsley, by any divine order. Judaism was the bud, Christianity is the flower; what the Church of God did of old, the Church of God has to do now, and has to do always.[4] We do not gather from Mr. Maclure whether the International is to absorb the Catholic Church or the Catholic Church the International. Overwork, says, practically, Mr. Dearmer,[5] is the cause of unbelief. The Church must restrict the hours of labour.

We must confess that we prefer Mr. Shuttleworth's plain lecture[6] with its bare statement of facts to any of the more ambitious sermons now before us. It contains no theories, it offers no advice, and brings the poor folk before us as they are for simple pity and the workings of conscience. We doubt, however, his treatment of Esau, as do many sensible men and clergy (two distinct classes). To give Esau beer, billiards and tobacco below cost price is bad economics. Moreover, Esau often leads Jacob wrong. But it is not isolated expressions, harmless exaggerations escaping when rhetoric overpowers reason, and the proportion of faith is lost in a gush of sentiment—it is not these, but the consistency of the thought; the general tenor overpowering the ejaculations of

[1] Preface to *The Church of the People*. [2] *Lent in London*, p. 25.
[3] *Ibid.* p. 132. [4] *The Church of the People*, p. 33.
[5] *Ibid.* p. 217. [6] *Lent in London*, p. 104.

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conscience; the very names of the sermons; the description of the work the speakers carry on; the deliberate programme; the editing and presenting of the whole as representative volumes. Assuredly, the eyes of the company are upon the earth, and the ideal that kindles their enthusiasm and knits them together is the ideal of the Fifth Monarchy. Alas! Sir Harry Vane.

Mr. Brooks gives in his survey very copious extracts to illustrate the extent to which the poison has infected Nonconformist communities:[1] 'Men are being taught that humanity is to be regenerated by better conditions: that general welfare is more important than individual rightness; that reliance in Government is better than trust in God. The Gospel is pushed aside for sociology, and its ministers have become expounders of political economy.'

But we find in Canon Scott Holland's article on the Church of God the most explicit confession. 'The pure spiritual forces were lodged in the Church only that they might fling themselves abroad, penetrate within the fibres of human society, infuse new vigour, recover the body, win over for man a new earth.'[2] 'Christian men and women find themselves with their faces anxiously set towards these outward conditions, the social environment which it is their special charge to justify for Christ. There is the field in which they are to labour. *Christ has told them nothing of how to do it.* He told them nothing: *that is why they are so terribly occupied in discovering what it is that He means them to do.*'[3]

Hence the Social Union, the *Economic Review*, and the New Casuistry. 'The Church is not to provide a Social Programme. No!' (oh No!); 'but the redeemed are continually creating one in their practical lives,' and 'a social conscience is gradually drawn together, built up, stored, accumulated, carried forward, until it can tell as an integral whole upon the entire mass of society. . . .'[4] The Catholic Church, curiously enough, is the owner of this conscience, not the Social Union. But if the Catholic Church is at Rome, there is the Encyclical 'Rerum Novalium;' if at Canterbury, —the Anabaptists' false boast is an ugly spectre. 'This Christian conscience formulates, accounts for, and sustains legislation and institutions—and this, because *the organization of the external environment is the very method by which the conscience of the Individual is to be acted on.*'[5]

[1] Vol. ii pp. 276, 77, and *passim*.
[2] *Economic Review*, January 1895, p. 4.
[3] *Ibid.* p. 5.
[4] *Ibid.* p. 6.
[5] *Ibid.* p. 13.

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'The Name of Christ has been tabernacled among men, that the Redemptive Succours may come to the help of the human movement. The record of a growing civilization is the record of an ever-increasing body of laws. . . .[1] Our object in converting individuals is to make richer and fuller legislation possible. The greater the number of individuals converted, the higher becomes the *possibility of a Social Reform by public enactment.*[2]

We may gather, then, that the rejection of the Hildebrandine theory is purely formal. If the conscience of the Church is to formulate the laws and institutions of the State, Hildebrand himself would be content. The world belongs to the Saints.

The whole paper is a reply to a remonstrance from Mr. Relton[3] that Christian Socialists were laying too much stress on the environment, and attending too little to the germ. The Canon's answer is that the environment is the very means of acting on the germ, and even that converted germs are but means to the final realization of a perfect environment for all. The whole controversy neglects the very plain fact that God provides Himself the environment for the germ. There are two environments—one, evil, of the world, of Nature, *the power of which is broken by the Holy Ghost*; the other, spiritual, in the Communion of Saints: with this, and with this alone, have the ministers of the Gospel any direct concern; they bring the gift of God to whosoever believeth—not acting through any secular environment, but *in* the Holy Ghost.

Mr. Brooks, the son of an agricultural labourer, a factory hand at Oldham, minister of the Gospel, and journalist in London, bears this witness, 'impelled by God.' The economical situation of the working classes, so far as it is bad, is due to their own vices more than to any other cause; and these vices, he knows, by the fundamental law of God, which it is blasphemy to deny, are, like the vices of all other men, due to their own fault and not to their surroundings. In the same surroundings thousands of their fellows have heard the Gospel and believed, and through their faith found virtue and peace, if they have not escaped the tribulations inherent and proper to the world. Professor Flint speaks as strongly (p. 379) to the same effect.

As to the office of the Church, all Christians, whatever their state of life, live Christianly, or endeavour so to do, but the works of mercy that they through the Spirit undertake,

[1] *Economic Review*, January 1895, p. 11. [2] *Ibid.* p. 13.
[3] *Ibid.* October 1894.

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and the social blessings that follow from bearing Christ into every function, are secondary, indirect, and in their positive concrete realization worthless in God's sight. The most perfectly arranged human society has no abiding value in itself, but whatever passing value it may be supposed to have is irremediably lost when it is set before the will as either end or means.

The Church, then, stands in the world, in the nation, but it is neither the organ of authority, nor the organ of teaching, for the nation and the Church together do not make one organic Body. The Church is a body that is itself organic spiritually. The nation is on a separate basis, including the members of the Church, but not consisting entirely of them, and the Church best serves the nation by attending chiefly to its own sanctity.

The charge, then, against Christian Socialism and the Christian Social Union is that, through a natural and very proper sympathy with the miseries of the poor, and a natural and very proper indignation at certain injustices, they have fallen in with, and become infected by, a propaganda whose roots and fruits are iniquity. It is not asserted even of Christian Socialism, far less of the members of the Social Union, that they deliberately accept materialism, that they regard morality as an 'historical category'; but their whole mode of thought and action assumes it, encouraging the growth of a temper which is the concrete Antichrist of the hour. We find it necessary to inquire, therefore, what this propaganda is, and what excuse Christianity can give for adopting it or being plastic to it. In its earlier and still persistent form, Socialism emerged as a voluntary Communism—all goods, land, means of production, were to be the property of the community, and all were to receive their share of the produce by distribution from the central store. Mr. Brooks gives (vol. ii. ch. 3) an interesting *résumé* of the history of these associations, and Professor Flint (p. 58) a criticism of the reasons of their failure or success. Of success the invariable conditions have been small numbers and strict discipline, and the discipline has rarely been possible without some common religious enthusiasm (as among the Shakers) or superstitious awe of a prophet (like the prophet Harris). We may further add that by celibacy they have avoided the problem of over-population. The strict discipline brings us at once to the *crux* of Socialism. It destroys human liberty. Idlers cannot be allowed; they must be ejected if they will not be forced. Liberty of spending is evidently gone, and

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the man becomes in practice, if the affair succeeds, a comfortable slave. *Compulsion, not co-operation, is the word.* Now, these two things—maintenance by the community, and compulsion by the community—are inseparable. Legislation is called Socialist that has those two marks, and Social Reform by Public Enactment was Canon Scott Holland's deliberate phrase for the policy of the Christian Social Union. But this compulsion can only be effective in limited areas. The idea of the French Communists who desired the forcible establishment of such associations was to break nations up into communes or municipalities. That scheme is now put on one side, but Local Option remains as a legacy to statesmen and philanthropists enamoured of the whip. So long as these associations were to be voluntary the charge of iniquity against them was merely constructive; they involved an interference with freedom, indeed, and an interference with the family essentially unchristian, and this interference was differentiated from that of the old monasteries by its earthly motive; but constructive iniquity is an academic concern, and Christian Socialists would be quite welcome to commune at Mount Kenia or elsewhere. The only Socialism now practically alive is that of Karl Marx. By an economic fallacy of which Professor Flint gives a full account and refutation,[1] he persuaded himself, and has persuaded great multitudes of men, that capital is originally derived, and continuously maintained, by theft from the labourer. Labour is the sole creator of wealth, and has the sole right to the produce. Capitalists and landlords are therefore robbers and the enemies of the human race. A forcible resumption of all property by the labourers, who are the true owners, and the joint administration of it so that each may have an equal share in the produce, is the immediate and logical conclusion from these premisses. The reader will find in Mr. Brooks[2] a very full and interesting account of the various manifestoes and programmes embodying this policy. That which perhaps strikes with most force the practical man is that the extreme doctrine of rights is followed immediately in all cases by a Programme of the moment. Revolution and violence is the avowed and preferred method. But till courage or strength be found for that course there is the doctrine of Opportunism or Instalments. The immediately-practicable is to be obtained, and in the immediately-practicable we recognize such familiar friends as abolition of the

[1] *Socialism and Capital*, p. 183.
[2] Vol. ii. p. 13; cf. also Flint, pp. 93 and 94.

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right of bequest, graduated income-tax, municipal workshops, universal manhood suffrage, abolition of Second Chambers, federation of all trades' unions, universal eight hours bills. The *democratical political constitution is to be the means of this piecemeal Revolution.* All workers are to be cajoled and intimidated into one great army—are to vote solid at their leaders' direction. Apart from the polls, they will, thus organized, have the capitalist at their feet; the commerce of London, of the world, shall be brought to a standstill by a No Work Manifesto. It is the opinion of many sound judges that England, by its lack of any check on democratical omnipotence, and by the perfection of its organization of trades' unions, aided by the humanitarian temper of the people, is the probable scene of the earliest successes of the movement. Socialism is not strong as a separate body, but more than in any other country its principles have conquered the political parties. It is impossible to credit the violence, the extravagance of the language employed without reading it or hearing it. In the United States, in Austria, in Germany, in London, the party grows by leaps and bounds, but its influence is perhaps more appreciated by us when we remember that it dominates the Progressive section of Liberals, and that all legislation on either side is becoming more and more tinged with its hues. The stock in trade of the political agitator is drawn from this source, and the lessons of Karl Marx are the inspiration of the village green.

The great merit of Mr. Brooks's volume is the practical and concrete presentation of the whole series of phenomena as a solid whole. Commencing with the Dock strike, of which he gives a particular journal, he takes us through the tale of disastrous labour wars, probes their inward intention and practical results, and enables us to see the unity of the movement. The part taken in it by Socialists, Christian Socialists, is conspicuous, and is noted by Mr. Brooks.[1] The reader may also refer to the *Economic Review* on the miners' and Hull strikes. The analogy between the Irish Campaign and the English labour wars is thoroughly drawn out.[2] The landlord is the capitalist; moonlighting finds its parallel in picketing; all the surroundings are the same—and we notice that the priests, *in spite of Rome*, are the leaders of the people. 'Ireland is no parallel' is long become a dead letter. Wales follows Ireland: and the same process of yielding to the same methods of driving is bringing us to the same end in England.

[1] Vol. i. p. 52.

[2] Vol. i. p. 32.

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The value of Professor Flint's book, on the other hand, is in the philosophical analysis with which he presents us, and especially interesting in this are the chapters on the relations to morality and religion. The certain economical effects, and the probability that the issue will be a disastrous civil war, do not here concern us; but Mr. Brooks has stated with great ability all the old demonstrations. As to religion, the Social Democratic Federation is frankly atheist and materialist. 'Christianity is a mere opiate and police agent.' 'Christian Socialism is an inconsistent hybrid.' Socialism is, in fact, a religion to and in itself. Marriage and the Family are effete institutions. In the regenerated State Plato's schemes will be carried out. Mr. Bax admits and glories in it, not without reviling his weaker brethren. Some of the Socialist leaders are Christians, preachers or ex-preachers of various denominations: in France Comte de Mun is the head of a large party; in Austria the Christian Socialists are a prominent factor in politics; of the members of the Christian Social Union, Mr. Headlam at least is prominent in advocating State ownership of the land and of all the instruments of production, and the abolition of interest. 'His Socialism is as undoubted as his Christianity.' Production for Use, not Production for Profit, is their cry. The carrying out of this programme without theft seems to ordinary men an impossibility; Christians who abhor theft are, we presume, reconciled to it by the theories on capital and labour with which Karl Marx has supplied them, and by the indirect methods by which the seizure is to be accomplished. Taxation can bleed legitimately the usurer to death. 'The right to live' can be made the foundation of State aid, pensions, and so forth. 'The right to work'—of which Proudhon said that, if it were conceded, the right to property might be left with the owner—will exhaust capital in feeding the unemployed. Betterments, unearned increments, are still another line to be exploited, and in the Progressive Municipalities, the Parish and County Councils, State ownership may be established by an orderly and constitutional advance.

The immorality of Socialism is not confined to the methods of establishing it: it is a system into which we cannot grow; there can be no evolution towards it; if it comes at all, it will come by violence and confiscation, and these attend each successive step. It propagates envy, cupidity, class-hatred—and in default of violence attains its ends by an unscrupulous use of the democratic political machinery. Were it in itself moral, it can only establish itself by iniquity.

But what is the case with its morality? There is no

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doubt that it is fed by indignation against injustice, by sympathy with the oppressed, by ideals of a higher and better life. Ought these to carry it over to the violent adoption of another system, which will require for its immunity from the like grievous spectacles an immunity from the vices that produced them? By what title are we to believe that a people made up of a proletariate victorious in revolution and of the rulers they have enslaved will co-operate together in a brotherhood of service?

It is an idle dream, and from its very idleness iniquitous. Even though it started fair, personal virtue would be destroyed at the root, for the freedom in which virtue can alone live would be gone. Social virtue or altruism—a spurious instinct of utilitarian benevolence—is the only ideal of Socialists themselves. Charity would be extinct, and justice would be exemplified by giving to every man literally that which was equal. It is impossible to conceive life—social life—under such a system. It could not exist without saints for citizens, or as a stage in development under a paramount religious authority.

Very few Christian Socialists, very few members of the Christian Social Union, we may well believe, are looking forward to such a goal; it is unfortunate that the name has not been renounced; it is unfortunate that a propaganda so detestable has been invested with the fictitious glory of a borrowed and alien ideal. For Christian reformers it has been calamitous—the contagion has infected them. When they preach of 'a better country,' they prate of new agrarian laws and a peasantry prosperous by State-aided agriculture; when they preach of the city that hath the foundations, they picture the Redeemed Chicago; and the pulpit re-echoes the cry of the man in the street, 'We want justice—not charity.' Father Ignatius alone prophesies of the Gift of God; for the rest, 'Social Reform by Public Enactments, and the conversion of the germ by the pressure of environment.'

And then there is severance, from the thing as well as from the name. Dr. T. C. Fry speaks of the consensus of thought leading men to the same conclusion in one or two points of applied ethics, as, *e.g.*, we suppose, on the ethics of wills and right of bequest, on which Dr. Fry is an authority. We do not like a consensus of thought that identifies Christian men with every item in the Programme of the moment; that makes them apologists for picketing and intimidation; that causes them to make use of such coarse epithets as blacklegs, whom they brand as Esaus—false to the brother-

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hood of labour. The common judgment of mankind is that the wave of Socialism that has passed and is passing over the world is one in its inspiration as it is one in its temper, manifestation, and methods. The real causes of it may lie deep in the conditions asking for remedy in society itself, but it is and has been dominated by the spirit of Antichrist. We do not ask that the Church of God should either ignore or condone wrong-doing, but we do ask that she should not lend the weight of her influence to a cause cradled in iniquity, impotent for good, and, at the best, excusable as a blind movement of human vengeance, or terrible even as a retribution from the Lord. Of all the practical work that Christian Socialists have done—and they have done much that will stand in the Day of Judgment—none need have been left undone; in every beneficent enterprise they might have been as deeply engaged as in fact they are. But their influence would have been higher, intenser for good, if, as priests, they had never said a word, never written a line on the complex economical problems *into whose foundations they pretend to search*, casting all things into the mill. Of these, indeed, 'Christ told nothing'—nothing but the plain elements that casuistry undermines; but that He told us nothing for our proper ministry, is false. To lay hold of and control movements in the name of God we have no commission; to do so in our own strength we are ludicrously impotent; to lay hold of sinners in the power of the Holy Ghost—for *that* we have mission, if we have but faith.

The justifications that are sought for from Scripture, either for Socialism or for the general attitude of the Social Union, are sought for in vain. The New Testament is precise: 'Labour not for the meat that perisheth;' 'Seek first the Kingdom of God;' 'Where your treasure is, there will your heart be also;' 'Here we have no abiding city;' 'Who made me a judge and a divider over you?' 'Except a man be born again, he cannot enter the Kingdom of God.' The general tenor and outlook, the whole judgment of the relation of things is different. *Vade retro!* indeed, to the old Papalism; but *Vade retro!* also to him that showeth all the kingdoms of the earth and their glory, from ever so high a mountain, with ever such persuasiveness as the bait for adopting 'the methods of public enactment,' with the 'unavoidable incidents of a campaign for undoubted *rights*.'

But in particular, the care of the Lord and of the Apostles for the sick, the healing miracles, are urged as a sanction for the policy of reform. We have seen that Mr. Hancock

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boldly claims the whole sphere of earthly existence as the sphere of Church work on this very ground. That the body will be redeemed through the grace of Christ we all confess; but we have been wont to confess also that the scene of its redemption is in the resurrection of the just; that the body is just that part of us which we must bring indeed as a Living Sacrifice to God, but which contains in itself the seeds of corruption and death, never to be purged away but by destruction. We look for a new heaven, a new earth, and a glorified body, not on this planet, but in the world to come.

Does Mr Hancock pretend that the Church has mission to heal all bodily ills—sicknesses, poverties, deaths? Verily she would indeed rule the world in that case, and all the people would haste to crown her with sovereignty. 'But He withdrew Himself.'

The place which healing the sick and feeding the body occupy in the Ministry of our Lord is indeed conspicuous: a place of its own, not subsidiary to or a means of attracting hearers to the spiritual Gospel, but a part of the Gospel work itself. Our Lord is busy about it, and He commissions His Apostles expressly to that end at their first sending. Miracles of healing were the prophesied and actual accompaniments of the work of the early Church. But they are miracles, they are exceptional, they are particular mercies. Sickness is taken away from the earth by them no more than death, *and as much as death.* The raising of Lazarus and of Dorcas gives no warrant for a pretence of the Church to have made man immortal, or to be busy with schemes of increasing longevity. That God is Lord over all these things, that He has compassion, that in the new earth they shall be no more: these are the lessons effectively taught. Christ had power to put an end to all sickness, to heal, not a few hundreds, but all; to abolish the germs of disease, and to establish for ever a Health City here. He did not—and there is an end of it. He left us instead the principle of unceasing prayer, and the duty of particular mercifulness.

But, strangely enough, the sick play but a small part in the horizon of the Christian Socialist. Socialism proper, indeed, has a short way with them. But by a curious and characteristic shifting of terms, sickness of the body is treated as a metaphor for sickness of the economic kind. Yet there is not one miracle recorded of making the poor rich—such miracles belong to the *Arabian Nights*, not to the Gospel; the social and political conditions of Judæa were as melancholy at least as our own; and neither details nor general remedial

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measures are even touched upon by our Lord. The cure of all these things lies in the cure of the soul. Whatever hope of amelioration there is will be found in the improvement of character, in the increase of faith. But no amelioration is promised; and the Refreshment of Jesus is independent of any environment but the environment of grace.

We find it urged that charity and the duty of almsgiving involve, on a proper consideration, the whole matter. We have seen already that by the militant Socialism charity is discarded. The poor demand their *rights*. But that the duty of almsgiving is capable of extension into the duty of curing the need of almsgiving is a strange maxim of Christian reformers. Great indeed is the disdain that they have for the old kindly doles, for the liberal giver. But while one agrees with the very wise and Christian words that Canon Gore, Canon Barnett, Mr. Phelps[1] have written on this matter, on the need of more than mere money, the Scriptural view seems too much lost sight of—that in giving, the *giver*, and not *the recipient*, is blessed—the general results are of little importance; the mind of the giver is all in all. The regulation of charity *so that it may be useful* is altogether subordinate to the sanctification of the giver's spirit, *that it may be simple.* Have not priests to do with this, political reformers with the other? And whatever extension be given to the demand on charity for considerateness, can it ever be developed into an active co-operation with disputed economic policies, and a regulation by the Church of all the social order?

We are not commissioned to make whole the body politic; we are bidden in love to bind up its wounds. But the Good Samaritan in these days scoffs at the old mercies, and prefers to electric-light the road to Jericho and establish police out of rates.

That any system of Socialism was established at Pentecost is manifestly absurd. The money paid unto the Apostles was not for use in production, but for distribution in charity. Men went on earning their living with their hands if they were able; in the special difficulties of their position they helped one another as they could. It was a great manifestation of brotherhood, love; but it was not Socialism.

[1] Mr. Phelps's article on 'Old Age Pensions' (*Econ. Review*, October 1893) is one of the few practically useful papers signed by a clergyman that we find in the *Economic Review*, which is full of interesting matter, written and edited with ability, but which could very well spare much of the assistance that, so far as the signatures tell us, is given by clerics.

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We take from Mr. Brooks (ii. 294) this citation from Bishop Latimer:

'When I say "Give us this day our daily bread," I pray not for myself only, if I ask as He biddeth me, but I pray for all others. Wherefore I say not "Our Father, give me this day my daily bread." For because God is not my God alone. And here we be admonished to be friendly, loving, and charitable one to another; for what God giveth, I cannot say "This is mine," but I must say "This is ours." For the rich man cannot say "This is mine: God hath given it me for mine own use. Nor yet hath the poor man any title unto it to take it away from me." No, the poor man may not do so; for when he doeth it he is a thief before God and man. But yet the poor man hath title to the rich man's goods, so that the rich man ought to let the poor man have part of his riches to help and comfort him withal.

'And here I have occasion to speak of the proprieties of things; for I fear if I should leave it so, some of you would report me wrongfully, and affirm that all things should be common. I say not so. Certain it is that God hath ordained proprieties of things, so that which is mine is not thine. If all things were common, there could be no theft, and so the commandment were vain. Things are not so common that any man may take my goods from me, for this is theft; but they are so common that we ought to distribute to the poor. There was a certain manner of having things in common in the time of the Apostles; for Barnabas and other good men sold their land and brought the money to the Apostles. But that was done for this cause: there was a great many of the Christian people treated very ill, insomuch that they lived before God; these came to the Apostles for aid and help, and the faithful sold what they had that the money might be spent among the poor.'

To build upon this foundation any Socialism as either fact or ideal is nevertheless not impossible for vague and nebulous enthusiasts; but the whole principle, as the good bishop lays it down, is fatal to all the modern methods. All secular arrangements are entirely beside it. The principles that govern them are providence and justice. The principles that govern the other are mercy and charity. The confusion of the two spheres inevitably spoils both. Public enactment has no business with charity. The Church, on the other hand, tempers justice with charity, and she may even, for her members, find a limit below which, as a rule, the concrete evidence of charity may not fall; in providing for her own poor she is within her sphere; so doing she helps the State; in urging the State to public enactments for the maintenance and relief and betterment of the poor by taxation she is untrue to herself, officious to the State, and injurious to both.

To find employment for the unemployed; again, to give

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them work for mercy's sake, is charity. To urge the State to do so is officiously to volunteer political wisdom. The State does these things on necessity for her own preservation: to do them from charity is to do charity at the cost of justice. To erect charity into a legal system involves ruin for all citizens, or it involves the State organizing labour and conducting industries and trades. The militant Socialism claims even in its instant Programme of the moment a 'right to work.' The claim is subversive of Scripture. If all men had a 'right to work' in the Socialist sense, charity could not exist. To call the advocacy of this claim charity is a contradiction in terms.

A 'living wage,' again, is an accepted formula of opportunist Socialism, till all wages be abolished. Christians who support it in the name of the Church, who pledge the faith to its justice, have entangled the Church in the discussion of an economic problem on which the Church has nothing to say. To oppress the hireling in his wages is a sin. To give to him that which is right is a duty. That a wage-earner could live on his earnings and have something over for almsgiving is assumed in Scripture. But the determination of particular justice depends upon particular facts. Mr. Rashdall, therefore, thinks that the new casuistry must investigate those facts. The casuistry, however, of Christian morals exists only for the guidance of Christian men, not for the formulation of general rights. The Christian employer from the axioms of Christian duty would come to the 'applied ethics' of his own business with infinitely truer touch than the priest or the canonist. The business of the priest is with the axioms, with the conversion of the man's soul, with the assurance to him of the Spirit of counsel, not with the directing of his business. Far less is it the office of the priest to be occupied in constructing particular rules of Christian conduct with a view to enforcing them as the rules of civil life. He does a double injury: he provides on the one side a traditional minimum for the Christian, and tempts him to shelter himself therein; he imposes, on the other hand, that minimum on the unbeliever as a yoke too hard to be borne, depriving him unjustly of natural rights.

Professor Flint in his conscientious treatment of this matter rightly thinks a knowledge of the industrial movement a necessary part of the priest's equipment. Yes; but not a technical knowledge—a knowledge sufficient to give reality to the Gospel in his application of it. Bishop Latimer knew the economic conditions of his time; so did Dr. Spurgeon.

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But the knowledge is subordinate to the Gospel: it is of use, not for determining policies, but for the conviction of sin and the encouragement of virtue. The duties of men, the ideals of goodness, the roots of iniquity, the sources of goodness, lie easy and close at hand. Few are the problems that are hard with the Scriptures for guide, the Spirit for Paraclete. Far more can be done with the capitalist, the landlord, the labourer, by simple homilies from these, than from all that we can learn of the origin of capital, the title to land, or the true theory of wages. The wandering of Christianity from its ideal has not been due to the lack of casuistry, and casuistry will not bear it back: only torment scrupulous souls, perplex simple ones, and magnify for a little space once more the office of the scribe.

Thus, looking back to the past, the Church has 'guided the upward march of men,' by inspiration, not legislation. Men—and Christian Socialists especially—are fond of recalling its great days, when it was shelter, ruler, champion. A halo of glory is round about it in truth; civilization it has fostered and made; but all this it has done because it sought it not. In the days of its humility, when it laboured for souls alone, it prospered, and its hand was full of bounty. In the days of its power, it became as one of the kingdoms of the world, and the fate of all earthly kingdoms fell upon it. The crown that it usurped it lost, and it is that crown and its recovery that still tempts and still allures.

ART. IV.—SIR RICHARD OWEN.

1. *The Life of Richard Owen.* By his Grandson, the Rev. RICHARD OWEN, M.A., with the Scientific Portions revised by C. DAVIES SHERBORN, and an Essay on Owen's Position in Anatomical Science by the Right Hon. T. H. HUXLEY, F.R.S. Second edition, 2 vols. (London, 1895.)
2. *Richard Owen.* (Article in the *Dictionary of National Biography*, vol. xlii.) By Sir W. H. FLOWER, K.C.B. (London, 1895.)

A SCIENTIFIC naturalist who lived in England in the second quarter of this present century may be accounted a fortunate man. On the one hand was the vast field of the universe, undivided, unallotted; on the other, a public eager for instruction. At the present day, when men go to and fro, and

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knowledge is increased, we find it hard to realize the isolation of England until after the close of the great war, or the fear of invasion that absorbed men's thoughts until after Trafalgar. That fear removed, the modern development of the nation began. The number of those who resorted to the Universities increased by leaps and bounds. Public school life, as we understand it, was developed. As a natural consequence, the flower of the English youth were no longer content with the knowledge that had satisfied their fathers and grandfathers. The old paths were too narrow for them. The convulsions which had shaken the continent had not been without their effect even here; and when Europe was again open, account had to be taken of the work of Continental thinkers. Their achievements must be mastered, continued, developed. It was allowed on all hands, except by that small class who can neither learn nor forget, that the time for a new departure in scientific education had arrived. It was the good fortune of Richard Owen to be ready just when he was wanted, to take occasion by the hand, and become the leader in biological research.

How did he effect this? How did a young man, launched on the great world of London with no powerful connexions,

> 'Break his birth's invidious bar,
> And grasp the skirts of happy chance,
> And breast the blows of circumstance,
> And grapple with his evil star?'

To take a metaphor from our representative system, Owen was the member for biological science in the parliament of letters for nearly half a century. And yet he was not a great thinker; his name is not associated with any far-reaching generalization, or any theory fruitful of wide results. As a comparative anatomist, and as a paleontologist, he did plenty of good and solid work. But these pursuits are most commonly those of a recluse. The man who engages in them must be content, as a general rule, with the four walls of his laboratory, and the applause of a small circle of experts. Not so Professor Owen, as he was most commonly designated, even after he had received knighthood. He contrived to lead an essentially public life; to be seen everywhere; to have his last paper talked about in fashionable drawing-rooms quite as much as in learned societies. We think that the answer to our question is to be found—first, in the general eagerness for scientific instruction which was one of the characteristics of the age in which he lived; and, secondly,

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in his own many-sidedness. He was by no means one of those authors 'who are all author,' against whom Byron launched some of his most brilliant sarcasms. He was a man of science; but he was also a polished gentleman of varied accomplishments.

It is much to be regretted that such a man should not have found a biographer who would have done him justice. We have read *The Life of Richard Owen* with great care, and are reluctantly compelled to state that it is, without exception, the very worst account of a remarkable man that has come under our notice. What a chance have the writers thrown away! How valuable, how picturesque a narrative might have been composed, if only the task had fallen into competent hands! As it is we have to content ourselves with a curious collection of odds and ends—fragments of scientific papers, snippets from Mrs. Owen's diary (edited and written up to date), extracts from newspapers and magazines, with here and there a letter, all flung together without method and without accuracy—not as part of an historic record, but apparently with the frivolous intention of enumerating the number of titled persons whom the subject of it had met and the diverse societies he was thrown into. The reader who reaches the end of the second volume will be rewarded by a masterly essay by Mr. Huxley on Owen's place in science. This is a remarkable composition; not merely for what it says, but for what it does not say; and we recommend those who would understand it thoroughly, not merely to read it more than once, but to cultivate the useful art of reading between the lines. Of a very different nature to *The Life of Owen* is the article which Sir W. H. Flower has contributed to the *Dictionary of National Biography*. It is of necessity much compressed, but it contains all that is really essential for the proper comprehension of Owen's scientific career, and praise and blame are meted out with calm impartiality. For ourselves, we have a sincere admiration for Owen, but an admiration which does not exclude a readiness to admit that he had some defects. In what we are about to say we do not propose to draw a fancy portrait. If we nothing extenuate, we shall set down naught in malice. In a word, we shall try to present him as he was, not as he might have been.

Richard Owen was born at Lancaster on July 20, 1804. His father was a West India merchant; his mother, Catherine Parrin, was descended from a French Huguenot family. She

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is said to have been a woman of refinement and intelligence, with great skill in music, a talent which she transmitted to her son. In appearance she was handsome and Spanish-looking, with dark eyes and hair. Owen delighted to dwell on his mother's charm of manner, and on all that he owed to her early training and example. We can well believe this, and the Life is full of touching references to her solicitude for her darling son. The interest she felt in all that he did led her even to read through his scientific papers and his catalogue of the Hunterian collection, with what profit to herself we are not informed. Her husband died in 1809; but the family seem to have been left in fairly affluent circumstances, and continued to live, as before, at Lancaster. Owen's education began at the grammar-school there in 1810, when he was six years old, and ended in 1820, when he was apprenticed to a local surgeon. Of his school-days but little record has been preserved. One of the masters described him as lazy and impudent; he is said to have had no fondness for study of any kind except heraldry; and his sister used to relate that as a boy he was 'very small and slight, and exceedingly mischievous.' One of his schoolfellows was William Whewell, afterwards the well-known master of Trinity College, Cambridge. He had occasion to thrash Owen's elder brother; but Owen himself bore no ill-will to the inflictor of this chastisement, and remained on terms of friendly intercourse with him till his death in 1866.

Those who value the records of boyhood for the sake of traces of the tastes which made the man celebrated will be rewarded by the perusal of the pages which record Owen's four years as a surgeon's apprentice at Lancaster. Not only will they find that he worked diligently at the curative side of his profession, but that, his master being surgeon to the gaol, he had the opportunity of attending post-mortem examinations, and so laid the foundation of his knowledge of the structure of the human frame. Here too we catch a glimpse of the future comparative anatomist; but the story of 'The Negro's Head,' as Owen used to tell it himself, is unfortunately too long for quotation and too good to be spoilt by abbreviation.

In October 1824 Owen matriculated at the University of Edinburgh. There, in addition to the courses that were obligatory, he attended the 'outside' lectures in comparative anatomy delivered by Dr. John Barclay. From these he derived the greatest benefit, and used in after-years to speak of Barclay, with affectionate regard, as 'my revered preceptor.'

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It is noteworthy that while at Edinburgh Owen and one of his friends founded a students' society, which at his suggestion was called, by a sort of prophetic instinct, the Hunterian Society. Barclay must have decided very quickly that he had to do with no common pupil, for at the end of April 1825, when Owen had been barely six months in Edinburgh, he advised him to move to St. Bartholomew's Hospital, London, and study under Dr. Abernethy, then near the close of his brilliant but eccentric career. Armed with a letter of introduction from Barclay, Owen set out for London, where he had 'literally not one single friend.' No wonder that he felt 'an indescribable sense of desolation' as he walked up Holborn, and that 'the number of strange faces that kept passing by increased that feeling.' What happened next is very characteristic of that strange mixture of roughness and kindness which was natural to his new patron.

'Abernethy had just finished lecturing, and was evidently in anything but the best of tempers, being surrounded by a small crowd of students waiting about to ask him questions. Owen was just screwing up his courage to attack this formidable personage and state his business, when Abernethy suddenly turned upon him and said: "And what do you want?" After presenting the letter Abernethy glanced at it for a moment, stuffed it into his pocket, and vouchsafed the gracious reply of "Oh!" As this did not seem to point to anything very definite, Owen was turning to go, when Abernethy called after him: "Here; come to breakfast to-morrow morning at eight," and presenting him with his card, added, "That's my address." What were the terms in which Dr. Barclay had spoken of him Owen never knew, but he thought they must have been favourable, for when he presented himself next morning at Abernethy's residence, and was anticipating anything but an agreeable *tête-à-tête* with the great doctor, he found him, to his surprise, considerably smoothed down and quite pleasant in his manner. The result of the meeting was that Abernethy offered him the post of prosector for his lectures' (i. 30).

A year later (August 18, 1826) Owen obtained membership of the College of Surgeons, and set up as a medical practitioner in Carey Street, Lincoln's Inn Fields, where he gradually obtained a small practice among lawyers.

We have no wish to underrate Owen's brilliant talents, or his perseverance, or his power of sustained work with a definite end in view; but at the same time it would be absurd to deny that he had good-fortune to thank for a large part of his first successes. What else made Abernethy, at their first interview, give him just the appointment best calculated to bring his peculiar gifts into the light of day? What else

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made the same patron procure his appointment, two years later, as assistant-conservator of the Hunterian collections, out of which all his future celebrity was developed? He might have been 'exceedingly well informed in all that relates to his profession, an excellent anatomist, and sober and sedate very far beyond any young man I ever knew,' as one who was in a position to know said of him in 1830, and yet have 'bloomed unseen,' an obscure practitioner in 'the dusky purlieus of the law,' had not the fickle goddess selected him as the special recipient of her favours.

Owen's active life in London divides itself naturally into two periods, each containing nearly thirty years. The first, during which he was connected with the Royal College of Surgeons, extended from 1827 to 1856; the second, during which he was nominally superintendent of the biological side of the British Museum, from 1856 to 1883.

Those who would rightly understand his work during the former period must of necessity take into account the history and extent of the vast collection which he was expected to catalogue and to develop, for it dominated and directed all his studies. It was formed by the celebrated surgeon, John Hunter, between 1763 and 1793, in which year he died. In studying it one is at a loss what to admire most—the beauty of the specimens themselves, and the admirable clearness with which those preserved in spirit have been dissected and mounted; or the labour and self-denial which brought them together in the midst of the incessant occupations of a large practice; or the almost prophetic instinct which divined what posterity would require in the way of such aids to study. It was Hunter's object to illustrate the phenomena of life in all organisms, whether in health or in disease. For this purpose he collected as widely as he could. There is an osteological series, and a physiological series (in spirit) which exhibits the different organs, digestive, circulatory, and the like, in order, and traces their development from the simplest to the most complicated form. To the Invertebrata he had devoted special attention. He had secured, through his friend Sir Joseph Banks, many of the treasures collected during Cook's voyages; and he had purchased rarities as occasion offered. Of insects he had a large collection. Nor were his observations limited to the animal kingdom. Whenever any physiological process could be illustrated by vegetable life, vegetables were pressed into the service. Nor did he fail to recognize the truth—which some persons still refuse to accept—that the remains of extinct animals are only in their proper place when side by side with

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those still living on the earth. 'His collection of fossils,' says Owen in one of his prefaces, 'was the largest and most select of any in this country.'

To contain this collection Hunter had built a special museum in Castle Street, Leicester Square, which was open to public inspection on certain days. After his death his executors, in accordance with his will, offered the collection to the Government. 'Buy preparations?' exclaimed Mr. Pitt; 'why, I have not money enough for gunpowder!' Ultimately, however, the House of Commons agreed to give 15,000*l.* for it, just one-fifth of the sum that Hunter is said to have spent upon it. Next arose the further question, who should take care of it. The Royal Society, it is said, did not consider it 'an object of importance to the general study of natural history;' the British Museum was literary, not scientific; and finally, in 1799, the Corporation of Surgeons, as it was then called, accepted it, with the condition that a proper catalogue should be made, a conservator appointed, and twenty-four lectures in explanation of it delivered annually in the college. Soon afterwards the Corporation of Surgeons became the Royal College of Surgeons, and a building, to which Parliament contributed 27,500*l.*, was built for its reception. This was opened in 1813.

When Owen was appointed assistant-conservator of these collections thirty-three years had elapsed since Hunter's death. During that time they had been preserved from damage by the devoted care of Mr. William Clift, who, after being Hunter's assistant for a short time, had been appointed conservator, first by the executors, and subsequently by the College. The general arrangement had been prescribed by Hunter, but no descriptive catalogue existed, as it had been, unfortunately, Hunter's habit to trust the history of his specimens to memory. Further, though lists, more or less imperfect, drawn up either by Hunter himself or under his direction, had been preserved, the bulk of his papers had been destroyed by Sir Everard Home, his brother-in-law and executor. 'There is but one thing more to be done—to destroy the collection,' was Clift's remark when he heard of this act of cynical wickedness. In the scarcity, therefore, of documentary evidence, other expedients had to be resorted to for the identification of the specimens which Hunter had dissected or had preserved entire in spirit. As Owen remarks in the preface to the first volume of his descriptive catalogue (published in 1833), 'it was necessary to consult the book of Nature.' At first it was no easy matter to procure the animals required;

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but after the establishment of the Zoological Society this difficulty was in a great measure removed, and more than two hundred dissections were made by Owen in the course of the work incident to the preparation of the first volume of the catalogue.

This sketch of the Hunterian collections, which we would gladly have worked out in greater detail had our space allowed us to do so, will perhaps be sufficient to indicate to our readers the nature of the field of research on which Owen was about to enter. It was, in fact, an undiscovered country, of which he was to be the pioneer. One would like to know whether he had any idea of what the work he was about to undertake implied; and whether he had any misgivings as to his own fitness for it. He was only twenty-four years old, so perhaps, as youth is sanguine, he entered upon it with a light heart, thinking—if he paused to think—that he had strength of will sufficient to compensate for defect of years and knowledge. 'On vieillit vite sur les champs de bataille.' His previous training must have been in the main professional; he could have gained at most only a glimpse of comparative anatomy at the feet of Dr. Barclay; the great writers on the subject, Buffon, Daubenton, Cuvier, and the rest, must have been mere names to him. Moreover, he was obliged, for lucre's sake, to continue the profession of a surgeon, and though he gradually dropped it, he must, for some time at least, have spent a good deal of time over it. Besides this, he probably assisted Clift in the brief catalogue of the Hunterian collections that appeared between 1833 and 1840. But while thus engaged he found time for study. For three years he attempted no original work; but when he did begin to write (his first paper is dated November 9, 1830), it is evident that the previous years had been spent in wise preparation. There is no trace of the novice in the papers that followed each other in quick succession; they evince a complete mastery of the subject from the historical, as well as from the anatomical, side. The mere number of these communications, addressed principally to the Zoological Society, is almost past belief. Before the end of 1855 more than 250 had appeared, many of which were of considerable length, and enriched with elaborate drawings made by himself. But what is more surprising still is the versatility displayed in their composition. Nowadays a biologist is compelled to specialize. By 'the custom of the country,' to borrow a legal phrase, he selects his own subject, and is expected not to poach on that of his neighbours. But when

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Owen began to work, these laws existed not, or at any rate not for him. The very nature of his work obliged him to study in quick succession the most diverse structures; and, as death does not accommodate itself to human convenience, he could not tell from day to day what animals would be sent from the Zoological Gardens to his dissecting-room. An excellent bibliography of his works at the end of the second volume of the *Life* enables us to trace his studies in detail. For our present purpose we will only point out that between 1831 and 1835 he had written papers (among many others) on the orang-outang, beaver, Thibet bear, gannet, armadillo, seal, kangaroo, tapir, cercopithecus, crocodile, toucan, hornbill, pelican, flamingo, besides various Invertebrates.

While Owen was preparing himself for his serious attack on the catalogue an event occurred which had an important influence on his scientific development. Cuvier came to England to collect materials for his work on fishes, and naturally visited the Hunterian collection. Owen has preserved a singularly modest account of his introduction to the great French naturalist:

'In the year 1830 I made Cuvier's personal acquaintance at the Museum of the College of Surgeons, and was specially deputed to show and explain to him such specimens as he wished to examine. There was no special merit in my being thus deputed, the fact being that I was the only person available who could speak French, and who had at the same time some knowledge of the specimens. Cuvier kindly invited me to visit the Jardin des Plantes in the following year' (i. 49).

Accordingly, Owen spent the month of August 1831 in Paris. It has been frequently stated, says his biographer, that Cuvier and his collection 'made a great impression on Owen, and gave a direction to his after-studies of fossil remains,' a position which he contests on the ground that neither Owen's diary nor letters describing his visit warrant such a conclusion. We do not attach much importance to this argument, but we feel certain that the Museum of the Jardin des Plantes, from its unfortunate subdivision into departments widely separated structurally from each other, could not have stimulated anybody in that particular direction. That Cuvier was, to a very large extent, Owen's master in comparative anatomy is undeniable; he quotes him with respect, not to say with reverence, in almost every page of his writings, and the 'Prix Cuvier' adjudged to him in 1857 probably gave him more pleasure than all his other distinctions. Cuvier's method, as set forth in *Les Ossemens*

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Fossiles, of illustrating and explaining extinct animals by comparison with recent was closely followed by his illustrious disciple. But this might easily have been accomplished—and in our judgment was accomplished—by a study of his works at home. On the other hand, Owen has recorded in the most unequivocal terms in what direction Cuvier did exert a special influence upon him. In his *Anatomy of Vertebrates* (iii. 786), published in 1868, he says:

'At the close of my studies at the Jardin des Plantes, Paris, in 1831, I returned strongly moved to lines of research bearing upon the then prevailing phases of thought on some general biological questions.

'The great Master in whose dissecting-rooms, as well as in the public galleries of comparative anatomy, I was privileged to work, held that "species were not permanent"; and taught this great and fruitful truth, not doubtfully or hypothetically, but as a fact established inductively on a wide and well-laid basis of observation.'

Further, Owen had the opportunity of listening to some of the debates between Cuvier and Geoffroy Saint-Hilaire on the question of how new species may originate; and 'on returning home,' he adds, 'I was guided in all my work with the hope or endeavour to gain inductive grounds for conclusions on these great questions.' Here, then, was the definite educational result which Owen gained from this visit. It had, moreover, another. It made him known to the French naturalists, then in the front rank of science. His scientific acquirements, coupled with his agreeable manners and facility in speaking and writing French, made him a *persona grata* in Paris. In 1839 he was elected a corresponding member of the Institute, and read more than one paper there in French.

We have already mentioned the long line of scientific papers which, from 1830 onwards, were the result of Owen's indomitable energy. This series was now to be interrupted for a moment by the famous *Memoir on the Pearly Nautilus*, a quarto volume of sixty-eight pages, illustrated by eight plates, drawn by himself. The shell of the nautilus, as most persons know, has always been fairly common; but the animal which was given to the Museum of the College of Surgeons in 1831 was, we believe, the first, or nearly the first, which had ever reached this country, and Owen was most fortunate in having the chance of describing such a rarity. His essay, elaborate and exhaustive as it is, was dashed off in less than a year. It was received with a general chorus of praise. Dr. Buckland spoke of it as 'Mr. Owen's admirable work,' and they were soon in correspondence on

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the way in which the nautilus sinks and rises in the water. Milne Edwards translated it into French, and Oken into German. Nor has the contemporary verdict been reversed by that of posterity. Mr. Huxley says of the *Memoir* that it

'placed its author, at a bound, in the first rank of monographers. There is nothing better in the *Mémoires sur les Mollusques*, I would even venture to say nothing so good, were it not that Owen had Cuvier's great work for a model; certainly, in the sixty years that have elapsed since the publication of this remarkable monograph it has not been excelled' (ii. 306).

This essay seems to have given Owen a taste for the group to which the nautilus belongs. At the conclusion of the *Memoir* he proposed a new arrangement of it, now generally accepted, which includes the fossil as well as the recent forms; and, as occasion presented itself, he described other species and genera. The merits of a memoir on the fossil group called 'belemnites,' from the Oxford Clay, was the cause assigned for the award to him of the gold medal of the Royal Society in 1846.

Between 1833 and 1840 the long-desired catalogue, in five quarto volumes, made its appearance. Sir William Flower calls it 'monumental'; a singularly happy epithet, for it commemorates, as a monument should do, alike the founder of the Museum and the industrious anatomist who had minutely described the four thousand specimens of which the 'physiological series'—or, as we should now call it, the series of organs—then consisted. Nor, though the arrangement is now obsolete, can the work itself be regarded as without value, even to-day. It has already served as a model for the catalogues of many other museums, and has taken its place in the literature of the subject. It is, in fact, an elaborate treatise on comparative anatomy from the point of view of the modifications of special organs. The thirteen years spent over it can hardly appear an excessively long time when we remember the work involved, and also the fact that the College had from the first recognized the duty of filling up gaps in the collection as occasion offered. Many of the specimens recorded in this catalogue had been prepared by Owen himself.

During the years that Owen had been working at the catalogue his position at the College of Surgeons was gradually becoming assured. He had begun as assistant-curator at 120*l.* a year, but with no prospects, as the place of curator was expected to be given to Mr. Clift's son on his father's retirement. But in 1832 the younger Clift died suddenly from the effects of an accident, and Owen remained as sole assistant

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at 200*l.* In July 1833 his salary was raised to 300*l.*, and in 1835 he was enabled to marry Caroline Clift, Mr. Clift's only daughter. From this time until 1852, when the Queen gave him the delightful cottage at Sheen which he lived in till his death, he had apartments within the building of the College of Surgeons. They were small, and inconvenient in many ways. Owen was in the habit of turning his study into a dissecting-room, and his wife's diary contains many amusing references to the pervading odours caused by the examination of a rhinoceros or an elephant, or to such disturbances as the following: 'Great trampling and rushing upstairs past our bedroom door. Asked Richard if the men were dancing the polka on the stairs. He said, "No; what you hear is the body being carried upstairs. They are dissecting for fellowship to-day!"' But, on the other hand, the proximity to the library and the museum, which he could enter at any hour of the night or day, must have greatly helped one who worked so incessantly. Ultimately, in 1842, Owen became sole curator, with Mr. Quekett as his assistant. This was, no doubt, a dignified position, but it had its drawbacks. Owen's golden time at the College was the period between 1827 and 1842, when the business details were taken off his hands by the painstaking and methodical Clift. After 1842 he was held responsible, as curators usually are, for much that he regarded as irksome routine. This he performed in a perfunctory fashion that did not please the Council, and difficulties arose between that body and their distinguished servant which time only rendered more acute. It may be that the Council were not sufficiently sensible of the honour reflected upon the College by possessing 'the first anatomist of the age'; and Owen, on his side, may have been too fond of doing work which brought 'grist to the mill,' and applause, and troops of friends, without being directly connected with the College. However this may have been, it is beyond dispute that Owen's removal, in 1856, to the British Museum, was a fortunate solution of a difficulty which otherwise would probably have ended in an explosion.

It has been already mentioned that when the Hunterian Museum was entrusted to the care of the College of Surgeons it had been stipulated that its contents should be illustrated by an annual course of twenty-four lectures. Up to 1836 this course had been divided between the professors of anatomy and surgery; but in that year Owen was appointed first Hunterian Professor of Comparative Anatomy and Physiology. To the last days of his life he constantly referred

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to the pleasure which this appointment gave him when first conferred upon him; nor did this feeling wear off as time went on. He gave his lectures regularly, with the same keen interest and thoroughness of preparation, down to 1855. At first he confined himself strictly to his prescribed subject; but gradually he widened his field, and introduced whatever views or subjects happened to be interesting him. Most of the lectures were worked up into books afterwards. He was an admirable lecturer—in fact, he was better as a lecturer than as a writer; for it must be confessed that his scientific style is often pedantic and cramped, and he seems to use words rather for the sake of concealing his thoughts than of imparting them. It is interesting to learn what pains he took with his early lectures—how he rehearsed them to his wife, or to a friend, till he got used to the work, and could estimate exactly how much would fill the allotted hour. We cannot refrain from quoting Mrs. Owen's account of the first lecture:

'So busy all the morning; had hardly time to be nervous, luckily for me. R. robed in the drawing-room, and took some egg and wine before going into the theatre. He then went in and left me. At five o'clock a great noise of clapping made me jump, for I timed the lecture to last a quarter of an hour longer; but R., it seems, cut it short rather than tire Sir Astley Cooper too much. All went off as well as even I could wish. The theatre crammed, and there were many who could not get places. R. was more collected than he or I ever supposed, and gave this awful first lecture almost to his own satisfaction! We sat down a large party to dinner. Mr. Langshaw and R. afterwards played two of Corelli's sonatas' (i. 109).

These lectures, more than anything that he wrote, made Owen famous, and procured for him a passport into society. To understand this, which appears almost a phenomenon at the present day, it must be remembered that the lecture-mania had not become one of the common diseases of humanity in 1836, and that it was still considered proper for great people to play the part of Mæcenas to those who were distinguished in science or in letters. Hence, when the news spread abroad that a young and hitherto unknown lecturer was discoursing eloquently on a new subject in a building which few had heard of and none had seen, curiosity carried fashion into Lincoln's Inn Fields, and certain dukes and earls, who cultivated a taste for natural history *dans leur moments perdus*, set the example of sitting at the feet of the new Gamaliel; more serious persons followed, and by-and-by a Hallam, a Carlyle, and a Wilberforce might be seen side by side with the lights of medicine and surgery.

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To most men the work which these lectures, together with the catalogue, entailed, would have been sufficient. But Owen loved diversity of occupations; and one of his fortunate accidents presently threw an attractive palæontological subject in his way. It happened in this wise. Readers of the *Life of Charles Darwin* will remember his disappointment, on his return home from the now classic voyage of the *Beagle*, to find that zoologists cared but little for his collections; that, in fact, Lyell and Owen were the only two who wished to possess any of his specimens. The latter, who had been introduced to him by the former, was not slow to grasp the scientific value of the extinct animals whose bones Darwin had dug with his own hands out of the fluviatile deposits of South America. He began with a huge skull—'the head of an animal equalling in size the hippopotamus'—and described it before the Geological Society, in 1837, under the name of *Toxodon platensis*.

'It is worthy of notice,' Mr. Huxley points out, 'that in the title of this memoir there follow, after the name of the species, the words "referable by its dentition to the Rodentia, but with affinities to the Pachydermata and the herbivorous Cetacea," indicating the importance in the mind of the writer of the fact that, like Cuvier's *Anoplotherium* and *Palæotherium*, *Toxodon* occupied a position between groups which, in existing Nature, are now widely separated' (ii. 308).

The same writer points out that this 'maiden essay in palæontology possesses great interest' from another point of view, for 'it is with reference to Owen's report on *Toxodon* that Darwin remarks in his *Journal*: "How wonderfully are the different orders, at the present time so well separated, blended together in different points in the structure of *Toxodon*."' Soon afterwards Owen described the rest of Darwin's fossil specimens in the geological part of *The Zoology of the 'Beagle' Voyage*. Two years later, in 1839, a second and still more sensational *trouvaille* came into his hands. A fragment of bone was offered for sale to the College of Surgeons, with the statement that it had been obtained in New Zealand from a native, who said that it was the bone of a great extinct eagle. Out of this fragment there ultimately grew that phalanx of huge extinct birds to which Owen gave the name of *Dinornis* (bird of wonder), on which he occupied himself till his death. His recognition of the true origin of this fragment was, no doubt, a wonderful instance of his osteological sagacity; but it is a misrepresentation of fact to say that he evolved the whole of an extinct bird out of a fragment

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of bone six inches long. What he did do, and how he did it, shall be told in his own words:

'As soon as I was at leisure I took the bone to the skeleton of the ox, expecting to verify my first surmise [that it was a marrow-bone, like those brought to table wrapped in a napkin]; but, with some resemblance to the shaft of the thigh-bone, there were precluding differences. From the ox's humerus, which also affords the tavern delicacy, the discrepancy of shape was more marked. Still, led by the thickness of the wall of the marrow-cavity, I proceeded to compare the bone with similar-sized portions of the skeletons of the various quadrupeds which might have been introduced and have left their remains in New Zealand; but it was clearly unconformable with any such portions.

'In the course of these comparisons I noted certain obscure superficial markings on the bone, which recalled to mind similar ones which I had observed on the surface of the long bones in some large birds. Thereupon I proceeded with it to the skeleton of the ostrich. The bone tallied in point of size with the shaft of the thigh-bone in that bird, but was markedly different in shape. There were, however, the same superficial reticulate impressions on the ostrich's femur which had caught my attention in the exhaustive comparison previously made with the mammalian bones.

'In short, stimulated to more minute and extended examinations, I arrived at the conviction that the specimen had come from a bird, that it was the shaft of a thigh-bone, and that it must have formed part of the skeleton of a bird as large as, if not larger than, the full-sized male ostrich, with this more striking difference, that whereas the femur of the ostrich, like that of the rhea and the eagle, is pneumatic, or contains air, the present huge bird's bone had been filled with marrow, like that of a beast.'[1]

The suggestion was received with sceptical astonishment, and the paper in which Owen announced it to the Zoological Society (November 12, 1839) narrowly escaped exclusion from the *Transactions* of that body on the ground of its improbability. But confirmation was not slow to arrive, though in a direction that was not then expected. The bone was not fossilized; it was therefore naturally concluded that there existed somewhere in New Zealand—then but partially explored—a race of birds of gigantic stature and struthious affinities. We have no space to tell the story of the extinction of the moa, as the natives call it—surely the most weird and curious of all 'the fairy-tales of science'; but to Owen certainly belongs the credit of having been the first to point the way to the great discovery. No work of his created so much excitement. Society, headed by Prince Albert, hurried to inspect the huge remains, of which a large series soon

[1] *Extinct Wingless Birds of New Zealand*, Preface, p. 1.

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reached this country, and to be introduced to the fortunate necromancer at whose bidding a phantom procession of strange creatures had suddenly stepped out of the past into the present.

From this time forward Owen continued to pay as much attention to extinct as to recent animals, as his numerous publications testify. The work fascinated and excited him.

'There was no hunt,' he declared, 'so exciting, so full of interest, and so satisfactory when events prove one to have been on the right scent, as that of a huge beast which no eye will ever see alive, and which, perhaps, no mortal eye ever did behold. Such a chase is not ended in a day, in a week, nor in a season. One's interest is revived and roused year by year as bit by bit of the petrified portions of the skeleton comes to hand. Thirty such years elapsed before I was able to outline a restoration of *Diprotodon Australis*' [the gigantic extinct kangaroo].

In 1841 appeared his '*Description of the Skeleton of an Extinct Gigantic Sloth* (*Mylodon robustus*), with observations on the osteology, natural affinities, and probable habits of the megatheroid quadrupeds in general'—'a masterpiece both of anatomical description and of reasoning and inference,' as Sir W. Flower calls it. He demonstrated its affinities with the sloths on osteological and dental grounds, and then reasoned out its habits from its configuration; showing that a creature so vast could not have ascended trees, but must have pulled them down to browse on them at its leisure. Then came the work on British Fossil Mammals and Birds, with a long series of memoirs on forms discovered in all parts of the world, growing in importance as fresh materials, attracted by his own reputation, poured in; on the Triassic Labyrinthodonts of Central England; on the extinct fauna of South Africa and Australia; on the Reptiles of the Wealden and other formations in England, published by the Palæontographical Society, of which he was one of the first and most ardent supporters; on the *Archæopteryx* from Solenhofen; on the Great Auk; and on the Dodo, one of the representations of which, in an old Dutch picture, he had the good fortune to discover. It is, indeed, as Mr. Huxley remarks, 'a splendid record: enough, and more than enough, to justify the high place in the scientific world which Owen so long occupied.'

These researches did not pass unrewarded. In 1838 the Geological Society gave Owen the Wollaston Gold Medal for his work on Darwin's collections, and it happened, by a fortunate coincidence, that Whewell, his fellow-townsman, occupied the chair on the occasion. In subsequent years he was

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twice invited to be president of that society; but on both occasions he was compelled to decline. Next, in 1841, Sir Robert Peel offered him a pension of 200*l.* from the Civil List, protesting in a very gracious letter that he knew nothing about his political opinions, but merely wished 'to encourage that devotion to science for which you are so eminently distinguished.' This offer, which was gratefully accepted, laid the foundation of an intercourse between Owen and Sir Robert which ripened by-and-by into something like friendship. Dinners in London were succeeded by visits to Drayton, at one of which Owen amused the company with a microscope which he had brought with him (of course quite accidentally); and, finally, his portrait was painted for the gallery there, as a pendant to that of Cuvier. In 1845 Owen refused knighthood.

At this point in Owen's career it will be convenient to pause for a moment and describe very briefly what manner of man it was that was rapidly becoming a leading figure in society. We remember him from an earlier date than we care to mention, but as we have no turn for portrait-painting we gladly accept Sir W. Flower's lifelike sketch:

'Owen was tall and ungainly in figure, with massive head, lofty forehead, curiously round, prominent and expressive eyes, high cheek-bones, large mouth and projecting chin, long, lank, dark hair, and, during the greater part of his life, smooth-shaven face and very florid complexion.'

His manners had much of the ceremonial courtesy of the old school, coupled with the formal exactness of a punctilious Frenchman. His bows were not easily forgotten. His enemies said, and his friends could not deny, that they varied with the rank of the person to whom he was presented. In fact Owen might have said, with Sir Pertinax Macsycophant, 'I naver in my life could stond straight i' th' presence of a great mon; but awways boowed, and boowed, and boowed, as it were by instinct.'

Next to what he called 'my dear comparative anatomy,' Owen loved music, and was at one time no mean performer, both vocally and instrumentally. Music was his constant recreation in an evening, and he has even been known to take his violoncello out with him to parties. He was a frequent attendant at concerts and operas, and when Weber's *Oberon* was first performed in London he went to hear it thirty nights in succession. The stage also had attractions for him, and he and his wife had many friends in the dramatic profession. Macready in *Henry the Fifth*, Kean in *Louis XI.*

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and *Richard III.*, and many minor stars, gave him great pleasure; and it was on the stage of Drury Lane Theatre, while joining the actors in singing the National Anthem on the occasion of the queen's first state visit, that he met Charles Dickens, who afterwards became his intimate friend. 'London,' he once said, 'is the place for interchange of thought'; and it was a relief to him to lay his habitual pursuits aside for a few hours, and exchange ideas with men whose lives were laid on wholly different lines to his own. He found dining out a relaxation—the hours were earlier in those days—and gradually, as his social gifts were discovered, he was much in request. No man could tell a story better, and his general conversation was brilliant and original. He had the happy art of dilating on his own pursuits without being either a pedant or a bore. Consequently he was a member of many societies who, 'greatly daring, dined,' as, for instance, the Abernethy Club, the Literary Society, and The Club, founded by Dr. Johnson, an exclusive society limited to forty members, where, curiously enough, he occupied the place once filled by Oliver Goldsmith. He also promoted the Royal Literary Fund and the Actors' Benevolent Fund—where his after-dinner eloquence was much appreciated. He was a good chess-player, and was often matched, successfully, with some of the first players of the day, as Landseer, Staunton, and the Duke of Brunswick. His acquaintance with literature was wider than might have been expected from his absorbing occupations in other directions, and his retentive memory enabled him to quote pages of Milton, Shakespeare, and other standard writers. He was also an ardent novel-reader. Mrs. Owen kept him well supplied with the novels of the day; and he sat up half the night over *Eugene Aram*, the serial stories of Dickens, *Vanity Fair*, *Shirley*, and *The Mill on the Floss*, which we are glad to find he preferred to all the rest of George Eliot's stories. Apart from his social proclivities, he managed to get acquainted with most of the celebrated people of the day. They either came to see him and the museum he directed, or they asked him to call on them. Among those whom he met in this way we may mention Mrs. Fry, Miss Edgeworth, Turner, Samuel Warren, Emerson, Guizot, the younger Dumas, Fanny Kemble, Tennyson, Macaulay, and Carlyle, who described him as 'the man with the glittering eyes,' and decided that he was 'neither a fool nor a humbug.' In his own especial line of science he was intimate with Lord Enniskillen, Sir Philip Egerton, Prince Lucien Bonaparte, Sedgwick, Murchison, Lyell; and subsequently took a keen

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interest in the researches of Livingstone, whom he helped with the first record of his African work. 'Poor Livingstone!' he says; 'he does not know what it is to write a book.' When he could find time for a holiday, which was but seldom, he enjoyed fishing and grouse-shooting; but his delight in Nature was so keen that probably sport was what he least valued in these excursions.

It was natural that, as Owen's reputation grew, he should be involved in some of the schemes for improving the condition of the people that engaged the attention of Government. In 1843 he served on a commission of inquiry into the health of towns, and exercised himself over sewers, slaughter-houses, and such-like abominations. In 1846 he was on the Metropolitan Sewers Commission, which grew out of the former, and he did much good work in hunting up evidence about the spread of cholera and typhus from imperfect drainage. In the course of this he incurred considerable unpopularity, and was contemptuously nick-named 'Jack of all Trades.' The work became so heavy and absorbing that he thought of resigning; but when Lord Morpeth urged him to remain, on the ground that they could ill spare his 'enlightened philanthropy,' he not only withdrew his resignation, but consented to serve on a commission to consider the state of Smithfield Market and the meat supply of London (1849), a subject on which he held very decided opinions. Probably his zoological qualifications, coupled with his knowledge of what had been effected on the Continent in the way of establishing extra-mural slaughter-houses, had much to do with abolishing the market. He was also on the Preliminary Committee of Organization for the Great Exhibition of 1851, and chairman of the jury on raw materials, alimentary substances, &c. Similar services were performed by him for the exhibition held at Paris in 1855.

He was also a mark for many of those questions, serious and absurd alike, which are presented for solution to men of science. A firm of undertakers asked him how much they ought to charge for embalming Mr. Beckford; a grave Oriental from the Turkish Embassy submitted to his examination the bowl of a tobacco-pipe which he believed to have been made out of the beak of a Phœnix; his opinion was sought by the Home Office on the window tax, and by Charles Dickens on the publicity of executions; his microscopical skill was brought to bear on the so-called contemporary annotations of Shakespeare; and he demolished one of the many sea serpents in which a marvel-loving public from time to time believes. He

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showed very conclusively that it was probably a large seal. His letter to the *Times* excited a good deal of attention, and Prince Albert dubbed him 'the serpent-killer.' He was also to a certain extent responsible for the models of extinct animals in the gardens of the Crystal Palace at Sydenham, and was rewarded for his trouble by a dinner in the spacious carcase of the Iguanodon.

In 1856—it is said, through the influence of Lord Macaulay—Owen was appointed Superintendent of the Department of Natural History at the British Museum, with a salary of 800*l.* a year. The new officer was to stand towards the collections of natural history in the same relation that the librarian did towards the books and antiquities, and to be directly responsible, as he was, to the trustees. Great advantages were expected to result from this new departure, and Owen was warmly congratulated. Professor Sedgwick wrote:

'I trust that your move to the British Museum is for your happiness. If God spare your health, it will be a grand move for the benefit of British science. An *Imperator* was sadly wanted in that vast establishment' (ii. 19).

With Lord Macaulay, anxiety for Owen himself had been paramount:

'I am extremely desirous that something should be done for Owen. I hardly know him to speak to. His pursuits are not mine; but his fame is spread over Europe. He is an honour to our country, and it is painful to me to think that a man of his merit should be approaching old age amidst anxieties and distresses. He told me that eight hundred a year, without a house in the Museum, would be opulence to him' (ii. 15).

A little foresight might have saved much disappointment. The subordinate officers, whom Owen was expected to influence, owed no allegiance to him, and resented his intrusion; they had long been practically independent within their own departments, and desired to remain so. Such a situation would have been difficult even for a born leader of men; but for Owen, whose gifts did not lie in that direction, it meant either resignation or acceptance of the inevitable. He chose the latter, and, dropping the despot, assumed the mantle of a constitutional sovereign. His reputation did good service to the collections in the way of attracting specimens of all kinds from all parts of the world; and he exerted himself with exemplary diligence to obtain special *desiderata*; but otherwise his duties as administrator soon became little more than nominal. There was, however, one

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subject connected with the Museum which had long engaged his attention, and which was brought to a successful conclusion before he left. This we will briefly recount.

It had long been manifest that the British Museum was too small for the various collections, and two years before Owen's arrival Dr. Gray, keeper of zoology, had made a definite request for additional accommodation. The trustees, after much consideration, agreed to a small, but wholly inadequate, extension of one of the galleries. Owen did not act hastily, but, having thoroughly mastered the subject, addressed a report to the trustees in 1859, in which he showed that a space of ten acres ought to be acquired at once, having regard to the congestion of the existing galleries, the quantity of specimens stored out of sight, and the probable rate of increase. This report was accompanied by a plan, drawn by himself, in which several special features may be noticed. The central hall was to contain an epitome of natural history—specimens selected to show the type-characters of the principal groups—called in subsequent editions of the plan the Index-Museum; adjoining this hall there was to be a lecture-theatre; zoology was to include physical ethnology, for which a gallery measuring 150 feet by 50 feet was to be provided; the Cetacea, stuffed specimens and skeletons, were to have a long gallery to themselves; and lastly, palæontology was no longer to be separated from zoology, but the gallery containing the one was to be readily entered from the gallery containing the other. A plan so novel, so enlightened, so truly imperial as this, was far too much in advance of the age to meet with anything except opposition and ridicule. When it was debated in the House of Commons, Mr. Gregory, M.P. for Galway, got it referred to a Select Committee, regretting, in reference to its author, 'that a man whose name stood so high should connect himself with so foolish, crazy, and extravagant a scheme.' Owen's first idea had been to purchase the land required at Bloomsbury; but on this point he had no very decided personal opinion, and, yielding to that of the majority of men of science, he advocated by lecture, by conversation, and in print, the removal of the collections of natural history to a new and distant site. For this scheme he fortunately secured the powerful advocacy of Mr. Gladstone, then Chancellor of the Exchequer, who moved (May 12, 1862) for leave to bring in a Bill to effect it. These excellent intentions were thwarted by Mr. Disraeli, who, knowing no more about science than about primroses, saw only a chance of obstructing a political

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opponent; and once more the scheme was adjourned. The adjournment, however, was of short duration, for in 1863 Parliament voted the purchase of five acres at South Kensington, which Owen presently persuaded the Government to increase to eight; but further delays, extending over nearly twenty years, ensued, and the collections were not completely arranged in their new home when Owen resigned in 1883.

The Museum as completed is widely different from that which Owen originally prescribed. The galley of ethnology is gone; the Cetacea are relegated, as at Bloomsbury in former days, to a cellar; there is no lecture-theatre; and, in fact, the Index-Museum is almost the only special feature which has survived, but even this was not arranged by himself. On one vital question of arrangement, moreover, Owen allowed his own views to be overruled. So early as 1842 he had reported to the Council of the College of Surgeons on the expediency of combining the fossil and recent osteological specimens, pointing out that

'the peculiarities of the extinct mastodon, for example, cannot be understood without a comparison with the analogous parts of the elephant and tapir; nor those of the ichthyosaurus without reference to the skeletons of crocodiles and fishes. The proper position of such specimens in the Museum is, therefore, between those series of skeletons of which they present transitional or intermediate structures.'

An arrangement of the recent and fossil collections in accordance with these most reasonable and philosophical views appears in all the versions of the plan until the last; now it has entirely disappeared, and the two collections are disposed in opposite wings of the building widely severed from each other. Owen had no special turn for organization, and he was probably in a minority of one against his colleagues on this point. Besides this, his fighting days were over, and he preferred peace to an ideal arrangement of which he personally would not reap the advantages.

Owen turned his enforced leisure at the British Museum to good account, and proceeded, with renewed activity, to occupy himself in various directions. In 1857 he gave lectures on palæontology at the Royal School of Mines, and his first course seems to have evoked the enthusiasm of his earlier days. Said Sir Roderick Murchison:

'I never heard so thoroughly eloquent a lecture as that of yesterday. . . . It is the first time I have had the pleasure of seeing

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our British Cuvier in his true place, and not the less delighted to listen to his fervid and convincing defence of the principle laid down by his great precursor. Everyone was charmed, and he will have done more (as I felt convinced) to render our institution favourably known than by any other possible method' (ii. 61).

Soon afterwards he was appointed (1859–61) Fullerian Professor of Physiology at the Royal Institution. Here again he chose 'Fossil Mammals' as his subject. In later years he gave frequent lectures on this and kindred subjects in the larger provincial towns. Nor must we omit the lectures to the Royal children at Buckingham Palace, which he delivered at the request of Prince Albert in 1860. These lectures, which were much appreciated by those for whom they were intended, laid the foundations of a close friendship between Owen and the Royal Family.

It must not, however, be supposed that these occupations diverted him from osteology. It was during this period that he wrote many of the palæontological memoirs to which we have already alluded. He continued to publish paper after paper on *Dinornis* as fresh material accumulated; and he composed, among others, his celebrated monograph on the Aye-Aye (1863), which perhaps excited as much attention as that on the Nautilus thirty years before.

Between 1866 and 1868 he published his elaborate treatise *On the Anatomy of Vertebrates*, obviously intended to be the standard work on the subject for all time. But alas for the fallacies of hope! It is an immense storehouse of information, founded in the main upon his own observations and dissections; and from no similar work will advanced students derive so much assistance. But, unfortunately, no revision of his own papers was attempted; the novel classification employed has never been accepted by any school of zoologists; and the only result of the proposed division of the Mammalia into four sub-classes, according to their cerebral characteristics, was a controversy from which Owen emerged with his reputation for scientific accuracy seriously impaired, if not irretrievably ruined. He had stated, not merely in the work of which we are speaking, but in others—as, for instance, in the Rede Lecture delivered at Cambridge in 1859—that certain divisions of the human brain were absent in the apes. This was proved over and over again, in public and private, to be contrary to fact, and contrary to his own authorities; but he could never be persuaded to retract or even to modify his statements.

At the end of the third volume of the *Anatomy* are some

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'General Conclusions,' which contain, so far as human intelligence can penetrate the meaning of Owen's 'dark speech,' his final views on the origin of species. We have already shown that his mind was first turned to this momentous question during his visit to Paris in 1831, and that subsequently, during his work on the Physiological and Osteological Catalogues of the Museum of the College of Surgeons, it was continually in his thoughts. During this period he read, and was profoundly influenced by, Oken's *Lehrbuch der Naturphilosophie*, a translation of which was published by the Ray Society, in 1847, at his instance. In his *Archetype and Homologies of the Vertebrate Skeleton* (1848) he says:

'The subject of the following essay has occupied a portion of my attention from the period when, after having made a certain progress in comparative anatomy, the evidence of a greater conformity to type, especially in the bones of the head of the vertebrate animals, than the immortal Cuvier had been willing to admit, began to enforce a reconsideration of his conclusions, to which I had previously yielded implicit assent.'

Out of the study here indicated there grew a revision of the vertebrate skeleton, in which the homologues (*i.e.* the same organs in different animals, under every variety of form and function) were recognized, and a new system of osteological nomenclature was proposed. In this Owen did excellent work, which has been generally accepted. But in his anxiety to recognize and account for 'the one in the many' he adopted Oken's idea of the skeleton being resolvable into a succession of vertebræ, and evolved the idea of an archetype. It is almost inconceivable that the clear-headed and sagacious interpreter, whose sober conclusions we have indicated through a long series of zoological and palæontological memoirs, should have ever adopted these transcendental speculations. But there was evidently a metaphysical side to his mind, and he took a keen, almost a puerile, delight in this child of his fancy. He had even a seal engraved with a symbolical representation of it. To show that we are not exaggerating we will quote his own account of his views when sending the seal to his sister:

'It represents the archetype, or primal pattern—what Plato would have called the 'Divine Idea'—on which the osseous frame of all vertebrate animals has been constructed. The motto is "The One in the Manifold," expressive of the unity of plan which may be traced through all the modifications of the pattern, by which it is adapted to the varied habits and modes of life of fishes, reptiles, birds, beasts, and human kind. Many have been the attempts to discover the

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vertebrate archetype, and it seems now generally felt that it has been found' (i. 388).

But, assuming Owen to have really discovered the one, he was as far off as ever from the origin of the many. And on this subject he never did reach any definite conclusion. He admits, it is true, a theory which sounds very like evolution:

'Thus, at the acquisition of facts adequate to test the moot question of links between past and present species, as at the close of that other series of researches proving the skeleton of all vertebrates, and even of man, to be the harmonized sum of a series of essentially similar segments, I have been led to recognize species as exemplifying the continuous operation of natural law, or secondary cause; and that not only successively, but progressively; from the first embodiment of the vertebrate idea under its old Ichthyic vestment until it became arrayed in the glorious garb of the human form.[1]

In this quotation he is in the main stating the views he held in 1849, for the latter portion of it is from his essay *On the Nature of Limbs*, published in that year. But what the secondary cause which produced species was cannot be concluded from his works. He fiercely contested Darwin's theory of natural selection, both in conversation and in periodicals. To the last he clung to a notion of a 'vital property,' on which he thus enlarges in the *Anatomy* (iii. 807):

'So, being unable to accept the volitional hypothesis, or that of impulse from within, or the selective force exerted by outward circumstances, I deem an innate tendency to deviate from parental type, operating through periods of adequate duration, to be the most probable nature, or way of operation, of the secondary law, whereby species have been derived one from the other.'

In 1883 Owen resigned his office at the British Museum and retired into private life. His remaining years were passed at Sheen in a tranquil and apparently happy old age. In 1884 he was gazetted a K.C.B., and, on Mr. Gladstone's initiative, his pension was augmented by 100*l.* a year. But though it pleased him to be always pleading poverty, he was really a comparatively wealthy man, and when he died left 30,000*l.* behind him. His wife died in 1873, and his only son in 1886; but a solitude which might have been painful was enlivened by the presence of his son's widow and her seven children. Owen delighted in the country. He had a genuine love for outdoor natural history, and 'the sight of

[1] *Anatomy*, iii. 796.

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the deer and other animals in the park, the birds and insects in the garden, the trees, flowers, and varying aspects of the sky, filled him with enthusiastic admiration.' He died, literally of old age, on Sunday, January 18, 1892.

It is much to be regretted that one who worked at his own subjects with such untiring zeal should have left behind him almost nothing to perpetuate his name with the great mass of the people. Mr. Huxley remarks that, 'whether we consider the quantity or the quality of the work done, or the wide range of his labours, I doubt if, in the long annals of anatomy, more is to be placed to the credit of any single worker' (ii. 306); but he presently adds this caution: 'Obvious as are the merits of Owen's anatomical work to every expert, it is necessary to be an expert to discern them' (ii. 332). He gave popular lectures, but they were not printed; he wrote what he intended to be a work for all time, but it has faded out of recollection, and the whole theory of the archetype is now as dead as his own Dinornis. Nor was he at pains to surround himself with a circle of pupils who might have handed down the teaching of the Master to another generation, as Cuvier's teaching was handed down by his pupils. It was one of Owen's defects that he was repellent to younger men. In a word, he was secretive, impatient of interference, and preferred to be *aut Cæsar aut nullus*. Credit was to him worth nothing if it was to be divided. Again, brilliant as were his talents and assured as was his position, he could not recognize the truth that men may sometimes err, and that the greatest rather gain than lose by admitting it. During the whole of his long life we believe that he never owned to a mistake. Again, not only was what he said law, but what others ventured to say—especially if it 'came between the wind and his nobility'—was to be brushed aside as of no moment. We believe that this feeling on his part explains his refusal to accept the Darwinian theory. As we have shown, he went half way with it, and then dropped it, because not hammered on his own anvil. This unfortunate antagonism to other workers, coupled with his readiness to enter into controversy, and the acrimony and dexterity with which he handled his adversaries, naturally discouraged those who would otherwise have been only too happy to sit at the feet of the Nestor of English zoology; and during the last thirty years of his life he became gradually more and more isolated. Moreover, there was, or there was thought to be, a certain want of sincerity about him which no amount of external courtesy could wholly conceal. In a word, he was

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compact of strange contradictions. He had many noble qualities; and yet could not truly be called great, for they were warped and overshadowed by many moral perversities. In the previous century his portrait might have been sketched by Pope:—

> 'But were there one whose fires
> True genius kindles and fair fame inspires;
> Blest with each talent and each art to please,
> And born to write, converse, and live with ease;
> Should such a man, too fond to rule alone,
> Bear, like the Turk, no brother near the throne,
> View him with scornful yet with jealous eyes,
> And hate for arts that caused himself to rise;
> . . . . . .
> Like *Cato*, give his little senate laws,
> And sit attentive to his own applause;
> While wits and templars every sentence raise,
> And wonder with a foolish face of praise—
> Who but must laugh, if such a man there be?
> Who would not weep, if *Atticus* were he!'

ART. V.—HISTORICAL GEOGRAPHY OF THE HOLY LAND.

The Historical Geography of the Holy Land, especially in relation to the History of Israel and of the Early Church. By GEORGE ADAM SMITH, D.D., Professor of Hebrew and Old Testament Exegesis, Free Church, Glasgow. (London, 1894.)

IT is with a happily chosen metaphor that a recently published work on one epoch in the history of Palestine begins, when it describes the history of Syria as to some extent a synopsis of the history of the world, and the land as 'a palimpsest from which the records of later civilization have failed to obliterate entirely those of earlier times.'[1] A palimpsest, indeed, it is, and the characters how ancient, and in many cases how difficult to distinguish from those which later generations have superimposed! What need there is of historical imagination, ballasted by sound judgment, to prevent ourselves from being carried away by the effort of trying to realize all that modern discoveries put before us! How can we calmly contemplate and try to tabulate a history

[1] *The Story of the Nations: The Crusades*, p. 1.

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which goes back as early as the twelfth dynasty in Egypt—that is to say, about 2000 B.C.—when our earliest evidence of intercourse between that country and Palestine begins? Other fragments of history the stream of time has brought down to us. We have, for instance, such facts as the record of the campaigns of Thothmes III. against the Hittites about 1600 B.C., preserved for us at Karnak, in which stand as it were embalmed the names of many places in Palestine familiar to us in later Biblical narrative. Add to this the cuneiform inscription found by Mr. Bliss at Tell-el-Hesy, and the other results of the careful excavations there, taking us back to the old Amorite town of 1500 B.C. Follow the stream of history a little further, and we come to the wonderful evidence of the Tell-el-Amarna tablets, dating from the end of the fifteenth century before Christ. Whatever difficulties they may bring with them, they throw brilliant light on the picture of Palestine in those days. And what have we learnt, too, in these latter days—and how much still remains to learn—of that strange race of the Hittites, the references to whom in the Bible were so scorned, till the very stones have cried out in protest! How intelligible, too, becomes the Bible narrative of the king which knew not Joseph, and the Israelitish invasion of Palestine, in the light of all we know now of the Shepherd Kings of Egypt, and the relaxed hold of Egypt on Palestine which was consequent on the internal troubles of that country. This invasion of Palestine by Israel brings us down to about the year 1300 B.C. From that date to about 600 we have the history of Israel and Judah to the Captivity, then in 538 the accession of Cyrus and the return from the Captivity, with the narrative of Ezra and Nehemiah and the post-exilic prophets. Then follow the 'four centuries of silence,' as far as the Bible is concerned, which heralded the birth of Christ. But during this silence the world's centre of political power shifted from East to West, and first Greece and then Rome claimed dominion over Palestine, with a short interval, during which the nearer powers of Syria and Egypt alternately laid hands on her. Then the East again reasserted itself in the seventh century, and in the battle of Fihl, in 634, Mohammedan supremacy was established. Then followed the short-lived but thrilling incidents of the Crusades, the story of which has been so well told in the little book to which we have referred; and they in turn were succeeded by the victories of Saladin and Bibars, and the long and comparatively uneventful monotony of Turkish dominion. Such, in brief epitome, is the succession

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of characters which the historian of Palestine has to disentangle and decipher. Of the languages in which the earlier characters are written, and the problems they present, we cannot now speak. We may, however, in passing refer to a recent article in this Review on a work by Professor Maspero, and also to a very solid contribution by Professor McCurdy,[1] of which only the first part has as yet appeared. We have already alluded to several sources from which fresh light has been recently derived, and an interesting article from the competent pen of Major Conder[2] in the *Contemporary Review* summed up some of the results which have so far accrued from these investigations, and pointed to the direction which in his judgment further inquiries ought to take, when the explorers are able to proceed from the examination of the *surface* of the country to excavations of sites which in very truth embalm for us the remains of some of these earlier historical personages. It is, however, with the examination of the surface of Palestine that the book of which the title appears at the head of this article deals.

The study of historical geography is but one of the many methods by which the scientific investigator of the present day seeks to limit the sphere within which chance acts, and to explain the racial, intellectual, and historical characteristics, and the succession of events in the life of this or that people, by a reference to the climate and 'lie' of the country in which their history is enacted. It requires, for its successful pursuit, the combination of many qualifications—a strong imagination, a keen sense of historical perspective, an eager and observant eye: these at least are necessary. Professor Smith certainly possesses a strong imagination, and is able to take his reader back with him into the scenes he is describing. It is true that his imaginativeness sometimes carries him away into an overwhelming exuberance of expression; but to this we shall return. As to his historical qualifications, he would not claim to have mastered the long series of events which we have epitomized above, and certainly we think his interest is primarily geographical and only secondarily historical, except in so far as the main narrative of the Bible is concerned. There is no attempt to treat with fulness—indeed, space would hardly have allowed it—any of the great battles, or to work up pictures in the way in which, for example, Dean Stanley did in his *Sinai and Palestine*. But there is clear

[1] *History, Prophecy, and the Monuments*, vol. i. By Professor McCurdy. (Macmillan and Co., 1894.)

[2] *Contemporary Review*, September 1894.

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evidence in every page of a careful study of the innumerable first- and second-hand authorities, who have dealt with some part or other of this ever-interesting theme.[1] There is from the Bible at any rate (and it is only fair to remember that Professor Smith limits himself to this as his main subject) a great wealth of illustration drawn from nearly every book. Lastly, as to personal observation, it is abundantly clear that Professor Smith has made very good use of his visits to Palestine, as will, we hope, be clear when we come to review the book in detail, as we now proceed to do. In the first place we must bestow a general word of praise on the printing and get-up of the book and the maps. These render it one in every way pleasant to read, and this is no light matter when we bear in mind the frequent references which have to be made to the maps as the reader goes through the book. Of course these excellences, to which we have referred, make the book necessarily expensive, but we hope that ere long it may be possible to cut down the price, and in that event it is a book which ought to be found on the table of everyone who has anything at all to do with the teaching or study of the Bible. It enables the student of the Bible to recall much more vividly than any other work we know many of the scenes in that book, which are sometimes but a bare succession of proper names, conveying little or no meaning to the reader. What an accession of historic interest the story of Joseph and his brethren at Dothan receives when we discover, as Professor Smith enables us to realize, that it lay on perhaps the most important of the great routes of Palestine, between the great plain of Esdraelon and the plain of Sharon, so that companies of Midianite merchants, no less than the great armies to which we have referred, must often have been passing through on their way down to Egypt! Again, what light is thrown on the successive wars with the Philistines by the detailed knowledge which we acquire from this book of the border land between Philistia and the high ground to the east of it!

The book opens with a preface in which the writer states very clearly the sort of help which may be expected from the study of this subject of historical geography in regard to the Bible, and we must be allowed to quote his words:

'What is needed by the reader or teacher of the Bible is some idea of the main outlines of Palestine—its shape and disposition;

[1] We have noticed, however, no reference to Röhricht's *Bibliotheca Geographica Palestinæ*, a useful summary of these authorities, which was noticed in these pages on its first appearance.

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its plains, passes, and mountains; its rains, winds, and temperatures; its colours, lights, and shades. Students of the Bible desire to see a background, and to feel an atmosphere—to discover from 'the lie of the land' why the history took certain lines and the prophecy and gospel were expressed in certain styles; to learn what geography has to contribute to questions of Biblical criticism; above all, to discern between what physical nature contributed to the religious development of Israel and what was the product of purely moral and spiritual forces' (Preface, p. i).

Other important sections of the preface refer to what has been already written on the successive periods of Palestinian history, and to the writer's attitude in regard to recent Biblical criticism. To this last point we shall recur. Professor Smith then proceeds to define the limits of his work, and the most important point in this connexion is the exclusion of any reference to Jerusalem, and the many vexed questions of topography which any mention of it would necessarily involve. Lastly, we have a short notice of the maps which accompany the volume, with a tribute to the work done by the Palestine Exploration Society, and the excellent little map published by the German Society. In this connexion we hail with pleasure the promise of an historical atlas of the Holy Land, 'containing from thirty to forty maps, and covering the history of Syria from the earliest epochs to the crusades and the present century.' This is indeed good news, and we hope it may help on that which is one of the greatest needs of the students of ecclesiastical history at the present time—a good atlas. For Palestine we have of course those of Oort and Menke, but they are neither of them up to present-day needs. We may perhaps call attention here to the splendid raised map of Palestine which has comparatively recently been published by our Palestine Society, the only defects of which are its price and its cumbrousness, both of which are, in the nature of things, inevitable. We think, these things notwithstanding, it should find a place in many public institutions and libraries.

The volume is divided into three books, and concludes with appendices and indices. The first book is of a general character, and is entitled 'The Land as a Whole.' Under this head come the following chapters: (i.) 'The Place of Syria in the World's History,' (ii.) 'The Form of the Land and its Consequences,' (iii.) 'The Climate and Fertility of the Land, with their Effects on its Religion,' (iv.) 'The Scenery of the Land, with its Reflection in the Poetry of the Old Testament,' (v.) 'The Land and Questions of Faith,' (vi.) 'The View from Mount Ebal.'

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It will be obvious at once that these subjects raise in some cases very large questions. In connexion with the first chapter Professor Smith is led to discuss some of those references to the earliest history of Palestine to which we have alluded. Here of course there is at present, owing to the comparatively short time which has elapsed since the discoveries have been made, almost as large a crop of theories as of facts, and a great deal of weeding yet remains to be done. To what stock, for example, did the earliest inhabitants of Palestine belong, and what is the relation to each other of those various nations which the Bible describes as possessing the land before the Israelitish invasion? Who were the Canaanites, and what is their relation to the Amorites? Are they different tribes, or rather, as many people suppose, only different names—the one local, the other racial—for the same tribe? Of Syria's place in history we get a brief summary, though it is sufficient to enable us to follow the allusions which come later in the book, where the details of the geography are discussed. In regard to the future of Syria, and especially of Palestine, it would be interesting to speculate. A chapter dealing with this subject is to be found in 'The City and the Land.' There Major Conder looks forward to 'the gradual increase of agricultural population and the spread of prosperous settlements,' and Professor Smith records the great increase of Europeans in Palestine, which is one characteristic of the present time. Under this same heading of Syria's place in the world's history, we find next some account of Syria's influence westwards, which is especially associated with the activity of the Phœnicians. The last section of this chapter deals with the religion of Syria, and in opposition to Renan's view that the Semites *must*, where nature is so uniform, be monotheists, the following statement occurs, that in the Semitic religion monotheism had a great opportunity: 'There was no necessary creed in Arabia, but for the highest form of religion there was room and sympathy as nowhere else in the world to the same degree' (p. 30). Israel's monotheism was contrary to the natural tendency towards nature-worship caused by the fertility of the soil and by the change from a desert and pastoral life to one in settled habitations and occupied with agriculture.

The second chapter, on 'The Form of the Land and its Consequences,' cannot be expected to contain anything new to students of Palestinian geography, though it is a necessary prelude to the more detailed investigation which is to follow.

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Taken in sections running from north to south, the natural divisions are: to the west the maritime plain; east of that the great central range, breaking down in many places very precipitously to the Jordan valley; east of this very remarkable feature we have high ground, corresponding to the western range; and east of this the desert. Taking sections in the other directions, from east to west, we should naturally make the following divisions: to the extreme north we have the region of Upper Galilee, which may be marked off roughly, but fairly definitely, from Lower Galilee, by a line drawn across Palestine from the north end of the Sea of Galilee to the bay of Acre. Lower Galilee extends south to, and did at times include, the great plain of Esdraelon, which is the next feature requiring notice. South of that begins to rise the high ground of Samaria, which is itself marked off from the same high ground further south, in that it is not, as that speaking generally is, one expanse of unbroken character. Samaria is distinguished by the number of valleys and hills of which it is composed. When these cease, the western range, from Bethel southwards, takes the uniform character to which we have referred; and this extends as far south as Hebron, from which place the central range drops down to the Negeb or South Country. East of the Jordan we get similar natural divisions: in the north Bashan, extending south as far as the river Yarmuk, which flows into the Jordan on the east, to the south of the Sea of Galilee; the central division of the eastern range was known as Gilead; and south of that we get the district of Moab. These general features require to be more minutely studied, but the characteristics stand out clearly. The first is the great general distinction between mountain and plain, a distinction of the greatest historical importance. It explains the routes of the great military expeditions, and marks the course followed by foreign influence, and also defines for us pretty clearly the part of Palestine which was really held by the Israelites, in distinction from the lower ground, on which they never for long time together succeeded in maintaining themselves:

> Enisled by that circuit of lowland, the Ghôr [or Jordan valley], Esdraelon and the maritime plain, the central range in Judah and Ephraim formed Israel's most constant sanctuary, and Gilead was generally attached to it. But from the tableland of Hauran Israel were driven by the chariots of Syria: they held Moab only at intervals; the Canaanites kept them for long and repeated periods out of the Upper Jordan valley and Esdraelon: and except for two brief triumphs in the morning and in the evening of their history the

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Philistines kept them out of the maritime plain. So when the Greeks came, the regions they covered were the coast, the Jordan valley, the Hauran, the eastern levels of Gilead and Moab, but it is noticeable that in Gilead itself the Greek cities were few and late, and in the central range not at all. And so, when the Romans came, the tactics of their great generals, as may be most clearly illustrated from Vespasian's campaign, were to secure all the plains, then Samaria, and last of all the high, close Judæa' (p. 55).

The second characteristic referred to is the broken character of the country, in reference to which we must be pardoned for making a second quotation:

'With its palms and shadoofs the Philistine plain might be a part of the Egyptian Delta; but on the hills of the Shephelah, which overlook it, you are in the scenery of Southern Europe; the Judæan moors which overlook them are like the barer uplands of Central Germany, the shepherds wear sheepskin cloaks, and live under stone roofs. Sometimes the snow lies deep; a few miles further east and you are down among the Bedouin, with their tents of hair and their cotton clothing. A few miles further still, and you drop to torrid heat in the Jordan valley; a few miles beyond that and you rise to the plateau of the Belkâ, where the Arabs say "the cold is always at home." Yet from Philistia to the Belkâ is scarcely seventy miles' (p. 56).

This last quotation leads on naturally to a consideration of the next chapter, in which we have details wearisome perhaps to the general reader, in regard to climate, temperature, rainfall, and so on. Apart from commonplace reflections as to the stimulating effect of high and bracing situations, and the opposite effect of warmer climates, we have an interesting comparison of Palestine and Egypt. The climate of Palestine is regular, but not too regular; it does not depend on causes under human control. It taught the inhabitants to feel that behind the outward forces of nature there was a controlling influence, and so the Book of Deuteronomy (xi. 10–12) marks this distinction: *The land whither thou goest is not like the land of Egypt, where thou sowedst thy seed and wateredst it with thy feet as a garden of herbs, but . . . a land which Jehovah looketh after.* But, with this teaching as to a *moral* Providence, which Israel learnt from its climate, the fertility brought with it a tendency to a fall in religious ideas, as well as a rise in civilization from the nomad to the agricultural and civil life. In spite of this tendency to a religious fall, we have to notice the persistence of monotheism among the Israelites, and to realize that there were 'spiritual forces which in spite of the opposition of nature did create upon Syria the monotheistic creed of Israel.'

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The next chapter, dealing with 'The Scenery of the Land and its Reflection in the Bible,' need not detain us, as it contains little of real value. To the subject of the next, which deals with 'The Land and Questions of Faith,' we shall return at the end of this article. In the last chapter of the first part, 'The View from Mount Ebal,' the writer attempts to give us a bird's-eye view, first of all looking east from the Mediterranean, and secondly from Mount Ebal. The first of these brings out the importance of the pass across the central range in the neighbourhood of Ebal and Gerizim, the great break in the line of high ground as seen from the sea. The view from Shechem enables us to get a comprehensive view of the whole land, except the Negeb, northward and southward and eastward and westward. Northward we get a glimpse of Mount Hermon, seventy-five miles distant, with all that lies between: Carmel to the north-west and Esdraelon and the hills of Galilee. Southward we see as far as the Neby Samwîl, with Jerusalem five miles further south. Westward we command the Shephelah, and eastward 'the edge of Hauran above the lake of Galilee, continued by the edge of Mount Gilead exactly east of us, and by the edge of Moab away to the south-east.' A clear indication this of the size of Palestine; and, with this reflection comes the contrast as to what has been the importance of the country in spite of its diminutive size. We may remind ourselves in passing of what was the size of Palestine. The whole length from Dan to Beersheba was less than 150 miles, and though the ideal border of the 'river of Egypt' would take the southern limit some way further, yet this border was after all ideal. In width the country varied from about ninety miles at the base to about half that distance at Jerusalem, and less than one-third in the extreme north. The whole area, roughly speaking, is some 6,000 square miles. Between the two capitals of Jerusalem and Samaria the distance was only some thirty-five miles. In order to impress this on his mind, let the reader transfer the dimensions to some locality well known to him, and he will see how small was the stage on which the drama was enacted, a stage which may be made smaller still, if we subtract such a district as the wilderness of Judæa, covering some thirty-five miles by fifteen, and comparatively unimportant for the history.

In the second section of the book, which occupies some three hundred and seventy pages, there is hardly a dull passage. The least satisfactory chapter, to our thinking, is that entitled 'Early Christianity in the Shephelah.' It leads us to expect

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much more than we get in the few pages which it occupies, and what we do find there seems to us indefinite. It is another illustration of what we have already implied, that Professor Smith treads uncertainly when he is dealing with those parts of the history which are not covered by the Bible. But for the rest we have little but praise, and can commend it to our readers. The first chapter deals with the coast. In this connexion Professor Smith points out the almost entire absence of harbours, natural or artificial. The result of this has been that most of the invasions have been by land, and that the Palestinian coast has never produced a maritime people. Even those harbours which were made, such as Athlît or Cæsarea, have disappeared. The sea therefore became a border (Numb. xxxiv. 6) rather than a mode of passing from one district to another: 'of the name or idea of a *port*, gateway in or out, there is no trace.' Very interesting is the contrast which is drawn in this chapter between Joppa, which was an almost solitary exception among the cities of this part in its strong Jewish leanings, and Cæsarea, only sixty miles or so from Jerusalem, which was virtually Rome. Though Cæsarea was, in the words of Tacitus, *Judææ caput*, it was never Jewish in tone. It was adopted by Herod as his chief seaport for political reasons, and much time and money he spent on it. Its fortunes varied according as Palestine was in the hands of Eastern or Western rulers. Joppa, on the other hand, after being taken by Simon Maccabæus, with some intervals—as, for example, when Pompey freed all the coast cities—was Jewish in sentiment and leanings. The Maritime Plain, with which the next chapter deals, must be to the ordinary reader as interesting as any part of Palestine, though not, of course, so rich in religious associations. This part of the country it is which really was the bridge between Asia and Africa, and it is along the routes which traverse this plain that, as Major Conder points out in the article to which we have already referred, most is to be hoped in regard to future excavations. It has probably changed in physical characteristics, for there is evidence that the northern part of it was once thickly covered with woodland. But the great routes which traverse it remain the same, for the most part, ever since the days when Thothmes III. marched north against the Hittites. The main road up from Egypt runs by way of Raphia and Gaza as far as Jamnia, where it divides, the right branch running inland past Ramleh and Lydda some ten miles away from the coast, keeping close to the west edge of the *Shephelah*,

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up to Antipatris, and so on to Esdraelon. Into this came at intervals roads down from the high ground which lay to the east, from Beit-Jibrin (or Eleutheropolis), from Jerusalem and Bethhoron, from Jerusalem to Cæsarea, and from Shechem. The western branch, turning off at Jamnia, went towards the coast to Joppa and Cæsarea, keeping along the coast as far as Carmel, and then passing through the narrow space between it and the sea to Haifa and Accho. This branch can never have been as much used as the western one, which led by a shorter passage into Esdraelon, and so off to the East. At almost any of the important sites in this great plain there can be no doubt that excavations would have most fruitful results. And what are the most important cities in this district? Their position depends on the lines of the routes. One great group lies near the opening of the valley of Ajalon, and by this fact is explained. The other is the group lying south, and belonging to Philistia. And with these the next chapter deals. It opens with a discussion of the vexed question as to who the Philistines were, and whence they came. With the identification of Caphtor—their original *habitat*—and Egypt, Professor Smith disagrees, and is inclined to connect Caphtor with Crete. It may well be by a strange paradox of history that we shall have to accept Mr. Arthur Evans's revolutionary discovery in regard to the origin of our alphabet, and to acknowledge our indebtedness to the Philistines for bringing it from Crete to Palestine, and so to the Phœnicians, who have had the credit of originating what after all they did but distribute. It would be indeed strange if this was the work of those whose name now is but 'the symbol of impenetrableness and obscurantism.' As to the date of their entrance into the country, a possible *terminus a quo* is to be found in the fact that in the Tell-el-Amarna letters they are not mentioned, and that from the monuments of Rameses II. it is possible that the inhabitants of Philistia at that time were Hittites. The Philistines seem to have made their way northward almost simultaneously with the invasion of Israel from the East, and (after spreading over the lowland occupied by the Canaanites as far north as Carmel and Esdraelon) to have come into conflict with the Israelites in the borderland between them. It is an interesting suggestion, for it can be nothing more, that when we meet with them in the time of Saul at Michmash and in the plain of Esdraelon, 'their main purpose may have been to extend their supremacy over the trade routes which came up from Egypt and crossed the Jordan.' At any rate, nearly all of

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their important cities were established in positions which commanded this route, as it went through their country. The history of the people Professor Smith divides into four periods. In the first they are in continual conflict with the Israelites. The second is marked by an 'aloofness' on the part of the prophets, who regard the Philistines with pity rather than hostility, as victims of the Divine judgment. In the third period the hostility is again renewed under the Maccabæan leaders against the Hellenism which dominated the plain, including Philistia. The last period is that of Christianity. Of the great towns of the district the chief was Gaza, a harbour for the wilderness and a market for the nomads. As a centre of trade the writer compares it with Damascus. From it trade routes 'travelled in all directions—to Egypt, to South Arabia, and in the times of the Nabatean kingdom to Petra and Palmyra.' And if its relations with Arabia have been, from community of interest, close and friendly, it has been still more necessary to Egypt as the first halting-place after crossing the desert. After a short-lived importance in early Christian times, in connexion with the struggle against paganism which ended at the beginning of the fifth century in the victory of Christianity, it lapses into comparative obscurity, which was not broken even under the Crusaders. Askalon, on the other hand, peculiar among the great cities of the Philistines in its position on the sea-shore, owed to this fact the importance which attached to it during the same period. In fact, after it was dismantled by Saladin, one of the articles of the truce between Christians and Moslems was that neither side should fortify it. Ashdod was an important military centre, and suffered as such at the hands of Sargon and Sennacherib. It is not, however, in accordance with the maps or the facts to say that it was from Ashdod that the inland road to Ramleh branched. It was really from Jamnia, some few miles further north. Ekron was important both as a market on a trade route and also as the sanctuary of Baalzebub. This town came closest to the borders of Israel, and lay near to one of the important roads eastward up the valley of Sorek. Of Gath, which is singled out in David's lament for special mention with Askalon, the site is uncertain. The city seems to have disappeared before the seventh century B.C., and 'that Gath lay inland on the borders of Israel, probably near to Ekron, and perhaps in the mouth of a pass leading up to Jerusalem, is all we know of the town which was once so famous, and which wholly vanished 2,500 years ago.'

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We have singled out chapters in this book which seem to us uninteresting, and it will therefore be only fair to mark as especially attractive the chapter which follows next in order, that on the 'Shephelah.' This name is applied to the 'low land' which bounds the plain of Philistia on the east, south of the valley of Ajalon, and is itself separated from the higher ground to the east by valleys running north and south. Further north than the vale of Ajalon the name does not seem to have been used in the same way, the low hills to the west of Samaria being *slopes* of the central range and not, as they are further south, a separate range. This difference between these northern and southern sections explains the difference between the history of Samaria and Judæa, the former exposed, the latter protected, on this western frontier. It will be worth while to collect the chief entrances to Judæa on this side. As we pass from north to south, they run in the following order. The most northern and the most important entrance was up the vale of Ajalon, from which access to Jerusalem might be gained by no less than three routes, two of which run very close to each other. This entrance has always been of the greatest importance. Down it Joshua drove the Canaanites westward on the first entrance into Palestine, and up it the Philistines came to Michmash. On it lay Modein, the home of the Maccabees, and up it came the first crusaders from Ramleh. It was guarded by the strong position of Gezer, a name which occurs in the very earliest records, and nearly 2,500 years later reappears in the Mont Gisart of the Crusaders. We should like to quote the long apostrophe to its king Horam in which Professor Smith indulges, but space will not allow us. The second entrance is the Vale of Sorek, the obvious and shortest way from the Philistine country, from Ekron and from Ashdod, and up this valley runs the railway to Jerusalem from Joppa, approaching Jerusalem from the south-west. Here we are in the midst of the scenes connected with the name of Samson, and up this route the ark returned to Bethshemesh. Passing south once more we come to the vale of Elah. At the mouth of this entrance we may perhaps fix the site of Gath, and certainly here lay the Blanche Garde of the Crusaders. This valley gives us the probable scene of David's encounter with Goliath, and somewhere in this neighbourhood, and not south-east of Bethlehem, we must probably place the cave of Adullam. Yet once more we pass south to the Wady el Afranj leading up to Beit-Jibrin, which, though a very important centre in later Jewish history, does not, unless it be the site of Gath,

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occur in the Old Testament. From it Roman roads lead in all directions, and from it 'the *Onomasticon* measures all distances in the Shephelah.' Professor Smith explains the absence of any mention of it in the Old Testament by supposing that its place at that time was taken by Moresheth-Gath. The last entrance we have to notice is the Wady el Hesy, leading up from the neighbourhood of Gaza past the site of Lachish; to the recent successful excavations there by Mr. Flinders Petrie and Mr. Bliss we have already referred. We have now briefly to notice the valleys which separate the Shephelah, reaching on the west a height of about 700 to 800 feet, from the high central range on the east which rises to 2,000 feet. It is these valleys running north and south which formed a line of defence to Judæa. They are the Wady el Ghurab between the two northern entrances, which runs, south of the vale of Sorek, into the Wady en Najil, and this again, south of the vale of Elah, becomes the Wady es Sur, which in turn runs into the Wady esh Sheria, which trending south-west runs to the sea south of Gaza. These make a continuous 'fosse' which separates the central range on the east from the lower hills on the west, and 'explains why the Philistines, who so easily overran the Shephelah, seldom got further than its eastern border.' All this has been noticed before Professor Smith's book,[1] but its historical importance is well brought out in the volume before us. It would have been, we think, an improvement in order to transpose the chapters which follow after that on 'Early Christianity in the Shephelah,' which itself does not require notice. Chapter xii. on Judæa and Samaria might well have come in just before chapter xvi. on Samaria, and in that order we will take them. Judæa is the locality round which greatest interest centres. 'At all times,' says Professor Smith, 'in which the powers of spiritual initiative or expansion were needed she was lacking, and so in the end came her shame. But when the times required concentration, indifference to the world, loyalty to the past, and passionate patriotism, then Judæa took the lead' (p. 260). With this let us contrast what he says of Samaria (p. 323): 'The more forward to attract, the more quick to develop, Samaria was always the less able to retain.' Judæa was very compact, and isolated by remarkable barriers on every side. On the east lay the wilderness of Judæa, the Dead Sea, and the Jordan valley with few roads leading up on to the high ground from

[1] See the *Survey Memoirs*, Jerusalem volume, p. 436, quoted in Henderson's little manual on Palestine, p. 17.

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Jericho and from Engedi; on the south the Negeb with one main road leading down the centre of Judæa to it by way of Hebron and Beersheba; on the west we have already considered the frontier afforded by the Shephelah; on the north Judæa was most accessible, and the last ten miles of plateau, before it is broken up into the hills and valleys of Samaria, became 'the site of more fortresses, sieges, forays, battles, and massacres than perhaps any other part of the country.' On this side come up roads from the west by way of Bethhoron, from the north by way of Shechem, and from the east by way of Ai; and to guard these approaches we have such positions as Bethel, with Michmash to the east and Gibeon to the west, besides other minor fortresses. The plateau of Judæa thus defined was for the most part unattractive country. It is true there were oases such as the valley of Eshcol and the district south-east of Hebron where Nabal dwelt; but the main feature which strikes the eye is dreariness, unrelieved by water or by any alternation of hill and vale, and those characteristics which deserve to be noticed are 'her pastoral character, her neighbourhood to the desert, and her singular unsuitableness for the growth of a great city.'

To the north of Judæa lay Samaria, but the actual line of frontier fluctuated. There were three possible lines of demarcation. It was possible to take the point where, as we have seen, the character of the eastern frontier changed from slopes reaching continuously up to the high ground, and was marked by a separate range of low hills with an intervening depression. In that case the natural line of frontier would have been drawn across from the vale of Ajalon by the gorge of Michmash to the Jordan valley. Another line of cleavage would be where, on the high ground, the character of the land changed from tableland to broken hill and dale. In that case a line would be drawn across a little way north of Gophna and south of Shiloh. There is yet a third possible division to the north of Shiloh, following the Wady Deir Ballut and the Wady Ishar. The first of these represented the political frontier between Israel and Judah. In the time of Josephus the most northerly seems to have been adopted, and probably this was so in the time of our Lord, so that Samaria extended only from Esdraelon on the north to a line drawn from the Wady Ishar on the west to the Wady Farah on the east, a distance of little more than twenty miles. Is there not some contradiction between this statement on p. 256 and the size of Samaria as given on p. 325? On the western frontier Samaria descends to the plain of Sharon by

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regular and easy descents, while on the eastern side in the steepest part the gradient is three times as great, though on the northern side of this eastern frontier the approaches from the Jordan valley by 'the outgoings of Mount Ephraim' were easy. Thus openness to attack is the most obvious feature in connexion with Samaria, fully borne out by the history of the country; and another equally well-marked feature of her history, flowing from the same source, was her receptivity towards foreign influences. A second feature to which Professor Smith draws attention is her central position. Shechem, her capital, occupies in this respect a unique situation. Thirdly must be noticed the close connexion between Samaria and Eastern Palestine. This is due to the number of valleys which lead down to the valley of the Jordan from Mount Ephraim, and also by way of Esdraelon, and 'to Esdraelon and those passes the Jordan offers an extraordinary number of fords; while further south, where the passes into the western range are few and more difficult, there are in Jordan hardly any fords.' Another feature mentioned, which seems to us to have hardly any historical or other significance, is the connexion of Carmel with Samaria. Indeed, Professor Smith himself says that Carmel 'had no political or military history.' The last great feature of Samaria was the number of fortresses which were required on every frontier, owing to that exposed position to which we have already referred. Locally the centre of Samaria, Shechem was incapable of defence, and so the capital was removed, first of all, eastward to Tirzah, and then fixed by Omri on the western side at Samaria. 'It is a position out of the way of most of the kingdom, . . . but wisely chosen by a dynasty whose strength was alliance with Phœnicia,' and, further than this, it was almost impregnable. Another important frontier town was Kakon, which stood some little way out into the plain, but yet was reckoned to Nablus. To these must be added Jufna or Gophna, just off the road from Shechem to Bethel, Korea, and Alexandrium (neither of which places has been certainly identified), and the fortresses which guarded the upper ends of the valleys leading up from the Jordan, such as Besek, Tirzah, and Thebez. But it was the northern frontier which most required fortresses, for here the neighbourhood of the plain of Esdraelon was a permanent source of danger. The most important of these were Dothan, Jezreel, and Bethshan. The former guarded the road which swept eastwards out of Sharon, between Samaria and Carmel. The second 'covered the highways

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from the coast to Jordan, and from Egypt to Damascus.' The third, Bethshan, though it might have been useful to Samaria from its command of the passes of the Jordan, was yet strong enough to stand alone, and did, in fact, serve rather as a basis for attacking Western Palestine than as a frontier fortress to defend it. It must have seen, and indeed did see, many of the most important campaigns in which Palestine has played a part; and Professor Smith well observes that 'there are few sites which promise richer spoil beneath their rubbish to the first happy explorer with permission to excavate.' We will pass over the next chapter, in which a special point—the position of Sychar—is discussed, in order that we may follow our author in his rapid survey of the geography, only noticing the conclusion reached, which is that the present topography, so far from contradicting, really justifies the narrative of St. John's Gospel. The Plain of Esdraelon is the subject of the next chapter. It is impossible to exaggerate its importance as a battlefield, and Professor Smith is very exact in his description of it. He divides it into three sections, the most western of which is the plain of Acre, cut off on the east from the central part of the plain of Esdraelon by low hills, some nine miles from the sea, near Tell-el-Kasis, the traditional site of the slaughter of the priests of Baal. The second division again, bounded by projecting hills on the east, is not very clear to follow on the maps. The third part is that lying in the neighbourhood of Jezreel, sloping towards the Jordan valley. The triangular shape of the large central plain lying across the lines of the other two divisions is quite clearly marked on the map. The base of it runs some twenty miles from Engannim in a north-westerly direction towards the plain of Acre, the eastern side of it runs almost due north to a point between Nazareth and Mount Tabor, and the northern edge runs almost due east and west, bounded on the north by the hills of Galilee, which here rise to a height of some thousand feet. It was to a large extent the territory of Issachar, and it is pointed out how well the circumstances correspond to the language used in the blessing of Gen. xlix. 14, *Issachar is a large-limbed ass, stretching himself between the sheepfolds: for he saw a resting place that it was good, and the land that it was pleasant, so he bowed his shoulder to bear and became a servant unto taskwork.* This is Professor Smith's translation, on which he comments as follows:

'Such exactly is Esdraelon—a land relaxed and sprawling up among the hills to north, south, and east, as you will see a loosened

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ass roll and stretch his limbs any day in the sunshine in a Syrian village yard. To the highlander looking down upon it Esdraelon is room to stretch in and lie happy. Yet the figure of the ass goes further—the room must be paid for. . . . The inheritors of this plain never enjoyed the highland independence of Manasseh or Naphtali' (p. 383).

Into this plain there are five entrances, of which three come at the corners of the triangle to which we have referred, and the other two are the approaches by way of Megiddo and Jezreel from Sharon and Bethshan respectively. Nearly all the important routes of Western Palestine cross this plain—all, if we except those which kept to the coast and Jordan valley—and this fact gives it its importance. The entrances into the plain are guarded by fortresses, to several of which we have already alluded. In this chapter we have an account of four of the chief battles that have taken place there, and incidentally we get some interesting reflections. Thus in reference to the mode adopted by Gideon to select the warriors he would take with him, the writer dwells on its special suitability as a test:

'Those Israelites who bowed themselves down on their knees drinking headlong, did not appreciate their position or the foe; whereas those who merely crouched, lapping up the water with one hand, while they held their weapons in the other and kept their face to the enemy, were aware of their danger, and had hearts ready against all surprise' (p. 399).

Another reflection which seems worthy of attention refers to the invasion of the Philistines in which the battle of Mount Gilboa took place:

'Had their aim been the invasion of the hill country, they would have turned south-east to Jenin, and Saul would have met them there. That, instead, we find them striking north-east to Shunem at the head of the vale of Jezreel, proves that at least their first intention had to do with the valley of the Jordan. Either they had to come to subjugate all the low country, and so confine Israel, as the Canaanites did, to the hills, or else they sought to secure their caravan route to Damascus and the East from Israel's descents upon it by the roads from Besek to Bethshan and across Gilboa' (p. 402).

There must have been many who, in reading the account in the Book of Samuel, must have wondered why the conflict between Saul and the Philistines should have taken place so far north, and to them we commend the quotation just made. These two extracts show the different ways in which this book, based on local knowledge and a careful examination of details, is made to throw light on the Biblical narrative.

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We must now take leave of Esdraelon, and proceed north to Galilee. The name seems to have gradually extended southwards, and we can trace different stages in its progress. By the time of the Maccabees, though still indefinite, it had reached the plain of Esdraelon, and came later to include this, the southern edge of which became its southern boundary On the west it was cut off from the sea by the coasts of Tyre and Sidon, on the north its limit was the gorge of the Litany and on the east Jordan and the Sea of Galilee, of which the eastern coast also fell within the limits of the province. Its size was roughly some fifty miles from north to south, and twenty-five to thirty-five miles from east to west. It falls naturally into three divisions: to the south the plain of Esdraelon; in the centre *Lower* Galilee, lying between the Sea of Galilee and the coast, no part of which reaches a greater altitude than 1,850 feet; to the north of this, marked clearly off according to Professor Smith, though it is not so clear on his map, lay Upper Galilee, a high plateau with hills running up to 4,000 feet. The first great feature of Galilee is her fertility, due in a large measure to the influence of the Lebanons and the constant supply of moisture which they bring. The second is the populousness of the country, consequent on this fertility. This feature is one which we are apt to overlook, and yet it is of great importance if we are to form an accurate idea of the circumstances of our Lord's ministry. The people are described as 'ever fond of innovations and by nature disposed to changes and delighting in seditions.' This characteristic Professor Smith mentions in connexion with the volcanic nature of part of the district! But the Galileans were also 'chivalrous and gallant,' and, according to the Talmud, they were, in contrast with the inhabitants of Judæa, 'more anxious for money than for honour.' Galilee lay much more in the stream of the world's life than Judæa. It was crossed by great roads connecting Damascus and the east with Egypt and with the sea. There were the great south road to Egypt, the great road running from Acre to Bethshan and across the Jordan to Gilead and so to Arabia, and the so-called 'way of the sea' which led by way of Capernaum to the far east. Galilee was thus intersected with roads, and thronged by every kind of worldly interest and activity. Professor Smith draws special attention to this in connexion with Nazareth: 'Nazareth is usually represented as a secluded and obscure village,' but, so far from being that, it commanded to the south the great roads from Jerusalem and Egypt,

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the caravans from Damascus and from Midian passed not far from it to the south, while close to it on the north the companies were still more brilliant along the highway which led from Acre and the Decapolis to the east. Emphasis is laid, and rightly laid, on the endless variety of sights and interests which the mixed throngs of every nation must have brought within reach of Nazareth.

'Here, then, He grew up, and suffered temptation, who was tempted in all points like as we are, yet without sin. The perfection of His purity and patience was achieved not easily as behind a wide fence which shut the world out, but amid rumour and scandal with every provocation to unlawful curiosity and premature ambition. . . . A vision of all the kingdoms of the world was as possible from this village as from the mount of temptation. But the chief lesson which Nazareth teaches to us is the possibility of a pure home and a spotless youth in the very face of the evil world' (p. 435).

We cannot help thinking that the idea of Galilee as 'surrounded by desert places haunted with demoniacs' is a much more common conception than that which Josephus draws of it with its three millions of inhabitants, or Professor Smith in the chapter from which we have been quoting. We thank him for making more clear—though others have emphasized it before him—the conditions under which our Lord grew up and lived. *Et si habet Asia suspitionem luxuriæ quandam, non Asiam nunquam vidisse, sed in Asia continenter vixisse laudandum est.*[1]

The Lake of Galilee has, as it deserves to have, a chapter to itself. Here those conditions of life to which we have just been referring were still further emphasized:

'Imagine that wealth of water, that fertility, those nerves and veins of the volcano [what, by the way, is meant by this?], those great highways, that numerous population, that commerce and industry, those strong Greek influences—imagine them all crowded into a deep valley [nearly seven hundred feet below the sea-level] under an almost tropical heat, and you have before you the conditions in which Christianity arose, and Christ Himself chiefly laboured' (p. 440).

The lake is only about twelve miles long by eight miles wide at its widest part, and yet round it were nine cities, each with a population of not less than fifteen thousand. Of some even the site is at the present day uncertain, as of Bethsaida, Taricheæ, and even Capernaum itself. The Sea of Galilee is, to use Professor Smith's expression, girdled by a con-

[1] Cic. *Pro Mur.* § 12.

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tinuous belt of ruins, the drift of her ancient towns, and of all these the book before us tells us something.

With two chapters on the Jordan Valley and the Dead Sea our author concludes his study of Western Palestine. Almost everyone is familiar with the unique characteristic of the Jordan Valley: namely, the depth below the sea-level at which it runs.

'No other part of our earth, uncovered by water, sinks to 300 feet below the level of the ocean. But here we have a rift more than one hundred and sixty miles long, and from two to fifteen broad, which falls from the sea-level to as deep as 1,292 feet below it at the coast of the Dead Sea, while the bottom of the latter is 1,300 feet deeper still' (p. 469).

In the book to which we have already referred, Canon Tristram, writing on 'The Natural History of Palestine,' expresses his belief that the lakes in the Jordan Valley were 'the northernmost of a great chain of lakes, of which the Red Sea and the Nile Valley were two, forming, with the Nyanza, the Nyassa, and Tanganyika, a great chain of lakes of the Miocene period.'[1] The various claimants for the position of source of the Jordan may be reduced to two—Dan and Paneas, or Banias, which are in all probability two names for one and the same place. There is little of interest in the Upper Valley of the Jordan, except a certain military importance owing to the defile through which it flows, the key to which was the fortress of Banias. At the Lake of Huleh (or Waters of Merom) the river reaches sea-level, and in the nine miles between that lake and the Sea of Galilee it falls to nearly 700 feet below. From the Sea of Galilee onwards to the Dead Sea its course is some sixty-five miles, fenced in on both sides by the high ground of Samaria and Judæa on the west, and of Gilead on the east. These mountains leave a valley of a width varying from three to fourteen miles, and thus make, in the neighbourhood of Bethshan and Jericho, plains of a fair size. These plains were both of them of remarkable fertility, which was increased by the power of irrigating. In fact, round both Jericho and Bethshan it is easy to turn the whole place into a swamp, as was done near Bethshan in the Moslem invasion of 634. The whole district, from Jericho northwards, was colonized by Herod the Great, who founded Phasaelis, while Archelais was built by his son, also for agricultural purposes. The praises lavished on the agricultural possibilities of this part of

[1] *The City and the Land*, p. 74.

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Palestine have been continuous. And yet, in spite of its being (in the words of Josephus) 'a divine region,' 'fattest of Judæa,' and the like, this Jordan Valley seems never to have had many towns in it on either side of the river, and the name by which it was known was the Arabah or Desert. Three reasons are given in explanation of this. In the first place, lying as it does in such an enclosed basin, it is intolerably hot, and the present inhabitants are a 'sickly and degenerate race.' And so what has happened in the past, as in the present, is that the cities are built on the higher ground, from which the inhabitants come down for their agricultural pursuits. A second reason which has militated against any permanent occupation of the valley is that it was infested with wild beasts, including lions, which found a secure retreat in the jungle which covers the wider bed of the Jordan—that is to say, the width to which the Jordan extends in flood-time. A third reason which is given to explain the absence of any thick population or large towns is that the Jordan Valley, like the plain of Esdraelon, was liable to be overrun with eastern tribes. And so the Jordan Valley, useless for habitation in spite of its fertility, has served, according to Professor Smith, as a barrier; and yet it is only rarely that we find any reference to it as a military frontier, and moreover all the central part of the eastern range was, as Professor Smith points out elsewhere, closely associated with Samaria, and, if it was held as a line of frontier, fortresses were built as much on the eastern as the western bank. It is, in spite of Professor Smith's arguments and illustrations, a 'reflection of the spiritual symbolism' which has led to the importance attached to this river as a frontier. The chapter naturally does not conclude without a reference to the connexion with Jordan of Elijah and John the Baptist. It is possible, perhaps probable, that when the latter is represented as saying: 'O generation of vipers, who hath warned you to flee from the wrath to come?' he was thinking of 'the fires among the dry scrub chasing before them the scorpions and vipers,' but at any rate our Lord uses the same term (*e.g.* Matthew xxiii. 33) where no such local colouring is possible.

The Jordan empties itself into the Dead Sea. This lake is some fifty-three miles long by nine or ten wide, and in some places as much as thirteen hundred feet deep; and this, it must be remembered, though its surface is nearly the same depth below the level of the Mediterranean. Its extraordinary saltness seems in large measure due to the constant

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evaporation caused by the great heat of the atmosphere, combined of course with unusual saltness in the springs which feed the lake. The saltness is sufficiently illustrated by the well-known difficulty, if not impossibility, of swimming in it. Where are we to place the cities of the plain, whose fate constitutes one of the chief interests connected with the locality? Professor Smith, after stating the evidence, regards it as almost impossible to settle between the northern and southern ends. Of course the narrative of Genesis has to be examined. Professor Smith accepts the historical character of the story, though at the same time he says that for himself it does not 'matter anything to faith whether the story be historical or not'! But of what nature the overthrow was it is impossible to determine. Was it due to volcanic action, or was it the result of a sudden explosion and conflagration following on the extraordinary accumulation of oil and gas beneath the surface? But we wonder that any can doubt the historical character of the occurrence. On one other scene in the neighbourhood of the Dead Sea Professor Smith dwells, and this is connected with the fortress of Masada to the south of Engedi. Hither in 70 A.D. the last survivors of the garrison of Jerusalem fled, relying on the natural strength of the position, which had been of course much increased by the works which Herod carried out. Hither they were followed by the Romans, who, after at last succeeding in securing an entrance, found that only two women remained alive, the rest of the garrison having put themselves to death, at the suggestion of Eleazar, rather than fall into the hands of the Romans. With this dreadful episode Professor Smith concludes the account of the Dead Sea, and also of the geography of Western Palestine.

The third and last section of the book deals with Eastern Palestine, the length of which is some hundred and fifty miles from north to south, if we reckon from Mount Hermon to the southern end of the Dead Sea, while its width from the Jordan on the west to the desert on the east varies from thirty to eighty miles. Its great elevation gives it a temperate climate, and even where it is shadeless the air is fresh and health-giving. The northern part of this eastern district extends from Mount Hermon to the Yarmuk, and this is especially noted for its wheat, which finds its way to Damascus and Acre on the backs of camels. The Hauran, as this district is called, is as remarkable for its want of trees as for its corn-growing capacities. South of the Yarmuk, on the contrary, between that river and the Jabbok, Gilead abounds in forests on the high ground, while the valleys are filled with orchards.

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South of the Jabbok the land becomes for the most part wide moorland. But these eastern districts were noted also for their pasturage, and Professor Smith regards the numbers of sheep as almost incredible, except to one who has been there. But these prosperous conditions are marred by exposure to the Arabs of the desert on the east, the constantly recurring danger of whose incursions has a visible proof in the number of underground cities—such as Edrei was—which were capable of being used as places of refuge in time of difficulty. Strabo mentions one cave capable of holding 4,000 robbers. Giant cities of Bashan there have doubtless been, as their ruins testify; but they have been overwhelmed, so that their sites, and even their names in some cases, have vanished. The Greeks early settled in these parts, but made no permanent impression. 'It required nothing less than the genius of Rome, the power of the Legions, the organization of the Empire, to build a bulwark between Syria and the desert; and even those enormous powers took nearly two centuries to their task' (p. 530). It was from the arrival of Pompey that even Greek cities dated their eras and began to thrive, and under the later Roman emperors, when Trajan had set a province between Syria and the desert, a wonderful accession of vigour set in, as is testified by the roads and cities, which are so numerous that the traveller 'can stand almost nowhere but the sites of two or three of them are in view.'

From these general reflections on the characteristics of Eastern Palestine our author proceeds to consider 'The Divisions and Names of Eastern Palestine;' a part of this chapter we have anticipated, and there seems to be a certain amount of unnecessary repetition. We question whether the general reader will take any great interest in the exact dimensions and boundaries of Gaulanitis, Auranitis, Batanæa, Trachonitis, and Huræa, or in the friendly controversy which Professor Smith has been carrying on with Professor Ramsay as to some points in connexion with the use of the last two names in this list. We will therefore pass these by. It is different with Peræa, which plays a sufficient part in the Gospel history to deserve attention. It was more Jewish than the rest of Eastern Palestine, and so, by what seems at first a curious arrangement, it was assigned with Galilee to Herod Antipas, and separated from Samaria, to which district it locally corresponded better.

'The Jews always regarded Peræa, Galilee, and Judæa as the three Jewish provinces, and when the Galilæan pilgrims came up to the feasts at Jerusalem by Peræa they felt they had travelled

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all the way on Jewish soil. . . . Here Christ met with Jewish doctors who tempted Him, with a Jewish ruler who knew the law, and with Jewish mothers who brought their children to Him that He might lay His hands on them' (p. 540).

The proper limits of this district seem to have been the Jabbok on the north and the Arnon on the south, though the name is applied beyond these limits in both directions. In connexion with St. Paul's journey to Arabia it may be well to remind ourselves that the whole region to the east, as well as the south, of Eastern Palestine was known as Arabia. Of no great general interest is it to follow the investigations as to the names of these districts in Old Testament times. We pass on, therefore, to the chapter which deals with 'Moab and the Coming of Israel.' Israel came probably up the great Hajj road, which skirts Eastern Palestine, as far as the upper valley of the Arnon, where they asked permission to cross his territory of Sihon, an Amorite king who had crossed the Jordan and ejected Moab and Ammon. This permission being refused, war followed, and this war with Sihon has been quite unnecessarily declared by some critics to be unhistorical. After defeating Sihon they came westwards, over the high ground to the north of the Arnon, until they came to the *headland of Pisgah which looketh out over Jeshimon.* Pisgah Professor Smith regards as identified with *Ras Siaghah*, situated on a level with the north end of the Dead Sea, the view from which is the same as that on which Moses is said to have looked.

By the conquest of Sihon the Israelites gained the southern part of Gilead, the part north of the Jabbok being secured by the victory over Og, as to which sceptics, arguing from what in their eyes must have been, have had doubts. The continuous occupation of the high ground of Gilead by Israelitish tribes is another proof of how closely that part of Eastern Palestine was connected with that which lay across the Jordan. To this district belonged two of the judges, Jair and Jephthah; to this district, as to a secure place, David fled from Absalom; from this district Elijah came. But of all the sites in Gilead, except the river Jabbok, none are definitely identified. Where are Penuel, Mahanaim, and Ramoth Gilead? To the north of the Yarmuk Greek influence firmly established itself, the oldest settlements, Pella and Dion, probably dating from Alexander's time. Philadelphia, Bosra, and Gadara were also very early. The most famous confederacy was that known as the Decapolis, which our author regards as 'established against the various Semitic influences

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east and west of Jordan from which Rome had freed them, but could not yet undertake to give them full protection' (p. 596). The position of these cities shows that they had a strategic importance, as they lay either on the three roads which traverse Eastern Palestine from Scythopolis, or on the road which meets them. The number was not, however, limited to ten, and we find a list containing as many as eighteen names. Many of these cities had large buildings, amphitheatres, temples, and the like. At Gerasa there are still standing as many as two hundred columns in the colonnaded street. As in the case of Nazareth and life in Galilee (see p. 389 *sq.*), so in this chapter we are reminded of the influences at work in our Lord's time:

'Gadara produced Philodemus the Epicurean, a contemporary of Cicero; Meleager the epigrammatist; Menippus the satirist; Theodorus the rhetorician, the tutor of Tiberius, and others. . . . Philodemus, Meleager, Menippus, Theodorus were names of which the one end of the Lake of Galilee was proud when Matthew, Peter, James, and John were working at the other. . . . We have ample proof that the kingdom of God grew up in no obscure corner, but in the very face of the kingdoms of this world' (pp. 607-8).

The last chapter in the book deals with Damascus, but is not important. The five appendices deal with (1) some geographical passages and terms of the Old Testament, (2) Stade's theory of Israel's invasion of Western Palestine, (3) the wars against Sihon and Og, (4) the bibliography of Eastern Palestine, (5) roads and wheeled vehicles in Syria. Of these we have not space to give any account. They are interesting, learned, and valuable.

We have endeavoured in the preceding pages to give some idea of the amount of ground covered by the *Historical Geography of the Holy Land.* In doing so we have made many extracts, and freely borrowed for purposes of our condensed account many of the actual expressions used by Professor Smith. We hope he will pardon us this liberty. Our aim has been to pick out the salient points, and also to indicate how light is thrown on many passages of the Bible, and also on the historical circumstances of the time. We are sadly conscious of having been compelled in this way to make somewhat of a skeleton, and of having passed by many details which are necessary to breathe life into the dead bones. The difficulty we have felt has been increased by the consciousness that for the full enjoyment of the book it is necessary to be able freely and constantly to refer to the maps. We wish to conclude this article first of all with some criticisms

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which we are vain enough to think may make a good book better, and then with some general remarks on one or two points of interest.

In the first place, then, Professor Smith must allow us to criticize his English style. There are sundry slips in grammar of which the following will serve as instances. 'There is almost no ornament, nor trace of ornament having been removed' (p. 243); and again, 'There are now in Tiberias, for His sake, a physician and a hospital, *who* enjoy the same opportunities.' On pp. 109, 590 *n.* there are instances of the too common mistake of *nor* for *or*; on pp. 283, 419 'the most' is used in a way which offends our sense of English; on p. 154 '*heavy* battles' is an expression we do not remember to have seen before; and perhaps most unusual of all is the sentence (p. 164) 'Christian saints have been served heir to the fame of heathen worthies who have preceded them.' May we protest, too, against such words as 'kinghood,' 'agonised,' 'intermedium,' 'tropic' (for tropical), and such spellings as Wetzstein, Samarian (for which Samaritan has crept in once or twice), Aramæic, and, last but not least, 'debatable' (which occurs everywhere, *e.g.* pp. 205, 207, 239, except on p. 8 where it is correctly spelt)? We prefer *more like* to *liker* (p. 214 *n.*) It is also somewhat of a mixture of metaphors which says 'on those noble stages of life the seeds of Hellenism had been planted' (p. 611).[1] But apart from these details we would suggest that a diligent use of the pruning-knife to cut out some of the exuberances would effect an improvement. One knows quite well that a great part of the charm of an imaginative and poetic writer must come from the *abandon* with which he writes, but let him revise. The following passage, referring to Samson, might, we think, be improved, and we question the taste of it:

'And so from these country braes to yonder plains and the highway of the great world—from the pure home and the mother who talked with angels, to the heathen cities, their harlots and their prisons, we see at one sweep of the eye all the course in which this uncurbed

[1] We may point out the following among slips which have escaped in the correcting of the proofs: p. 18 *n.*, Rendel for Rendell; p. 173 *n.*, 4 has dropped out; p. 383, after Issachar omit 1; p. 206 *n.* 3 *sic*; p. 159 *n.*, glan*d*s; p. 370 *n.*, fr*o*m. In the index, Papyrus Golenischeft 198, and Ulpi*a*n; on p. 374, one branch turns *west*ward (instead of eastward); and similarly (p. 318), the valley of Rephaim runs south-*west*; and conversely (p. 351), should we not read 'extreme south-*east*'? p. 413 *n.*, cas*t*le; p. 210 *n.*, for Ikra read Iksa. The general map is not a frontispiece, nor does Map ii. face p. 1; p. 285 *n.*, for ὅρκυ read ὄρκου; p. 221 *n.*, for *o*n xviii. 12 read *i*n.

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strength, at first tumbling and sporting with laughter like one of its native brooks, like them also ran to the flats and the mud, and being darkened and befouled was used by men to turn their mills' (p. 222).

There is also a tendency to drag in irrelevant illustration, as, for instance, talking of Gideon, Professor Smith says (p. 399): 'It was the middle watch—that dead of the night against which our Lord also warned His disciples.' If anyone will look out the reference, he will see that there is no special mention of the middle watch in St. Luke xii. 38 to justify its introduction here. To turn from the English to the Greek. We feel inclined to parody our author's apostrophe to the shade of King Horam, and say, O shade of Porson! It were better, perhaps, to omit the accents altogether, as is done consistently on pp. 17 *n.*, 23 *n.*, than to perpetrate such enormities as ὅρκισμου (!) and γλυκειά. One word in reference to the maps. It would be a great advantage if we could have one further north, and another further south, than those given, as it is impossible to follow either the line of demarcation between Upper and Lower Galilee or the references in the neighbourhood of Beersheba. We might notice a number of apparent omissions on the maps. Thus we have sought in vain for the names of Mar Saba, Moreh, the Wady Muktul, the Wady Ifjim, the Wady Khulil.[1] Sometimes there seems to be a contradiction between the map and the letterpress. Thus, for example, the map seems to say one thing, the letterpress another, as to the position of the brook Cherith, and as to the relative position of Archelais and Phasaelis. The index might be improved by increasing both the number of names included and the references to those which are mentioned. Thus there is no reference to Adasa, Fahl (is this or Sir William Muir's form Fihl correct?), Phasaelis, Safed, Sephoris, or to the Septuagint; and under Pella we might have found a reference to p. 359, where the great battle of 634 is mentioned. We will confess to having given our author credit for having omitted both the battles of Adasa and Fihl, in consequence of having trusted to the index, but fortunately we corrected the mistake on re-reading the book. Will Professor Smith have this index carefully revised and completed, for in such a book as this it is *most* important for purposes of reference; and will he add also an index giving the references to the passages of Scripture quoted? We think he will greatly increase the practical utility of the book by so doing.

[1] Would it be possible to make clearer on the map the depression between the Shephelah and Judæa, which is not shown by the colouring of the map?

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We turn now to a second point, and that is the attitude of the writer towards the newer criticism of the Old Testament. On this he lays great stress in his preface, where he writes as follows: 'That part of criticism, which consists of the distinction and appreciation of the various documents of which the books of Scripture are composed, has especially contributed to the elucidation and arrangement of geographical details in the history of Israel, which without it had been left by archæology in obscurity' (p. xiv); and again, on the same page: 'And to those among us who are distrustful of the latter [*i.e.* the new methods of Biblical criticism] I would venture to say that there is no sphere in which the helpfulness of recent criticism, in removing difficulties and explaining contradictions, has been more apparent than in the sphere of Biblical geography.' Quite apart from any large question as to the rightness or wrongness of the methods referred to, we think Professor Smith has somewhat over-estimated their importance in the sphere of Biblical geography. In quite a large proportion of the cases, where these methods come under discussion, our author has disputed, and successfully as we think, their 'textual and historical conclusions.' We have collected a number of passages throughout the book in which reference is made to the criticism of the Old Testament books. Thus, in a note on p. 179, after arguing in the text as if Psalms lx. and lxxxiii. were certainly Maccabæan, he continues: 'Of course it is always possible historically that such Psalms are of earlier date, for Hezekiah carried fire and sword into Philistia while Isaiah was alive—a strong reminder to us of how impossible it is to be dogmatic on the date of any Psalm simply because it reflects the main feeling of the literature of the time to which we assign it.' Precisely. Another note on pp. 220–1 discusses difficulties in connexion with the position of the camp of Dan, and is, we expect, such a case as Professor Smith would point to as justifying the words we have quoted from his preface, in which he says that geographical difficulties have been removed by recent criticism. In this note we read that the camp of Dan is twice mentioned in the Book of Judges, and placed once (xiii. 25) *between Zorah and Eshtaol* and once (xviii. 12–13) *behind Kirjath Jearim*, and we are told 'the same place could not have lain between Zorah and Eshtaol, and away from both in Kirjath Jearim. We have evidently, therefore, two different narratives, and in fact they are distinguished by critics on other, textual, grounds.' In face of the uncertainty which (pp. 225-6) exists as to the site of Kirjath-jearim, it seems to us that such in-

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ferences as are made in the note we have quoted are, at least, premature. There is rather more difficulty in the twofold explanation (see p. 284) which we get in two passages in Genesis, referring to the origin of the name Beersheba, the first connecting it with Abraham, the second with Isaac. We will take one more instance. On p. 401 Professor Smith proposes a rearrangement of the chapters in which we get the account of Saul's final campaign with the Philistines, and in this a great deal depends on the position of Aphek. But we are told on the preceding page that we do not know where Aphek is, and, indeed, it may be placed some way to the south-west at the mouth of a pass from Sharon into Samaria. We do not wish now, nor is it essential to our consideration of this book, to go into the large question of the *higher criticism*. We think our author himself differs from some of its exponents in a very large number of cases: as for example in regard to the groundless theory of the history which makes part, at any rate, of the Israelitish invasion take place from the south. We can, however, assure our readers that, though they will receive shocks in places (for example, in the quotation we have already made dealing with the incident of the destruction of the cities of the plain), yet still the author's views on this subject interfere comparatively little with the interest or value of the book.

We pass on now to another point, and that is the question of the identification of the sites referred to. In this connexion we do well to bear in mind the 'terrible risks which the place names of Palestine have been subject to in seven or eight languages' (p. 405). In this way, no doubt, numerous errors have been introduced. Further than that, we have also to bear in mind the readiness of our early explorers to accept any identification suggested to them by native Arabs, and the equal readiness of the Arabs to provide such identification. 'A tolerably certain method of finding any place at will is to ask an Arab if its name exists. He is sure to answer yes, and to point out some place at hand as its location.'[1] We remember also to have seen somewhere recorded that a traveller, with little knowledge of Arabic, multiplied the number of places considerably by asking his guide the names of the places, and, on being answered 'I do not know,' phonetically recording the answer as the name in question.[2]

[1] Robinson, *Biblical Researches*, i. 112.

[2] A parallel sufficiently close may be found in the way in which the word *kangaroo* has found its way into English from the language of Australian natives.

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But, apart from such modern difficulties as these, there is of course serious difficulty sometimes in regard to identification. Tradition no doubt helps to perpetuate a name, and so to assist the modern explorer. In this way the probable site of Anthedon was discovered by a German from hearing the name Teda used by a native. 'After asking the name of the place, and hearing it was Teda, Gatt said to his informant, "Whence knowest thou that?" "From those who have lived before me have I heard it. Is it not with you as with us—some are born, and others die, and the old tell the young what they know?' (p. 189 *n.*). But tradition is not always so helpful. Thus, for instance, tradition is probably wrong in identifying the cave of Adullam with a cave to the south-east of Bethlehem, when it really lies in the Shephelah to the west of Judæa. This tradition is probably due to the Crusaders (p. 229 *n.*). We have already spoken of the uncertainty as to identifying the scenes of Samson's life. Sometimes, of course, the old sites disappeared, and new towns arose close to them, as seems to have happened in regard to Moreshah and Eleutheropolis. Sometimes the old name seems to have been transferred to a neighbouring spot; thus the old Lachish lies at Tell-el-Hesy, though the name has been retained hard by at Umm-Lakis. Sometimes the sites proposed are almost the width of the land apart. Thus such an important and ancient name as Megiddo is still without a sure resting place. Major Conder places it at Mujedda, near to Bethshan, that is, to the east of Esdraelon; while most other explorers place it at Lejjun, towards the west side of the plain, where one of the entrances from the maritime plain comes in. Similarly in regard to Pirathon, some identify it with Feron, due west of Samaria; while Professor Smith puts it on the other side of the central range, at the head of the Wady Farah leading down to the Jordan. There is no doubt, however, that a very large number of sites have been certainly identified, even if a large number still remain uncertain. It is by making mistakes, and having those mistakes corrected, that, in some instances at least, our present sum of knowledge has been obtained. Let us endorse Major Conder's hope, that before long it may be possible to begin excavations at Mujedda, which may perhaps settle the question as far as that name is concerned. Our readers may be glad to be definitely referred to his article in the *Contemporary Review*[1] to learn what research has done in the past in Palestine, and what lines it should follow in the future. In Jerusalem itself

[1] See above, p. 373.

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explorations are being vigorously carried on, and the recent numbers of the Quarterly Statement of our Palestine Exploration Society have been full of an important discovery in connexion with the walls of Jerusalem. May we take this opportunity of urging on our readers the importance of helping on these and similar investigations? Such expenditure of money does really, as Major Conder shows, give quite as much support to Christian evidences as that which is spent nearer home on the same important subject.

To this point, in connexion with Professor Smith's book, we now turn; and, we will admit, it was almost the first thought with which we opened its pages. We asked ourselves What will it be able to say in support of the truth of the Bible narrative? Our pleasure was great at seeing one chapter in the book with the title 'The Land and Questions of Faith,' but we must confess to a certain sense of disappointment at what seemed to us a minimizing of the worth of such facts as are adduced. It is quite true that the line which has to be followed is generally what Bishop Butler called that of removing objections, and that so far it is only negative evidence. But, after all, continual repulses of attacks made on the Bible cannot fail to have a discouraging effect on its opponents, and to cause a corresponding increase in the spirits of those who are defending it. But it may be that our author is anxious to avoid incurring the charge of being apologetic, and leaves both those who would defend and those who would attack the Bible to read what he has said and let facts speak for themselves. It may be in the long run the wiser plan. We have no such fear of being regarded as apologetic, where the arguments are sound and there is no special pleading of the kind which is rightly deprecated. It is true enough that in the fact of a history accurately reflecting the geography we have no *proof* that the history is true, and that in regard to authorship the evidence afforded by geography is only corroborative. Yet all through the history, as we shall try to show, there is, whether in the battlefields, or in the accounts of the inhabitants, or in the story of this or that individual, abundant evidence of familiarity with the scenes described as they may be studied to-day. One long extract we must permit ourselves in regard not to a question of detail, but to a wider and larger question, viz. the general fitness of the land for the purpose which Israel was intended to fulfil. This people was chosen, as Athanasius finely says, to be a school for the whole world,[1] and its representative character—

[1] Πάσης τῆς οἰκουμένης ἦσαν διδασκάλιον ἱερὸν τῆς περὶ Θεοῦ γνώσεως καὶ τῆς κατὰ ψυχὴν πολιτείας. Ath. *De Inc.* xii.

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whether we consider the way in which its climate and its soil show the whole range of productiveness in nature, or whether we reflect that it has been more representative probably than any other country in respect of the races that have traversed it—in any case the representative character to which we have referred specially fitted them to fulfil this function. Hear Professor Smith:

'It [*i.e.* the Bible] represents Israel as brought by God to the Holy Land—as He also carried other peoples to their lands—for the threefold purpose of being preserved through all the changes of ancient history, of being educated in true religion, and sent forth to the world as apostles and examples. But how could such a people be better framed than by selection out of that race of mankind which have been most distinguished for their religious temperament, and by settlement on a land both near to, and aloof from, the main streams of human life, where they could be at once spectators of history and yet not its victims, where they could at once enjoy personal communion with God, and yet have some idea also of His providence of the whole world; where they could at once gather up the experience of the ancient world, and break with it into the modern? There is no land which is at once so much a sanctuary and an observatory as Palestine; no land which, till its office was fulfilled, was so swept by the great forces of history, and was yet so capable of preserving one tribe in national continuity and growth: one tribe, learning and suffering, and rising superior to the successive problems these forces presented to her, till, upon the opportunity afforded by the last of them, she launched with her results upon the world' (p. 112).

Let us turn to some special points in which we think modern investigations, especially in connexion with Palestine, have strengthened the position of the Bible as an historical record. To go back to the very beginning, the references to the Hittites found in the Bible were regarded as unhistorical. It was regarded as impossible that they should have been found down in the south of Palestine covenanting with Abraham by the help of 'money current with the merchant,' and yet modern investigations have shown us from other sources that it was not only possible but true.[1] Again, how well does Israel's invasion of Palestine as recorded in the Bible fit in both with the evidence which other records afford as to the unstable equilibrium of the peoples dwelling in those parts at that time, and also with the geographical conditions! And then, in regard to Joshua's movements, the accounts of these also are in agreement with the known routes up from the Jordan on the east of the central range, while on the other side of that range they agree with, *and*

[1] See especially on this Dr. Wright's article on 'The Hittites' in *The City and the Land.*

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are explained by, the fuller details which we have of later campaigns, such as those of the Maccabees, the Romans, and the Crusaders. Similarly accurate is the picture which the Bible presents to us of the relations of the Israelites and the Philistines alike in their earlier and later history (pp. 174, 178). Another case in which the history is consistent both with the geography and with what we know of the history of the time from other sources is Israel's invasion of Palestine. This Professor Smith carefully investigates. So, again, yet once more it is 'in accordance with the geographical *data* that the story of the patriarchs brings both Abraham and Jacob, on their entrance into the Promised Land, at once to Shechem, and that the Book of Deuteronomy selects Ebal and Gerizim as the scene of a great inaugural service by all Israel on taking possession of the country' (p. 333). Instances might be multiplied, almost indefinitely, by quotations from Professor Smith's book.

We hope we have said enough to show the great value of Professor Smith's book for purposes of illustrating the Bible narrative. It is by no means complete. Thus, for example, both Bethlehem and Bethany are very summarily dismissed. It is by no means final; but what book on this subject can be at the present time? The *surface* of Palestine has probably been as thoroughly examined as it can be; but beneath the surface what treasures lie awaiting the explorer's pickaxe—treasures the discovery of which must add to, and will, without much doubt, modify many of the conclusions to which investigations have hitherto led us! We ought to add that incidentally Professor Smith refers to a number of questions of general interest: as, for example, the interpretation to be put on the reference to Gaza in the eighth chapter of the Acts, the original home of the Philistines, and the history of the story of St. George and the Dragon, which took its rise on the coast of Palestine, and quite possibly grew out of the legend of Perseus and Andromeda, the scene of which was laid somewhere in the neighbourhood of Joppa. We have already reached the limits of our space, and cannot therefore say more of these or other subjects, but must send our readers to the pages themselves. In the meantime we welcome very heartily a book which at present has no rival—for Stanley's *Sinai and Palestine* knows nothing of modern discoveries, though it will never cease to have its charm and interest—and certainly no superior, as a careful, scholarly, and well-balanced investigation of a subject which has an enduring interest for all Christians.

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ART. VI.—THE FIRST TWENTY YEARS OF THE REIGN OF QUEEN ELIZABETH.

1. *Calendar of State Papers and Manuscripts relating to English Affairs existing in the Archives and Collections of Venice and in other Libraries of Northern Italy.* Vol. VII. 1558–1580. Edited by the late RAWDON BROWN and the Rt. Hon G. CAVENDISH BENTINCK, M.P. Published by the authority of the Lords Commissioners of Her Majesty's Treasury, under the direction of the Master of the Rolls. (London, 1890.)
2. *Calendar of Letters and State Papers relating to English Affairs preserved principally in the Archives of Simancas.* Vol. I. Elizabeth. 1558–1567. Edited by MARTIN A. S. HUME, F.R.Hist.S. Published by authority of the Lords Commissioners of Her Majesty's Treasury, under the direction of the Master of the Rolls. (London, 1892.) Vol. II. Elizabeth. 1568–1579. (London, 1894.)

PROBABLY no one would ever have guessed beforehand how much light would be thrown upon English affairs by the publication of the ciphered and other despatches existing at Venice and Simancas. The documents at Simancas which were deciphered by the extraordinary diligence and sagacity of the late M. Bergenroth have enabled us to understand the diplomacy of the Courts of Henry VII. and of Ferdinand and Isabella, and to appreciate the position and the motives of the principal actors with far greater accuracy than was formerly possible, when historical research was mainly confined within the comparatively narrow limits of our own State Paper Office and the publications of English histories, either actually or nearly contemporaneous with the transactions recorded by them. The Venetian Archives have not, indeed, been so prolific of new information as the ciphers of Simancas, inasmuch as the republic was mostly concerned with commercial transactions, her business being to keep on the best of terms with the other governments of Europe, not to say with that of the Turk also, and her doge and senate having little or nothing to do with the matrimonial projects which occupy so large a space in the description of the movements and acts of the other Courts of Europe. But the Simancas records brought to light some very startling disclosures, and have materially altered the face of history, and also have destroyed many an hypothesis which had been grounded on

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insufficient evidence. We need only here allude to the proposal of Henry VII. to marry his own widowed daughter-in-law, whose second marriage with his younger son led to such important results, and to the revelations with regard to the virginity of Catharine of Aragon when she married Henry VIII., the proved genuineness of the disputed breve of Julius II., and other points which are detailed at length in the Preface to the *Oxford Records of the Reformation*. The earlier volumes of both these series had the advantage of excellent editors. M. Bergenroth's prefaces were brilliant pieces of writing, and although not always trustworthy as to his deductions from the facts detailed in the Records, nor absolutely free from errors in transcription, yet, upon the whole, the documents of the first two volumes, with their supplement, which were issued under his superintendence, have been represented with considerable accuracy. The Venetian papers too were produced by the late Mr. Rawdon Brown in a most scholarlike fashion. He was thoroughly acquainted with his subject, and did his work *con amore*, in a style which has scarcely been surpassed, or even equalled, by any of his colleagues and co-editors.

We wish we could speak as highly of the execution of the volumes which have been entrusted to their successors; but unfortunately, Don Pascual de Gayangos was specially ignorant of English affairs, and continually makes mistakes both of names and dates; and the volumes of the earlier Spanish series published by him do not nearly come up in point of execution to those issued by M. Bergenroth. Nor does the editorial skill of the late Mr. Cavendish Bentinck, whose name is associated with that of Mr. Rawdon Brown on the title page of the seventh volume of the Venetian series, at all equal that of his late colleague. He was not so familiar with the history of the period as his accomplished predecessor, and he especially fails from his want of Latin scholarship. This is evidenced in all his Latin extracts, and notably in the congratulatory verses at the coronation of the Queen, the mistakes of which might easily have been corrected from the copy printed in Holinshed. Many of the errors it would have been easy for any scholar to correct; but the editor has left the greater part of these uncorrected, whilst there are others he has corrected wrongly, and in one case has himself been guilty of an unpardonable blunder in attempting to fill up a pentameter verse:

> 'Nos monet effigie qua sit respublica quando
> Corruit; et contra [quam] beata viget.'

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It passes our comprehension how anyone who knew anything of the language could have missed seeing that the word in brackets should have been *quando.* A similar observation applies to the case of Major Hume, who has undertaken the new series of Simancas papers, which belong to the reign of Elizabeth, the titles of the first two volumes of which we have placed at the head of this article. Amongst other faults also which we find in the execution of these two volumes is the immense amount of errors of grammar and spelling, principally occurring in the second. We do not see what excuse can be made for such carelessness, as the type is very large and clear, and, as far as the compositor is concerned, has comparatively little fault to be found with it.

However, we have done with fault-finding, and now proceed to give some account of the matter contained in these three valuable volumes, premising only that the reader is not to expect any such startling revelations as have characterized some earlier volumes of the series. Nevertheless we shall find that they add to the information previously possessed as to the history of the first twenty years of the reign of Elizabeth, and perhaps may serve the purpose of reversing some conclusions which seemed to rest on tolerable evidence.

As we should have expected, the Spanish papers supply us with much more information than the Venetian, for, in addition to what has already been said, we have to notice that there was no Venetian ambassador accredited to the Court of Elizabeth, so that we have to depend upon what leaks out from the ambassadors of the republic at Paris and from other sources, as it were by accident, for tidings of what was going on in England. It is difficult to explain how the Venetian republic so persistently refused to send an ambassador to England when Elizabeth was for many years soliciting the Doge and Signory to send one. It was so manifestly the interest of Venice to stand well with all parties that it is the more remarkable, as they were the only European Power that refused to do so. Their extreme devotion to the Pope is hardly an adequate account of the matter; but it is plain that the Pope highly appreciated their conduct, for at the end of the year 1578, when he feared that they were going to reverse their decision, he sent a nuncio to dissuade them from it, who, upon finding there was no truth in the report, complimented the Doge, saying that Venice was a very mirror of religion, a city of the Gospel which, although

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placed upon the waters, yet was set upon the hill, and from which all the world ought to take the rule and example of true religion.[1] We shall see in the sequel that in one respect —viz. as regards ecclesiastical matters—the Venetian volume is of more value than the two which contain the Spanish papers.

One of the most salient features of these despatches is the timidity and habit of procrastination which characterize Philip of Spain; another is the extreme levity and carelessness of appearances in the conduct of Elizabeth. Neither of these points is altogether new to readers of history, but perhaps few will have realized how entirely successful the King of Spain might have been if, whilst the nation was still more Catholic than Protestant, he had decided on an invasion of England, which, after having been delayed thirty years, ended in the disastrous defeat of the Spanish Armada in 1588. And probably some may have gathered from the freely expressed opinions of the French and Spanish ambassadors that one who was so vain and frivolous and devoted to pleasure is not entitled to the full credit which English writers have assigned to Elizabeth of sagacity and diplomatic address, though no one will be disposed to dispute her being possessed of the self-will which distinguishes the whole of the Tudor dynasty. The editor of these volumes is not, indeed, altogether of this opinion; and yet, in the very first page of his Introduction, when descanting on the consummate statesmanship of the great Queen, he admits her marvellous good fortune in the game she was playing against the two European Powers which alone England had to fear, and, as he truly observes, her own fickleness and vacillation, which under other circumstances would have been ruinous, were really so many points in her favour.

The King of Spain, with all the assistance of the Duke of Alva and Granvelle, in spite of their far-reaching insight and fixed principles of action, was over and over again outwitted by Elizabeth's apparently purposeless vagaries. Without adopting the conclusion which, as we have said, many will draw from the perusal of these documents, the editor has stated in the strongest language the premises which seem to lead up to it. He says:

'Elizabeth's own ministers were often as much at a loss to follow or understand the meaning of her varying moods as were her rivals. Strong and steadfast Cecil even, heart-sick of her changeful frivolity, was many times on the point of laying down his heavy burden in

[1] *Ven. Cal.* p. 589.

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despair. The letters in the present volume abound with references which prove that the keen diplomatists who served the wily Philip were far more puzzled by the Queen's weakness than by her strength, and that the signal success that attended her policy, the splendid achievement of welding England into a united nation, capable of withstanding the world in arms, was not effected by Elizabeth's statecraft alone, great as that was, but also by the aid of the very qualities which her contemporaries looked upon as her principal reproach' (Introduction, vol. i. p. ii).

We shall restrict our comments on these two volumes for the most part to these two particulars, and shall leave our readers to gain whatever information they may be able as to the diplomatic relations of Spain and England from Major Hume's able Introductions. And first we may observe that, as regards Elizabeth's intention to accept any of the numerous suitors for her hand whose offers she had the great satisfaction of declining, we think these papers make it abundantly evident that, excepting in the case of Robert Dudley, who was afterwards better known as Earl of Leicester, she never intended to marry at all, and in this matter managed to deceive not only her own ministers but all the world beside, with the single exception of the King of Spain, who, after her refusing to accept her late sister's husband and the failure of his project to get her to marry Dudley and restore the ancient faith, is persistent in his assertion of his belief in this. This, however, was not, at the beginning of the reign, the opinion of Paulo Tiepolo, the Venetian ambassador at Brussels. In a valuable ciphered despatch of April 23, 1559, he reports to the Doge and Senate that the Queen was so dissatisfied with the conclusion of the peace between France and Spain, and the promised alliance of Philip with Elizabeth of France, that she would gladly, if she could, break it up, and was then offering through the Count de Feria her acceptance of whatever conditions might please the King of Spain, provided she became his wife. On May 4 he writes that the French had been the means of removing Count de Feria from England,

'where he had authority to say and remind her of what they did not wish, as they seem to have thought that the Queen, both in religion and in matrimony, might the more easily rush headlong into some most fatal course, as it is affirmed that by Count de Feria's advice she abstained from taking the title of Head of the Church and from many other evil ideas which she might have already carried into effect' (p. 82).

The account given by Don Diego Guzman de Silva of

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his interview with the Queen on March 20, 1565, is transparently true. Upon his saying to her that there was a rumour that she was going to marry the young King of France, at that time not fifteen years of age, he writes:

'She held down her head a little and laughed, and I then told her that I had mentioned it to the French ambassador, who asked me what I thought of it, as the King is short and the Queen tall, to which she replied, "They tell me he is not short. But I wish to confess to you, as it is Lent and you are my friend."'

She then goes on, evidently with the greatest satisfaction, to enumerate her supposed lovers. 'Marriage,' she says, 'was suggested to me with the King my brother-in-law; the King of France has proposed, as well as the Kings of Sweden and Denmark, and, I understand, the Archduke Charles also; the only person who has not been mentioned to me is your prince,' *i.e.* Don Carlos, Philip's son, at that time about twenty years of age. The ambassador in reply then flattered her vanity by alleging that the reason was that Philip was convinced that she was not inclined to marry at all, 'since he, the greatest prince in Christendom, and the wisest, to whom, I am told, your Majesty owes most obligation, was offered to you, and nothing came of it' (p. 409). The Queen's final answer to the ambassador shows how, under the appearance of extreme frankness, she intended to mislead him as to her real sentiments.

'For my own part, I do not think that such a conclusion is so clear as you say, although at that time I had a great idea not to marry; and I promise you, if I could to-day appoint such a successor to the crown as would please me and the country, I would not marry, as it is a thing for which I have never had any inclination. My subjects even press me, so that I cannot help myself, but must marry or take the other course, which is a very difficult one. There is a strong idea in the world that a woman cannot live unless she is married, or at all events that if she refrains from marriage she does so for some bad reason, as they said of me that I did not marry because I was fond of the Earl of Leicester, and that I would not marry him because he had a wife already. Although he has no wife alive now I still do not marry him, notwithstanding that I was spoken to about it even on behalf of my brother the King. But what can we do? We cannot cover everybody's mouth, but must content ourselves with doing our duty and trust in God, for the truth will at last be made manifest. He knows my heart, which is very different from what people think, as you will see some day. I wish your master were here, that I might entertain and consult with him, as please God some day I may. If he goes by way of France, you know the road

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is a bad and a long one, and there are always difficult bits on a long journey.'[1]

The allusion in this letter is, of course, to the unfortunate Amy Robsart, whose death had taken place nearly five years before this conversation took place. A letter written by the Bishop of Aquila, who had preceded Guzman de Silva as Spanish ambassador, throws a lurid light on this event. On September 11, 1560, he relates a conversation between himself and Cecil, who was at that moment in disgrace, owing to his opposition to Dudley, of whose intimacy with the Queen he spoke in the strongest terms of reprobation as being likely to ruin the country, as she had surrendered all affairs to him and meant to marry him. He ended by begging De Quadra to represent to the Queen the effect of her misconduct, and to try to persuade her not to abandon business entirely; and added 'that Robert was thinking of killing his wife, who was publicly announced to be ill, although she was quite well.' The next day the bishop had an interview with the Queen herself as she was returning from hunting, when she informed him that Robert's wife was dead, or nearly so, and asked him not to say anything about it. The last words of the letter, which is addressed to the Duchess of Parma, at that time governess of the Netherlands, are, 'Since writing the above I hear the Queen has published the death of Robert's wife, and said, in Italian, "She broke her neck," and then he adds, "She must have fallen down a staircase."' More than a year earlier the Count de Feria had told Philip of the extreme intimacy between the Queen and Leicester.

'During the last few days,' he says, 'Lord Robert has come so much into favour that he does whatever he likes with affairs, and it is even said that her Majesty visits him in his chamber day and night. People talk of this so freely that they go so far as to say that his wife has a malady in one of her breasts, and the Queen is only waiting for her to die to marry Lord Robert.'[2]

When the visit of the Archduke Charles was on the tapis the Queen, in conversation with the Bishop of Aquila, said she feared that upon his coming to England he would be dissatisfied with what he heard about her, as there were people who took pleasure in saying anything that came into their heads about her, which, the Bishop added, 'she said with some signs of shame.'[3] Afterwards, in June 1562, when the Bishop had fallen under the suspicion of the Council, he actually replied to the Lord Chamberlain and Dr. Wotton,

[1] *Span. Cal.* i. 410. [2] *Ibid.* i. 57. [3] *Ibid.* i. 104.

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when accused of having said that the Queen had secretly married Lord Robert, 'I do not think, *considering what others say of the Queen*, that I should be doing her any injury in writing to his Majesty that she was married, which in fact I never have written, and I am sorry I cannot do so with truth.'[1]

When discussing the marriage with the Archduke Ferdinand he again says:

'They say she is in love with Lord Robert, and never lets him leave her. If my spies do not lie, which I believe they do not, for a certain reason which they have recently given me I understand she will not bear children.'

In a subsequent letter the Bishop of Aquila tells the King that he has heard Lord Robert had sent to poison his wife (p. 112); and to the Count de Feria he says, 'I have heard great things of a sort that cannot be written about, and you will understand what they must be by that.' On another occasion he speaks of the project for divorcing his wife (p. 141). After the death of his wife he says (November 20, 1560) that 'the talk is that Lord Robert was married to the Queen in the presence of his brother and two ladies of the chamber.' Three months later, when there appeared some hope of the marriage taking place with the sanction of the King of Spain, on condition of restoring the old religion, he alludes to the report that the Queen was not likely to bear children, and adds that many asserted that she had already borne some. In April he reports that 'Lord Robert's recent discontent' (at the course events were taking) 'has ended in her giving him an apartment upstairs adjoining her own, as it is healthier than that which he had downstairs.' The Bishop of Aquila evidently did not believe in anything amiss at the beginning of 1561, though he states his conviction that if they could not obtain Philip's sanction for the marriage the Queen might 'throw herself to the bad and satisfy her desires by which she is governed, to an extent that would be a grievous fault in a person of any condition, much more in a woman of her rank.'[2]

This was at the period when Leicester was making overtures to the King of Spain to be entirely at his devotion, and Philip seems to have had hopes of successfully negotiating both the marriage and what he called the restitution of religion. It seems quite clear that nothing but fear of the opposition of the people prevented the Queen's marriage with Dudley. On June 30, 1560, the bishop writes that at an

[1] *Span. Cal.* i. 248. [2] *Ibid.* i. 180.

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entertainment given by Dudley, he being alone with the Queen and Dudley,

'they began joking, which the Queen likes to do much better than talking about business . . . Lord Robert told her that, if she liked, I should be the minister to perform the act of marriage, and she, nothing loth to hear it, said she was not sure whether I knew enough English. I let them jest for a time, but at last spoke to them in earnest, and told them that if they listened to me they could extricate themselves from the tyranny of the Councillors, who had taken possession of the Queen and her affairs, and could restore to the country the peace and unity it so much needed by reinstating religion. If they did this they could effect the marriage they spoke of, and I should be glad in such case to be the minister to perform it, and they might punish severely those who did not like it, as they could do anything with your Majesty on their side. As things were now I did not think the Queen would be able to marry except when and whom Cecil and his friends might please. I enlarged on this point somewhat, because I see that unless Robert and the Queen are estranged from this gang of heretics that surround them, they will continue as heretofore, and if God ordain that they should fall out with them I should consider it an easy thing to do everything else we desire.' [1]

This phase of things lasted so long and went so far that, at the beginning of 1562, Dudley applied to the Spanish ambassador to induce Philip to write to the Queen on his behalf, not liking himself to write to the King of Spain, for fear of conditions being made with regard to religion which he would have no power to comply with. The Queen also had declared to him that she would be glad if he would accede to Dudley's request. Soon after this the ambassador fell under the suspicion of the Queen and Council, owing to a servant of his having betrayed his master's secrets to them, and, upon his examination before the Lord Chamberlain and Dr. Wotton, he was charged, among other things, with having written to Philip that the Queen had been secretly married to Lord Robert at the Earl of Pembroke's house. In his reply he said that what he had written was that this was the common talk of the town, and that the Queen herself had told him that not only was this so, but that on the return from the Earl's house her own ladies in waiting, when she entered her chamber with Lord Robert, asked whether they were to kiss his hand as well as hers, to which she had replied 'No,' and that they were not to believe what people said. She had also said with an oath that if she married an Englishman it should

[1] *Span. Cal.* i. 209.

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be Robert. Towards the end of October the Queen caught the small-pox, and was almost given over. When she was convalescent the first thing she said upon recovering consciousness was to ask them to make Lord Robert protector of the realm, with an income of 20,000*l.* a year, the Queen protesting at the time that, though she loved him dearly, nothing improper had ever passed between them. But she ordered a groom of the chamber called Tamworth, who slept in Lord Robert's room, to be granted an income of 500*l.* a year. Soon afterwards the Bishop died, and was succeeded in the embassy by Don Guzman de Silva, who says less about the marriage than his predecessor, but asks the King for instructions how he is to act, as he has been informed in strict secrecy that Lord Robert has an understanding *with the Pope* —these last words being in cipher—and looks to marry the Queen and to settle the religious question, and this assurance was renewed as late as June 6, 1565. And now Philip distinctly promises his aid in case of being assured that, if he succeeds, he will reduce the kingdom 'to our true ancient Catholic religion and obedience to the Pope' (p. 371).

Towards the end of September Don Guzman writes that Lord Robert had no chance, but that he did not believe the reopening of negotiations for a marriage with the Archduke Charles, which had been proposed in Council by Dudley himself, would come to anything. Nevertheless the Queen condescends to defend her conduct to this ambassador as she had done to his predecessor, saying:

'They charge me with a good many things in my own country and elsewhere, and amongst others that I show more favour to Robert than is fitting, speaking of me as they might speak of an immodest woman. I am not surprised that the occasion for it should have been given by a young woman and young man of good qualities, to whose merits and goodness I have shown favour, although not so much as he deserves; but God knows how great a slander it is, and a time will come when the world will know it. My life is in the open, and I have so many witnesses that I cannot understand how so bad a judgment can have been formed of me' (p. 387).

Probably by this time the Queen had given up all idea of marrying Dudley, whom she had recently created Earl of Leicester, and his own hopes seem to have been but faint. Nevertheless he was still persevering—his appearing to espouse the cause of the Archduke Charles being due to his feeling of certainty that it would issue in nothing—for Philip himself saw pretty plainly that the Queen never meant to accept the Archduke. But Leicester did not yet despair, and

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his suit was favoured by both the Spanish and French ambassadors, the latter being willing to acquiesce in Leicester, failing the success of the negotiation for the young French King, Charles IX., which had been put in hand to oppose the claims of the Archduke. The Spanish ambassador had certainly ample means for forming a judgment of the Queen, and his opinion is probably correct, that nothing was more agreeable to the Queen than treating of marriage in spite of her vehement asseverations to the contrary. 'She is vain,' he says, and would 'like all the world to be running after her, but it will probably end in her remaining as she is, unless she marry Lord Robert, who is still doing his best to win her' (p. 468). Many years after this time Lippomano, the Venetian ambassador in Spain, writing from Madrid on November 6, 1575, spoke of Elizabeth as of one 'accustomed to befool the world with negotiations for her own marriage,' at the same time intimating that the King of Spain was more than a match for her at this work.[1] More than three years after this the Queen, being at that time forty-five years of age, feigned to apologize to De Simier, saying that she was not fully persuaded whether the Duke wanted to marry her in order to be king or because of her mental and personal qualifications, and so he must be content to cross the sea to visit her without any absolute promise on her part (p. 591).

Looking at the whole evidence, the conclusion appears to us unavoidable that the Queen had very special reasons for resolving to marry no one but Leicester. The nature of the connexion which had existed between her and Dudley seemed not to admit of much doubt to the Spanish or to the French ambassador, whilst the Venetian ambassador at the Court of Spain, writing to the Signory on November 30, 1575, casually alludes to the matter as if it were taken for granted as true in the Courts of Europe. Speaking of the incredible rumour that Elizabeth wanted to get hold of the young King of Scotland, in order to put him and his mother to death, he assigns as the motive that it was 'in order to assure the succession of that crown to a natural daughter of her own, and to unite the kingdom of Scotland to that of England. This evil intention of the Queen's is promoted by the interested advice of Cecil, her secretary and principal favourite, he having allied himself to a personage of the kingdom who pretends to have an interest in the succession, and who hopes, by means of the marriage of the Queen's daughter, or in some other way, to advance his pretension; all which things appear very pro-

[1] *Ven. Cal.* p. 539.

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bable.' The extreme confusion of Lippomano's account and the unsuspicious allusion to the natural daughter of the Queen add to the value of his testimony as to the generally received idea of the Queen's conduct.

There were many also in England, who had opportunities of knowing, who were of opinion that the Queen never meant to marry. Even Sidney in the summer of 1565 told Guzman de Silva that now Leicester had lost all hope, and said that he had himself always felt certain that the Queen did not intend to marry.

We have said that Philip seems all along to have understood Elizabeth's intention to remain unmarried. Yet twice he appears to have had some doubts as to this point—first when he offered to assist Dudley in his aspirations, if only he would consent to bring back England to the Catholic faith, and many years after, when the project for the marriage with Alençon was thought by nearly everybody likely to succeed.

About this time Elizabeth's conduct in entertaining her successive suitors seems to have been pretty well understood in foreign parts. In August 1574, when the marriage with the Duke of Alençon was on the tapis, Sigismondi di Cavalli, the Venetian ambassador in France, writing in cipher to the Signory about the Queen's desire to have some one sent to her to negotiate the marriage, says:

'The request which has been made by the Queen for the presence of this personage, so far as I am told by well-informed persons, is not so much from any passion to marry, but to make the Spaniards jealous by such negotiations, and perhaps to lead to some agreement with the French for common defence, the Queen suspecting that if affairs in Flanders come to the end which they are likely to have the King of Spain might meditate some undertaking against her, on account of the many injuries she has inflicted upon him; or possibly the Queen, whilst not abandoning the assistance of the Prince of Orange, may have some new expedition in view, but anything is credible' (p. 491).

Antonio de Guaras also, who had lived for many years in England, and seems to have been admitted at Court almost in the capacity of an ambassador, speaks of a project to get possession of the young Prince of Scotland, who, with his mother, was to be put an end to, 'in order to raise to power the son of the Earl of Hertford, whom they would marry to a daughter of Leicester and the Queen of England, who, it is said, is kept hidden, although there are bishops to witness that she is legitimate.'[1]

[1] *Span. Cal.* ii. 491.

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It is strange that at this very time even Burghley thought that the marriage would take place, whilst the King of France and his astute mother were of opinion that Elizabeth, when she had seen the Duke, would 'send him back without any conclusion being come to, in order that she might regain the credit which she believed she had lost owing to the King of Poland having refused her.' At the commencement of the reign Burleigh had been of opinion, as he told the Bishop of Aquila, that the Queen would have married Philip if it had not been for the impediment of affinity, which would have implied application to the Pope for a dispensation. Later again, in February 1579, at a time when English Councillors were really of opinion that the Queen, at the age of forty-five, was going to marry the young Duke of Alençon, the Venetian ambassador reports to the Doge and Signory what the King of France thought as to the probability of any marriage taking place. He says:

'His Majesty, by the advice of the Council, has sent Monsieur de la Chapelle to point out to Monsieur the trouble and dissatisfaction which he has given to this Crown and to all the sovereigns of Christendom, and the many indignities which, as a son of France, he has personally suffered by his ill-advised expedition to Flanders, and, on the other hand, the advantage and grandeur which must result to France from peace and union between the brothers; and further to dissuade him from a voyage to England, whose Queen keeps this negotiation for marriage alive merely to sow discord in Christendom and to retain her subjects' allegiance, in the hope of having an heir, as she had done heretofore with several kings and princes, to avoid the opportunity of any rising when she was requested to declare her successor to the crown, a demand which was still being made' (p. 594).

He afterwards adds:

'For the reasons which I have given, and from the ambition which the Queen has by her nature to govern absolutely without any partner, it is believed that no decision will be come to, and particularly because the chief favourites of Monsieur himself are opposed to the marriage.'

Elizabeth herself was affecting a doubt whether 'Monsieur was only wanting to be a king or whether he sought to marry her for her mental and personal qualifications.'[1] And at this time she was receiving De Simier, who had been sent by him to negotiate the matter, with every conceivable favour, insomuch that Mauvissière, the French ambassador in

[1] *Ven. Cal.* p. 594.

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England, felt pretty certain that things would come to a happy termination, which he hopes may be for the happiness and welfare of these two kingdoms; though the opinion of Lippomano, the Venetian ambassador in France, alluded to above, was probably nearer the truth when he said that the Queen was endeavouring to ingratiate herself with France by showing favour to Monsieur, and trying to unite him with the Prince of Orange and the King of Navarre. Upon the whole evidence it can, we think, scarcely be doubted that the opinion entertained by Castelnau, the French ambassador at the Court of Elizabeth, confirmed as it is by that of Villeroy, the secretary to Henry III. of France, is correct. The pretence of marriage they considered to be nothing else on the side of Elizabeth than a systematic scheme of policy and dissimulation.

This was no solitary or novel idea regarding the Queen's character. Almost the same mode of expression had been used in 1564 by the Scottish ambassador. On April 24 in that year, in the course of conversation with Don Guzman de Silva, the latter says that Lethington

'talked of this Queen on our way home, and said she was trying to get all the marriageable princes to propose to her, and he therefore thought that at her instance they were discussing her marriage with the King of France, as he also said they were treating with the Archduke Charles.'[1]

Apparently the Queen lost no opportunity of talking about herself, and that sometimes in the most indelicate way. Once, when returning from a visit to the sister of the Queen of Sweden, in company with her Mistress of the Robes and Guzman de Silva, she alluded to the pregnancy of the Mistress of the Robes, saying that though they were but three some people would count them as four. The Spanish ambassador, affecting to misunderstand her, said that her people would wish it were so in her own case. To which she replied, 'And you, whom do you wish it were by?' Guzman replied, cautiously, that he would not venture to determine until he knew what her own wishes were.

The proposals for the marriage of the Queen with the Duke of Alençon had been going on at intervals for several years, and the apparent probability of any successful termination to the negotiations had varied considerably with the variations of political events. They are casually alluded to from 1573 to 1579. Morosini, the Venetian ambassador, in opposition to the English ambassador's assertion in September 1575

[1] *Span. Cal.* i. 420.

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that De Mauvissière had been sent from Paris to bring before the Queen the question, said that there was no doubt that the origin of this negotiation came from England, for that the Queen had been so importuned to marry that she determined that, though it was not proper for a woman to ask any man to be her husband, yet the first she would seek would be the Duke of Alençon; and at this time it is clear that the King of France and the Queen Mother were eager to entertain the proposals. At this time the Duke was very cool upon the matter, saying that he was unwilling to marry her, because she was advanced in years, unless with the stipulation that if she were to die childless he were to succeed to the throne. And now the King of France seems to have been quite reconciled to this decision, on the ground that 'it was believed to be the intention of the English to remove the King's brother from the King's side in order to make use of him to trouble this kingdom.'[1] But whatever may be the truth as to the Queen's having made the first overture, we soon afterwards find her backing out of it, on the ground that it was not consistent with her dignity to marry one who was one of the King's outlaws, and she preferred waiting till peace was made between the King and his brother. Towards the end of 1578 Alençon himself seemed to feel pretty secure of his prize, and obtained the reluctant consent of his brother to the project, his own view being that the Queen 'would by means of this marriage secure herself greatly, and particularly from the Spaniards, who would not desire to quarrel with England and France united.'

It is quite clear that Alençon never intended to marry the Queen unless he could be assured of the succession in the event of the death of the Queen without children. At one moment, however, it seemed as if he would be content if only he could be crowned King of England, and would leave the eventual succession to the throne to take its chance, relying on his being able to obtain it by force in the event of the Queen's death, or else by effecting a marriage with the Queen of Scotland. He was willing, it appears, for such a prize to sacrifice himself, though fully cognizant of 'the advanced age and repulsive physical nature of the Queen, she being, in addition to her other ailments,' as the Queen Mother of France expressed it, 'half consumptive.'[2] Whether the Queen ever intended that the marriage should take place seems extremely doubtful. Her behaviour, however, must have convinced both the Duke and her own Council that

[1] *Ven. Cal.* p. 535. [2] *Ibid.* p. 628.

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she was in this instance in earnest. And the Queen Mother seems to have believed in her when she sent to entreat the Duke to be satisfied with what she might be able to manage for him, saying she would 'do all in her power to comply with his requirements.'[1] Elizabeth was, no doubt, at this time much afraid of the power of Philip, and the death of the King of Portugal (January 31, 1580) increased her fears lest Philip should be successful in adding the sovereignty of that country to that of Spain. The Venetian ambassador thought that Elizabeth was

'endeavouring to fathom Monsieur's ultimate designs, with the object of proposing the question of her successor to Parliament, a question which the English desire should be considered and resolved by the present Parliament, in case the marriage should not take effect, and in consequence the meeting of Parliament has been deferred until the answer of Monsieur shall have been received.'[1]

It was also just possible that the Duke's projected alliance with Flanders might detach the States from Spain, and England might be strengthened against Philip by their annexation to this country. But the true key to the situation was that suggested by Lorenzo Priuli, who, after stating the report brought by the French ambassador in England, March 6, 1580, that the Queen had not given up the idea of marrying, added that

'when she is certain that the marriage cannot be accomplished she will not abandon the negotiation, because she desires to feed the English with the hope that she will marry, in order, for many reasons, to avoid the election of her successor; and amongst these reasons one is manifestly of no small importance, because, there being three principal houses competent to succeed to the Crown, she could not make any declaration without giving rise to many troubles and incurring danger to herself.'[2]

The other point, which we have already alluded to, which is conspicuous throughout these papers is the habitual indecision and continual procrastination of the King of Spain. This indecision appears at first in his proposals for his marriage with Elizabeth. He instructs the Count de Feria to dissuade her from marrying a subject, with a view to a possible alliance with himself; but, seeing the difficulties which might arise with France, and the evident opposition of the Queen to the Catholic religion, the necessity for his protracted absences from the country to look after Spanish interests, and last, and not least, the heavy expense he would

[1] *Ven. Cal.* p. 629. [2] *Ibid.* p. 634.

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be put to by reason of the costly entertainments necessary, at a time when he considered his treasury to be so exhausted as to be unable to meet ordinary charges, he could not send to the Count any final decision. Probably the greatest difficulty arose from fear of the French espousing the cause of Mary, Queen of Scots, who was married to the Dauphin, in the event of the alliance between England and Spain being cemented by the marriage of their two sovereigns. On one point only was he clear on February 12, 1559—that if she persisted in her heresy 'all idea of my marriage with her must be broken off.'[1] On more than one occasion he had almost given orders for an expedition against England. In the summer of 1571, we learn, from the account given by the Venetian ambassador at Madrid, that the exiles from England and the Catholic party in England had almost persuaded him to undertake such an expedition, in order to revenge himself for the property and goods which had been taken from the merchants of Flanders, and their representations were enforced by the advice of the Pope; Leonardo Donado continues,

'his Majesty had commenced preparations; but because such an expedition was difficult in itself, and might, perhaps, provoke the Germans, and possibly even the French, to defend the Queen, it appeared to his Majesty, who is by nature cautious, and who has to look a great many ways, expedient that the project should be deferred to some other season.'[2]

Probably Philip and Elizabeth understood each the other's motives entirely, and perhaps Lippomano, when ambassador in France in January 1578, only reflected the opinions of the Spanish King, of whose mind he had ample opportunities of judging, for he had been ambassador at Madrid when, in explaining to the Signory that the Catholic King had sent Mendoza to induce Elizabeth to refuse assistance to the rebels in Flanders, he stated his belief that the King's advances will bear little fruit, 'because the Queen feeds herself and lives in safety upon the losses and misfortunes of others.'[3] But Lippomano was, perhaps, more than most prejudiced against the Queen of England, since he could only interpret her desire to secure possession of the young Prince of Scotland as an intention some day to put him and his mother to death, on the ground that he was 'being dealt with clandestinely by Spain and France to become their ally.' He was probably nearer the truth when he said that

[1] *Span. Cal.* i. 27. [2] *Ven. Cal.* p. 470. [3] *Ibid.* p. 568.

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the Queen of England was using her utmost endeavours with the States to induce the Prince of Orange and the States not to accept the Duke of Alençon as ruler in Flanders, but that it was very well understood that, although she did not desire to see the French in the Low Countries, yet she was pleased at seeing them make a move in that direction, because her object was to foment greater distrust, and even war if possible, between the French and the Spaniards, as she stood in great fear of those countries when they were at peace (p. 574). Philip's character for indecision was quite appreciated by his contemporaries. The Duke of Parma as early as the year 1559 actually accused him of dilatoriness in the matter of proposing to marry Queen Elizabeth. He said:

'His proceedings vouch the fact that he never took any pains to marry Queen Elizabeth, and thus gain so great a kingdom, for it is undeniable that he always treated that affair very coldly and neglected it in many ways.'[1]

And the Count de Feria was so provoked at his long delays in answering his letters that he complained to the Bishop of Aquila, November 9, 1559, writing from Malines, that though he had received letters from Spain he had had none from the King, who, he goes the length of saying, 'holds these States in so small account that he cares not whether they be lost or not.'

There is something almost ludicrous in the continual recurrence of language like the following: 'I have been for some days considering and discussing what can be done on my part to set matters right, and you shall be informed of the resolution we may arrive at.'[2] He seems never to be tired of impressing upon his ambassadors the necessity for caution in all they do. On occasion of the marriage of the Queen of Scots with Lord Darnley he expresses his great gratification, as he says he has arrived at the conclusion that the alliance was favourable to his own interests, and, important as the crisis was, he could not bring himself to any immediate action, but contented himself with assuring them that if they will govern themselves by his advice and not be precipitate, but patiently await a favourable juncture, when any attempt to upset their plans would be fruitless, he will then assist and aid them in the aim which they have in view,[3] *i.e.* the succession to the crown of England. Philip was at the time extremely alarmed lest the marriage, at which Elizabeth was furiously

[1] *Ven. Cal.* p. 63. [2] *Span. Cal.* i. 238. [3] *Ibid.* i. 432.

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angry, should induce her to proclaim as her successor Lady Catherine Grey or some other of the possible claimants in case of her dying without legitimate issue. There is only one instance in which Philip's habitual caution seems to have failed him, when his anger against Elizabeth must have been greatly excited by her refusal to restore the money taken from the ships which were carrying the pay of his soldiers employed in the Low Countries. At this time, when the King was fully persuaded that Elizabeth was not strong enough to declare war or acknowledge him as an open enemy, and Don Guerau de Spes was pointing out to him the good opportunity that presented itself of remedying religious affairs in this country by deposing the present Queen and giving the crown to the Queen of Scotland, who would immediately be joined by all the Catholics, he was content to write as follows:

'It will be well for you to inquire what foundation there is for this, and what success would probably attend such a design, as, if there is anything in it, I should be glad to carry it out, as it appears to me that, after my special obligation to maintain our own States in our holy faith, I am bound to make every effort in order to restore and preserve it in England, as in former times. If there is any foundation for the suggestion no time more opportune than the present could be found for carrying it out, and, in order not to miss it, I have thought well to refer it to you. If you think the chance will be lost by again waiting to consult me, you may at once take the steps you may consider advisable, in conformity with this my desire and intention, which would certainly give me great pleasure. I have so much confidence in your good sense and prudence that I am sure I can safely leave the matter in your hands. Please keep me well informed.'[1]

The Duke of Alva was, it appears, more reluctant than the King to begin a war with England, and wrote to him saying that open rupture with England was not at that moment expedient, considering the state of the Treasury and the exhausted condition of the States, which, he said, were bereft of ships and many other things necessary for a fresh war. He also said that on no account should the King break with England until the money had been 'restored and certain other matters of greater difficulty were settled.' On the other hand Guerau de Spes was continually urging the King not to lose the opportunity, as all the Catholics in England were ready to rise as soon as ever his Majesty's standards were raised in the country. He even went so far as to say that it would be easy to change the religion and the government if

[1] *Span. Cal.* ii. 110.

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Philip would command measures to be taken for the conversion of the kingdom and 'the punishment of those insolent heretics and barefaced thieves.'[1] Again, in another letter he says—

'If your Majesty were to arrange with the King of France and chose seriously to attack this island with a good fleet, you would find no resistance, as they have no troops, and they are at issue among themselves, and so much alarmed that they are already crying out that they are ruined because the French have taken four of their ships.'[2]

We have said that the two volumes of the Spanish *Calendar* throw little light upon the ecclesiastical transactions of the period. It might, perhaps, have been expected that the Venetian papers of the same period would have contributed something to this subject, of which we know so little. And assuredly if, during the reign of Elizabeth, there had been any ambassador accredited to the English Court, we should not have been disappointed, for the envoys from the republic were instructed to detail all particulars which came to their knowledge, and the earlier volumes of this Venetian series have been in general prolific of this sort of information. But unfortunately, after the departure of Giovanni Michiel on July 5, 1557, there was no Venetian ambassador in England till the year 1602. How this arrangement came to take place, and what were the reasons for so singular a departure from customary practice, is, as we have already implied, entirely unexplained. One would have thought it to be of the last importance to the republic of Venice to stand on the best terms with all other European Powers, but in this instance she seems to have paid more deference to the wishes of the Pope than any other Continental Power. The consequence of this is that we are obliged to depend on the less trustworthy details of English affairs which the Venetian ambassador resident in France has supplied. There is, nevertheless, one remarkable occurrence which the Bishop of Aquila, writing on May 30, 1559, mentions which we do not remember to have seen noticed anywhere else, viz. that 'on Sunday last they had a procession of the Holy Sacrament in Canterbury, in which there were 3,000 people and many worthy people of the country round.' This was before the new Prayer Book of 1559 had come into general use, which was on Midsummer Day. In London, however, they had anticipated matters, and had done away with the Sacrament on Sunday, June 11, as we

[1] *Span. Cal.* ii. 139. [2] *Ibid.* ii. 147.

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learn from another letter of the Bishop of Aquila of June 19. Writing a week after the day when the new service was enforced, he says that it was refused in the North and in the diocese of Winchester, and that all was in confusion. There is also one exception to this lack of information, which we should have expected from Venetian despatches, as regards the first six months of the reign. It so happens that the Mantuan Archives supply us with no less than seventeen letters which furnish valuable information on ecclesiastical as well as on other points, written and addressed to the Mantuan ambassador at Brussels and to the castellan of the city of Mantua by a person who signs his name 'Il Schifanoya.' Whether this is a real name or only a *nom de plume* seems uncertain. Mr. Rawdon Brown, whose opinion is entitled to the greatest weight, took it to be an assumed name, equivalent to *an idle fellow*; but Mr. Cavendish Bentinck inclines to the opinion that it is the true name of the writer, because this name appears to have been borne by several Mantuans of note in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. The name is of little importance; the contents of his letters are of considerable interest, supplying, as they do, many particulars which are not to be found in any records of the period which have been hitherto published, and especially adding to, confirming, and sometimes correcting the details of Machyn's *Diary*.

From his letters it appears that the Queen, whatever vacillation she may afterwards have experienced, at once decided to adopt the Protestant side. One of the earliest indications was her quitting the chapel at the ending of the Gospel, upon Oglethorpe's intimation that he meant to elevate the Host, as usual, for adoration. On December 31 he incloses in his letter to the Mantuan ambassador the copy of the proclamation of the 27th, which forbids any innovation, and which was evidently produced by a riot on Christmas Day in the Churches of St. Anthony and St. Augustine, which had been assigned to the French and Italians respectively, when two preaching mechanics broke in and leaped into the pulpit, uttering invectives against the late Queen Mary and Cardinal Pole. But though the Queen was obliged, for decency's sake, to put a stop to such riotous proceedings, it was pretty well understood what her real sentiments were, for on the Epiphany so outrageous a farce was performed before her Majesty that the intelligence of it, the writer thinks, must have reached Mantua before January 23, on which day he was writing. He adds that on the same day a piece of mummery was performed in her presence after supper, in

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which crows were represented as cardinals, asses habited as bishops, and wolves as abbots, and then goes on to describe the coronation, which took place on January 15. The account is extended to eight pages, and is fuller than any that has yet been printed. It is extremely interesting, if only as showing how small matters of detail not chronicled by any English writers impressed themselves upon the mind of a foreigner, whilst the general agreement of the writer with what has been narrated by others indicates the trustworthiness of his account. A week later he writes that on the opening of Parliament, January 25, the Queen ostentatiously proclaimed to the abbots and monks of Westminster her dislike of the ancient ceremonies, saying, 'Away with those torches, for we can see very well,' after which she listened to the Calvinist preacher Cox, who in a sermon of an hour and a half long exhorted her to put down monks and monasteries, churches and images, and all other things dedicated to divine worship. Il Schifanoya, even as late as the month of February, does not anticipate any great defection of the clergy, who, he thinks, will all follow the example of Dr. Story, who boldly asserted that he was not afraid to die for the Church if her Majesty so willed it. But he saw that things were going from bad to worse, as on February 12 a person had been appointed to preach before the Queen who spoke so much against the Pope, the bishops, the regulars, and the Mass that he resolved never to go there again, though he still hoped to remain in England in the service of the Venetian ambassador whenever any such should be sent from the republic. That Lent was still observed in the ancient fashion was only with a view to protect the interests of the fishermen, the dispensation from fasting being reserved to her Majesty. On May 2 he relates that, owing to the recent enactment for the suppression of all convents and monasteries, the greater part of the monks and nuns have left the kingdom, refusing to take the oath against the Pope's authority, though some few were likely to abjure their profession and accept the promised pension. He seems not to doubt that the secular clergy will be equally steadfast. A few days later, when the session of Parliament was over, he says that all the mischief that had been done had been assented to by the Queen, that religion was going to ruin, but that the beneficed clergy, from what he hears, had for the most part determined to suffer anything rather than take the oath to the Queen. At the end of the letter are the following remarkable words touching the report that the Queen was going to marry Sir William Pickering:

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'Meanwhile my Lord Robert Dudley is in very great favour, and very intimate with her Majesty. On this subject I ought to report the opinion of many, but I doubt whether my letters may not miscarry or be read; wherefore it is better to keep silence than to speak ill' (p. 85).

Il Schifanoya recurs to this in his last letter, of June 27, in which he speaks of the Queen having been bled in the arm and in the foot, adding that 'many persons say things which I should not dare to write; but they say that on arriving at Greenwich she landed as cheerful as she ever was, and is now in good health.' In another letter, of June 6, he gives a new and interesting account of the way in which the Council dealt with Bishop Bonner, viz. how they requested him with loving exhortations to resign his bishopric to one Master Grindal, and that on the day before the Dean and Chapter of St. Paul's refused to proceed to the election. Bonner, it seems, was offered a good pension for his life, which he said he would rather die than accept. He took sanctuary in Westminster Abbey, from which, with the abbot and monks, he would be driven in less than three weeks, when the use of the new Prayer Book was to be imposed upon all the clergy. But their constancy had this effect, that it was determined to proceed with caution in tendering the oath, for fear of some insurrection. Meanwhile it appears that all the churches in London had by anticipation adopted the new service-book, excepting the cathedral church of St. Paul's.

Il Schifanoya must have left England in the autumn of 1559, and for any intelligence about ecclesiastical affairs henceforth we are for the most part indebted to the second-hand information contained in the Venetian documents, chiefly the letters of the two ambassadors from the republic at the Courts of France and Spain. From the former we learn that in July 1560 the situation of affairs, as regards religion, was becoming critical, and that the deprived Bishops of Ely, Winchester, and Worcester, together with the Archbishop of York, the Abbot of Westminster, Dr. John Boxall, and another Churchman, who had hitherto been at large, had been arrested and sent to the Tower. We have one interesting account of a meeting of several of the new bishops given by Guzman de Silva to the King of Spain on March 12, 1565. He says, with regard to a recent order of the Queen's, that the ministers were to wear a certain dress which was objected to on the ground that it was Papistical, that Cecil had been present at the discussion and defended the order, and, upon the bishops making long speeches against it, he had said, 'Cease these harangues, and

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give us some valid reason against the order.' Upon their replying that the garb was Papistical and disagreeable to them he replied, 'If you have no better reason to give than that, you have studied but little. Do the Queen's will, or worse will befall you.' The ambassador adds that 'one of the ministers took leave of his parishioners the other day, saying that he could no longer discharge his office, as it was against his conscience to wear the garb ordered by the Queen. Some few of them were already wearing it.'[1] From the Venetian ambassador at Madrid we hear nothing of English Church affairs till he was transferred to the Papal Court, but this lack of intelligence is amply atoned for by a report sent by him from Rome of the years 1565–6. This report is remarkable because it gives the unbiassed opinion of a thorough-going Catholic as to the state of things in the Roman Church, which seems to have rendered almost inevitable the breaking out of the great schism which is now commonly designated as the Reformation.

The document is headed 'Report of Rome, by the Most Illustrious Paul Tiepolo, 1565–66,' and runs as follows:

'If the great and supreme authority exercised by the Pontiffs, which I have described to you, had been used only for the purposes for which it was conceded to them—namely, the benefit and salvation of the human race—they would have been perpetually loved, feared, reverenced, and obeyed by all Christians, and their superiority as the delegates of God upon earth acknowledged universally in all parts of the world. But they have abused this authority by interfering in temporal matters, and have, in fact, sought no other end but the advantage and aggrandisement of themselves and their kindred, without considering it wrong to grant benefits and favours to the least deserving, to give to one what ought to have been sufficient for a hundred, to practise a thousand abominable abuses in the Church of God, to nourish scandals and wars between Christian princes, and to carry on the same evils themselves, not from necessity, but simply from ambition and self-interest, insomuch that the barbarians have rarely entered Italy unless with the consent or connivance of the Pontiffs. It is, therefore, not to be wondered at that heresies and disorders should have oppressed and burdened Christendom; and it is from these causes that Martin Luther, the origin of so many evils, acquired influence by attacking practices which could not be defended, and thus opened a way to diffuse his poison, and to reproduce the opinions of Johann Huss and Jerome of Prague, which had more than a hundred years since taken root in Bohemia; and Luther, inventing many other new doctrines, was easily able to persuade men already evilly disposed to follow him in multiplying abominable and most wicked heresies. Although great differences of opinion exist amongst the

[1] *Span. Cal.* i. 406.

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heretics themselves, yet they are all united in denying the authority of the Pontiff and the Roman Church, an authority formerly accepted all over the world, but now so greatly reduced and straitened that, without mentioning Africa and Asia, where the name of the Pontiff is scarcely ever heard, and the countries which obey the Greek Patriarch, amongst whom are the Moravians, Russians, and Moldavians, and other numerous nations who do not recognize the Pontiff, but dealing only with the inhabitants of Europe, who hitherto not only obeyed the Pontiff, but followed in every respect the rites and customs of the Roman Church, and celebrated their offices in the Latin tongue, it will be found that England and Scotland, Denmark, Norway and Sweden, and all the kingdoms and countries of the north have absolutely renounced his rule. Germany is almost all lost, following the example of Bohemia; and Poland is in great part infected. The Low Countries of Flanders are so corrupt that, for a remedy, they have been given the Duke of Alva, and it is difficult even for him to restore those provinces to their pristine health. Finally, France is in a state of disturbance and confusion, such as must necessarily follow where there are so many differences and conflicts concerning religion. Thus it would appear that no countries remain sound and faithful to the Pontiff except Spain and Italy, with a few islands, and those provinces which are the possessions of your Serenity in Dalmatia and Greece. Hence we see how a malady spreads when not cured at its commencement, and that it not only becomes burdensome and painful to each particular member, but corrupts and destroys the greater part, if not the whole, of the body.'[1]

After this period the Venetian *Calendar* affords us little information on ecclesiastical affairs till we come to the celebrated Bull of Pope Pius V. of February 25, 1570, commonly known by the name of the Bull *Regnans in excelsis*. This has been so often printed that we need only to refer to one paragraph of it which has been strangely overlooked by writers of English Church history. A large number of Anglican writers follow in the wake of Archbishop Laurence, who endeavoured to demonstrate that the English Reformation was not modelled after the fashion of Calvinism. His Holiness was better informed. He says that 'she has given express command that the impious constitutions and atrocious mysteries of Calvin, which she personally acknowledges and observes, shall likewise be observed by her subjects' (p. 449). In one point the Pontiff was ill-informed. Though the Church was reformed, as far as her bishops and clergy were concerned, on Zwinglian and Calvinistic principles, the Queen herself persisted in believing that she was an adherent of the principles of Luther. After this date the volume contains for several years few documents excepting letters from the successive Venetian ambassadors

[1] *Ven. Cal.* p. 386.

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at Paris, which have little to do with English affairs, excepting so far forth as the Queen and Council were directly or indirectly sending aid to the Huguenots in France. And we do not light upon anything relating to the mode of worship in England till the year 1575, when some Venetian noblemen gave an account of their reception at Court by the Queen, whom they accompanied to her chapel, where a service of twenty minutes duration is described by them as consisting 'of certain psalms chanted in English by a double chorus of some thirty singers. A single voice next chanted the Epistle; after this another voice chanted the Gospel, and then all voices together chanted the Belief. This concluded the service,' after which they returned to the Presence Chamber, when the Queen complained to them of the small account in which she was held by the republic, to which they replied that the Signory bore as much good-will as ever to the English crown, and to this the Queen replied, 'I shall live in hope, then.' They afterwards dined with Cecil, who repeated the same complaint to them and received exactly the same answer. Nevertheless on the very same day on which this report was written the proposal to send an ambassador to England was rejected in the Senate by a majority of 131 to 44.

But though there is little more than we have noticed of English ecclesiastical affairs in the Venetian *Calendar* there is a very interesting report made to the Doge and Senate by Giovanni Michiel, on leaving France in 1560, which gives many details of the rise of the Huguenots in that country. It is misplaced in the volume, being assigned to the year 1561, whereas it must have been written in the previous year, as it speaks of the Duke of Orleans, who had become King as Charles IX., December 6, 1560, as brother of the King, and of whom he gives the untrue information that he was eight years old, whereas he was ten, and also says that he was called Edward, having received that name after Edward, King of England. Michiel gives what he must have considered a deplorable account of the spread of heresy, saying that in Normandy, Brittany, &c., and part of Provence, comprising three-fourths of the kingdom, congregations are held in which they read and preach according to the rites and uses of Geneva. The contagion, he adds, affects every class of persons, and even ecclesiastics—not only priests, friars, and nuns, but even the principal prelates—and more especially the nobility, particularly persons under forty years of age, many of whom, nevertheless, for fear of consequences, attend Mass. So numerous were they that the authorities had at last been

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obliged to leave them alone, so that those who had fled the country to avoid persecution were now returning in considerable numbers. He seemed to think it almost incredible that 'the principal minister of Geneva, by name Calvin, a Frenchman and a native of Picardy,' should possess such influence. He ventures to prophesy, 'For these reasons I foresee a manifest and certain division in the kingdom, and civil war as a consequence, and this will be the cause of the ruin both of the kingdom and of religion, because upon a change in religion a change in the State necessarily follows.'[1] Michiel afterwards gives an account of the King of Navarre, of whose inconstancy in religious profession he seems to have a keen appreciation. He had been persuaded to adopt the tenets of Calvin, yet was at that time living outwardly as a Catholic, and, as the ambassador expresses it, had sent 'to Rome to render public obedience to the Pope, simply in order not to do less in this way than the Kings of France and of Spain.'[2] Michiel's successor, Suriano, was not so familiar with matters of heresy. In his report, which was made in the following year, he ignores Calvin entirely, and attributes what he calls the 'revival of the old heresies' to a man of humble origin called Luther, who had not only caused the change of religion in his own country, but also in the northern countries, and had ruined England, France, and Flanders. He notices, however, the three branches which had spread from this root, viz. Lutherans, Sacramentarians, and Anabaptists, whose main principles were to teach the purity of the Gospel and to preach Christian liberty, whose one principle of agreement was the endeavour to destroy the Papal authority.

The editor has inserted here another report of Suriano's, which was written some time in 1558, not, as the editor suggests, in 1559. This is chiefly occupied with Spanish affairs and those of the Low Countries; but a considerable portion has been devoted to English affairs, in which he gives some account of Philip's endeavour to promote the marriage of Elizabeth with the Duke of Savoy before she became queen. The following passage must have been written very soon after her accession:

'Queen Elizabeth, who has succeeded to the throne, owing to her courage and to her great power of mind being similar to that of the King, her father, declines to rely upon any one save herself, although she is most gracious to all. And while she has not as yet changed the religion, for reasons of her own, it is nevertheless believed that she favours the sect in which she was born and educated, and,

[1] *Ven. Cal.* p. 323. [2] *Ibid.* p. 324.

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having regard to the individuals whom she has appointed to govern the kingdom, that she will return to the manner in which she lived in the time of King Edward. With regard to the Queen's marriage, the English are of opinion that she will not marry a foreigner, and if there be a report that she is treating with the Catholic king, his Majesty has no inclination to any such negotiation, partly because he is indisposed to resume his responsibilities in England and partly for other reasons which are secret. The only hope his Majesty has of remaining friendly with the Queen is her distrust of the French, who have pretensions to her kingdom through the Queen of Scotland as a descendant from a sister of King Henry, and the nearest to him in legitimate succession should the Queen be adjudged ineligible by reason of having been born while the legitimate wife of her father was still alive. I will conclude with the brief observation that the Catholic King, for the preservation of his estates in Flanders, and to keep the sea open between Flanders and Spain, will do his utmost to remain ever at peace with that kingdom and prevent it falling into the hands of any prince from whom he might at any time apprehend war.'[1]

Suriano was not, however, a true prophet when he gave it as his opinion that the kingdom of England would always be in alliance with his Majesty from fear of being harassed by France, which already possessed Calais and Boulogne this side of England and the kingdom of Scotland on the other.

The last despatches of Suriano relate to the conference held at Poissy between the Catholics and the Calvinists. The Venetian ambassador quite recognizes that the awkward state of affairs in the religious world had been mainly brought about by the dispensations of observance of the canons and other derogations, but says that the Nuncios, especially naming the Bishop of Viterbo, objected altogether to the conference, considering it derogatory to the Papal dignity, and because they were afraid that points of doctrine as well as of discipline would be discussed, inasmuch as fresh requests were being daily made to the King and Council for that purpose, and many of the principal lords wished the same. He notices that one, Theodore Beza, had come from Geneva, first in authority after Calvin, and another had been sent by the Queen of England, and that Peter Martyr had had a safe-conduct apart from the others because he was an Italian and not in agreement with Calvin. He adds that the Protestant party refuse to submit to the judgment of the bishops and prelates, but demand for judges the King, the Queen Mother, and the King of Navarre. On September 9 the King and Queen were to be at Poissy. The

[1] *Ven. Cal.* p. 330.

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Nuncio and the Cardinal d'Armagnac were willing to speak on reformation of life and regulation of abuses, but declined to notice any attacks upon dogma from the Protestant side. And the Queen had said that no attempt would be made to alienate Church property or to alter religion or the obedience due to the Pope; but if she really thought so, most people will probably agree with the Venetian ambassador in his opinion that the Queen did not understand the meaning of dogma, and that she, as well as many others who were insisting on disputing about religion, confounded dogmas with rites and abuses as if they were all one and the same thing. A fortnight later, when the conference was over, he comments on the reply which the Cardinal of Lorraine had made to Beza, which he had treated under three heads—first, that the King being a member of the Church and not its head, could not be a judge in matters of religion and faith; secondly, he spoke of the Church, a subject on which he considered the heretics were in great error; thirdly, on the Holy Sacrament, on all which points he spoke in such manner as not only to confirm Catholics but also to unsettle many of the adversaries. The discourse or sermon, or whatever it may be called, must have been a remarkable one, for even the Prince of Condé was reported to have said to the Cardinal d'Armagnac that he was highly satisfied with it.

At the risk of extending this article to too great a length we cannot help inserting here some account of the opinion given by the Earl of Sussex, at the time of his abortive mission to the Emperor's Court, on the matter of the projected marriage between the Queen and the Archduke Charles. Day after day his journey had been delayed, apparently for no other reason than that the Queen wished it to be understood that she had not yet finally made up her mind about it, pretending that the matter of religion was her chief difficulty, though it is pretty certain that she never intended to marry the Archduke at all. The Earl, reasonably enough, demanded that he should be furnished with definite instructions, upon which he might act, and in his representation to the Queen of the state of religion in England indirectly proves what has been so much insisted on of late, that the English Reformation was conducted on Zwinglian and Calvinistic principles, and not after the Lutheran model and the Augsburg Confession. The Queen, indeed, was ever insisting on her agreement with the Dukes of Saxony, and though she cordially hated Puritanism and Calvinism in all its forms was anxious to consolidate parties and to make an imposing front against

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Roman aggression. Yet the whole tone of the teaching in the Church of England was Zwinglianism fast developing into Calvinism. Few of the bishops who where first appointed were of the Calvinistic school, but the development was rapid. In confirmation of this we have here the declaration of the Earl of Sussex in the month of April 1567, in which he tells the Queen that

'as to the question of religion, he wished to be quite clear about it before he left, because, although he was a native-born Englishman, and knew as well as others what was passing in the country, he was at a loss to state what was the religion that really was observed here. He believed that her Majesty and the rest of them held by the Augsburg Confession, but he saw, nevertheless, that Calvinism was being preached and being taught nearly everywhere, and he therefore wished the Council to decide about this, as it was a point of the highest importance to those who adopted the Augsburg Confession, being further removed from Calvinists than from those who professed the ancient religion. In fact, this was clearly proved at the rising in Antwerp, when those who held by the Augsburg Confession made common cause with the Catholics, and it was still further shown in the last Parliament here, where one of the bishops showed himself in favour of the Augsburg creed, and was so much reprehended by the rest of them that the Bishop of London had gone so far as to say that no one ought to speak to him, and quoted St. Paul publicly to this end. Things being in this condition, he did not know how he was to treat with the Archduke without some resolution of the Council with respect to a matter upon which they themselves were not decided; and he therefore begged the Queen to consider the question, and grant him leave of absence, that he might also reflect on what was best for her interests, and so the matter was left.'[1]

In a subsequent letter the Spanish ambassador says that Sussex carried with him a Latin version of the Anglican Prayer Book, but adds that he thinks it will be a difficult thing to reduce to one form the diversity of belief and teaching prevalent here, for 'in every parish church a different service is held, according to the bent of the minister.' This testimony is the more valuable because of the general want of evidence as to the way in which divine service was conducted during the earlier years of the reign of Elizabeth. It is amply confirmed by the following extract from a scarce work published some years afterwards at Douay. In it the author, J. H. (*i.e.* J. Howlett), says:

'There are at this day four known religions—the Catholic, the Protestant, the Puritan, and the Householders of Love—besides petty sects newly born and yet grovelling on the ground. There is the same law against any variation from the book. And although the

[1] *Span. Cal.* i. 637.

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world knoweth that the order set down in that book be commonly broken by every minister at his pleasure and observed almost nowhere, yet small punishment hath ever ensued thereof. The Catholic religion less favoured than any, and though hitherto the penalties have been paid by her Majesty, yet lately there have been terrible examples of dying in prison, the rack, &c.; yet Catholics are not disloyal.'

At fol. 59 this work contains the following remark:

'Wherefore that which hath been given out (as is said by some great men), that the Pope, by his letter to her Majesty, did offer to confirm the service of England, upon condition that the title of supremacy might be restored him again, is impossible to be so. So that if any such letters came to her Majesty's hands they must needs be fayned and false.'

We must not omit to notice one more interesting piece of information contained in the last despatch of Mendoza to the King of Spain, dated December 28, 1579, which scarcely tallies with the accounts generally given by English historians of ecclesiastical proceedings in this reign. The concluding words of the ambassador's letter are as follows:—

'The number of Catholics, thank God, is daily increasing here, owing to the college and seminary for Englishmen which your Majesty ordered to be supported in Douai, whence there has come in the last year (and from the college of Rome) a hundred Englishmen who have been ordained there, by which means a great number of people are being converted—generally persons who have never heard the truth preached before. These priests go about disguised as laymen, and although they are young men their good life and zeal in the work are admirable. They exercise their duties with great good sense and discretion, in order not to give the heretics a chance to impede them. God's grace is clearly witnessed in the way they are led on by His hand in this ministry, and in the joy and fortitude with which they offer themselves for martyrdom, whenever they are called upon to suffer for the Lord's sake. Some have suffered thus with invincible firmness and ineffable content, following in the footsteps of so many of their predecessors. Of the old ones very few now remain, and they are imprisoned strictly. This was the cause for the great decay of religion, as there was no one to teach it; and none professed it, excepting those who had special grace given to them to persevere in it out of pure zeal. This is being remedied by means of those who have recently come hither, who pray continually for your Majesty, recognizing that God has been pleased to make you His principal instrument in this great work. During the last three months they have converted five of these [Protestant] preachers, which conversion they believe will bear rich fruit, as they [the converts] have begged to be sent where they may study and confirm themselves in the faith, in order to return hither and preach it. God give them grace to do so.'

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ART. VII.—SAINT FRANCIS OF ASSISI.

1. *History of St. Francis of Assisi.* By the ABBÉ LÉON LE MONNIER. Translated by a Franciscan Tertiary. With Preface by H. E. CARDINAL VAUGHAN, Archbishop of Westminster. (London, 1894.)
2. *Life of St. Francis of Assisi.* By PAUL SABATIER. Translated by LOUISE SEYMOUR HOUGHTON. (London, 1894.)

IT is by a somewhat singular coincidence that two new Lives of St. Francis of Assisi have been presented almost simultaneously to the English reader. Each of them was originally written in French, and has doubtless lost something of its verve and freshness in the process of translation. Each suggests many points of comparison and contrast with its contemporary, as the two authors approach their fascinating subject from opposite standpoints—M. Sabatier writing with all the freedom of ultra broad Continental Protestantism, M. Le Monnier with the restraint natural to a beneficed Abbé who seeks the approbation of the supreme Pontiff and of the Minister-General of the Franciscans. Each writer deserves ample praise for the pains and research he has devoted to his work, although in this respect M. Sabatier should, we think, carry off the palm. M. Le Monnier's biography might have been written by a conscientious student who had never stirred beyond the walls of a great library, and, with all attainable literary authorities at his command, had then carefully composed his narrative. M. Sabatier formed a very different estimate of the preparation requisite to a due fulfilment of his self-imposed task. He has spent some time on a pilgrimage to Assisi, and has visited in turn the various spots hallowed by association with the tenderest memoirs of the founder of the Friars Minor. He is thoroughly imbued with the *genius loci.* He has breathed the air, and mixed with the monks and peasantry of Umbria, whose lives even yet retain somewhat of the spirit of by-gone centuries. He finds the truest reminiscences of St. Francis, not in the gorgeous cathedral which represents the miraculous powers and the traditional glory of the canonized saint, but in the simpler retreats of Portiuncula and Rivo Torto, in the solitudes which recall the rude hermitage, and the wayside chapel, and the saint's daily life of meanest toil; and when to such efforts to secure a realistic picture there is added minute

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and critical study of all the literary sources, it will be seen that most of the elements of a satisfactory biography have been steadily amassed. Of course, the theological position of each writer affects the light in which he regards his hero, and gives its colour to his narrative. To M. Sabatier's thinking, the movement originated by St. Francis was an emphatic protest against the exclusive pretensions of the Roman clergy; and, although he honoured their official position, and knew the sanction of the Pope to be essential to the stability and success of his aims, these were really designed to vindicate what, in modern parlance, would be termed the priesthood of the laity. According to M. Le Monnier, the career of St. Francis was uniformly guided by that implicit subordination to clerical authority which is the very highest virtue known to modern Romanism, and his complete self-renunciation was transfigured and enhanced by undeviating submission to every faintest suggestion from his spiritual directors.

The two volumes before us furnish no inapt illustration of two contrasted methods of biography, and this not because the inmost conviction of their authors is widely distinct, but because their conception of their task and the method of its execution are essentially different. We do not wish to undervalue M. Le Monnier's work. It is written in a conspicuously fair spirit by one who has mastered the authorities on the subject, and does not accept with easy and unquestioning credulity every legend that has gathered round his story. His book is a good honest piece of straightforward biography, unillumined by any flash of genius or brilliancy of imagination. He takes considerable pains to bring out the personal characteristics of St. Francis; but his analysis hardly results in distinct and well-defined portraiture, and the thoughtful reader will learn in his pages all that is recorded about St. Francis, but will hardly gather from them a vivid realization of the saint himself. M. Sabatier has more ambitious aims, or perhaps we should say keener powers of vision. He is not content without attempting to throw his hero into high relief upon a background which reproduces the conditions under which the Poverello of Assisi lived and moved. He has pondered the circumstances of the time and realised its spiritual needs and the efforts of St. Francis to supply them, until he has become possessed with a sympathy which makes him keenly appreciative of the saint's motives, and singularly intelligent in describing and upholding them. The sparkle of genius lights up M. Sabatier's pages. He is, in its earlier sense, the poet as much as the historian, and his imagination

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and insight endow him with artistic power that results in the presentation of a portrait whose every feature is distinct and characteristic. With his own religious opinions, so far as we can gather them from his pages, we are profoundly at variance, but his conception of St. Francis and his times stands out in singular breadth and clearness of outline, and we see the living man before us, toiling, preaching, fasting, suffering, until his image is impressed indelibly on our minds.

Nothing simpler—as it would have reasonably been supposed—than to draw up the biography of one whose character was transparently sincere, whose life from the period of his conversion was lived in the presence of admiring associates, whose pursuits called for little of the finesse and wariness which in after years might be requisite in transacting the affairs of a widely scattered community, and whose singleness of purpose was evidenced in the undeviating thoroughness with which he resisted every inducement to modify the absolute poverty he had deliberately embraced. Yet by a strange destiny much uncertainty for many years overshadowed the life of St. Francis, owing to dissensions between those brethren who desired to relax the stern discipline of the founder and those who would have pushed its rigour, at all hazards, to still greater extremities. Two Lives by Thomas of Celano, and the *Legend of the Three Companions*, were written at first hand, and would have furnished convincing testimony of the true intentions of St. Francis, but for this very reason their suppression became indispensable in the interests of peace. In his 'Critical Study of the Sources,' M. Sabatier explains the circumstances which led to so abnormal a necessity. The struggle between the two parties of the Franciscans was so acute that it threatened to rend the order asunder, and St. Bonaventura composed a Life on the basis of compromise, which was forthwith imposed as authoritative and exclusive. The anxiety caused to St. Francis, towards the close of his life, by some who chafed against the rule of absolute poverty, as recorded by Thomas of Celano, had to be suppressed, not (pleads M. Le Monnier) with any evil intention, but to promote concord; with what consequences the more orthodox of the two authorities before us shall describe in his own words:

'St. Bonaventura's aim was perhaps legitimate; nevertheless history has suffered thereby. The evil would have been only half as bad if the primitive Lives had remained in everybody's hand. But, as was to be feared, the same reasons which had held back the Doctor's pen, soon led the brethren to think that minds could never

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be pacified if others were allowed to say what Bonaventura had thought right to keep silence upon. They therefore resolved, at whatever cost, to forbid the reading of the entire "Ancient Legend," as it now began to be called, that is to say, of the works of Celano, of the Three Companions, and of their abbreviators. In 1226, when assembled in Paris at the Chapter-General, they formulated the following decree: "The Chapter-General orders, in the name of obedience, that all legends of the blessed Francis written previously shall be destroyed, and that even outside the Order the brethren shall do their best to make them disappear, if they find them, seeing that the one lately written by the General has been written from the testimony of those who, having lived constantly with the Saint, have had certitude of the facts, and know that it contains nothing but what is approved." This trying decree at once became the law of the Order. It is true that here and there a few refractory ones were found. The Chronicle of the twenty-four Generals even informs us that, long after, they continued to read the "Ancient Legend" in the refectory of the Convent of Avignon, with the connivance, and even by the orders, of the General Gerard de Oddo. But this was an exception that must have been due to some special reason. In general, the will of the Chapter was executed. The old authors, if they were allowed to exist, were hidden away in the dust of libraries. There they were so thoroughly lost that, for more than five centuries, no one knew what had become of them. Their names alone survived.'[1]

There is the less reason for enlarging upon the deficiencies of Bonaventura's Life and its consequences, because M. Sabatier has devoted an Appendix of a hundred pages to the *Bibliography of St. Francis.* Few lives in history are so abundantly provided with documents for its elucidation, yet few present more numerous or perplexing problems, so that it is admitted in learned circles that the essential elements of the biography have 'disappeared or have been entirely altered' (Sabatier, p. 349). A fatality of blundering might seem to have pursued alike the most laborious and the least prejudiced of his admirers; and Wadding, who gathered all the Franciscan records into a vast compilation of many folios, is equally with M. Renan convicted of glaring errors. These facts, on which we cannot now enter more fully, amply justify the efforts of Sabatier and Le Monnier to produce a more satisfactory history, and augment the debt of gratitude due to them for thus supplying a vacant place in modern hagiology.

The early life of St. Francis need not detain us long. His father, Pietro Bernadone, was a wealthy cloth merchant. His mother, Pica, the daughter of a noble family, was of French

[1] Le Monnier, pp. 12, 13.

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extraction, and, according to some writers, a Provençalc. The boy's childhood was passed amid surroundings that gave no promise of his future eminence. From his father, on his return from far-distant journeys, then commonly undertaken by the great cloth merchants—they were practically the bankers of their time—Francis would hear stories of the French and Italian nobles, to whose castles the travelling merchant was ever welcome, and to whom he carried the scanty news which was rarely obtainable through any other channel. His mother's record is colourless—almost a blank. Of the condition of the clergy at this period we shall have to speak somewhat later on, and the social state of the Italian cities at the opening of the thirteenth century offered no exception to the maxim—like priest, like people. A scanty smattering of Latin was added to the French and Italian which Francis learned at the domestic hearth, and his early imagination was fired with a boy's desire to emulate the young nobles with whom he associated and by the songs and music of the wandering troubadours as they passed from town to town. If it be true that in the infancy of Francis an old man had begged to take him in his arms, and had foretold that he would do great things, the prophecy may well have reconciled his parents to many freaks of vanity and superabundant energy. In early manhood Francis displayed considerable mercantile ability and a special aptitude in spending what he acquired so cleverly. In feasting and fighting, in promoting clubs for the culture of music and song, he was ever the first; and when fortune declared against the Assisans in a battle with Perugia, he was foremost in alleviating the despondency of the young nobles of his party by his unfailing cheerfulness during some months of wearisome captivity. When his companions could not understand his gaiety and asked if he were crazy, was it idle boasting or an inner conviction of high resolve and strength of purpose which prompted his answer, 'Do you not know that I shall one day be adored by all the world?'

On his return to Assisi, Francis, now twenty-two years of age, seemed to have learned but little wisdom during his imprisonment. None so extravagant in dress, none so lavish in expenditure, as he. The fascination and refinement of his manners, the beauty of his face—with its smooth brow, dark eyes, delicate complexion, and chestnut hair—the sweetness of his voice and his animated conversation, made him a universal favourite amongst the *jeunesse dorée* of Assisi; but three years of dissipation told on a constitution which had never

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been robust, and brought on a severe attack of illness, and with it a sense of the unsatisfying nature of all earthly things. The work of grace was thus begun, but it did not ripen speedily in the case of Francis. With feeble steps he went out beyond the city to look upon the open country beyond the Porta Nuova—a scene of surpassing beauty which he had always greatly admired—but its charm was gone. All the bitterness of a misspent past, all the emptiness of shallow and unworthy aims, all the solitude of a heart that had as yet no resource in the only true source of comfort, weighed on his spirit. He determined to divert his mind from such gloomy thoughts by a supreme effort, and to realize at a stroke his past dreams of glory. The world was ringing with the fame which Walter de Brienne, the champion of Innocent III., was gaining in Southern Italy, and Francis determined to accompany a knight of Assisi who was setting forth to join De Brienne in Apulia, and to win his spurs under so chivalrous a leader.

The preparations for his expedition were on such a scale of prodigality as to become the topic of general amazement and to excite the envy of his intended comrades. In his feverish activity by day and in his visions by night of his home changed from a merchant's store to a castle gleaming with the panoply of war and adorned with a fair and noble bride, in his sudden bestowal of his sumptuous equipment on a poor knight, and in the excessive joy which he justified repeatedly by saying 'I know I shall become a great prince'—in all these things his jealous companions saw only the self-assurance of a conceited coxcomb; his followers in after years, the forecast of a more glorious warfare and of an immortal guerdon; yet in a few hours all his bright thoughts of chivalrous renown were shattered. The causes of the fiasco are not recorded, but at Spoleto he was struck down with fever, and a few days later he returned home a crest-fallen and dejected man. How shall we explain so sudden a revulsion of feeling? Hardly by the jeers of his companions in revenge for his self-conceit. We suspect that despite his extravagant outlay his heart was only half enlisted in his work, and he was already feeling the deeper impulse towards a higher life, which had even yet not finally mastered his spirit.

The period which followed the return of Francis from Spoleto was one of bitter and varied mental struggle. To the mortification of his parents, justly annoyed at so conspicuous a failure, and to the solicitations of his young and

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frivolous associates, his deeper anxieties would appear but distempered whims. Pietro Bernadone could tolerate extravagance designed to place his son on a level with the young nobility, but not the indulgence at his expense of immoderate charity bestowed on the poor. The golden youth of Assisi could not comprehend the moodiness of the most cheerful of their number. Is he thinking of taking a wife? they asked, and they failed to understand his meaning when he replied, 'Yes, I am—a wife, more beautiful, more rich, more pure than you can conceive!' Poverty was the bride which was captivating him, and in a visit to the Eternal City he determined to make trial of his future spouse. Crowds of beggars swarmed in the Piazza of the great Basilica, and Francis borrowed the rags and filled the place of one of them for a whole day with outstretched hand. As yet he tasted only the discipline, and not the unutterable joy, of poverty; but his ideal was being slowly and surely formed, and it was strengthened by a visit paid a few days later to the lazar-house of the lepers, and by the gratitude with which his presence amongst these miserable outcasts was received. The crisis of his life was rapidly approaching.

On the eastern slope of the hill on which Assisi stands there was a small half-ruined chapel, dedicated to St. Damian. Thither Francis loved to repair and to spend a quiet hour alone in prayer before a Byzantine crucifix which stood over its altar of simple masonry.

'"Great and glorious Lord God," he cried, "and Thou Lord Jesus, I pray Thee shed abroad Thy light in the darkness of my mind, so that in all things I may act only in accordance with Thy holy will." Thus he prayed in his heart, and behold little by little it seemed to him that his gaze could not detach itself from that of Jesus. The sacred Victim took on life, and in the outward silence he was aware of a voice which stole softly into the very depths of his heart, speaking to him an ineffable language. Jesus accepted his oblation. Jesus desired his labour, his life, all his being, and the heart of the poor solitary was already bathed in light and strength.'[1]

We know not why M. Sabatier omits in this account of so critical a moment the words which fell upon the suppliant's ears: 'Francis, go and repair my house, which, as you see, is utterly destroyed'—words to which the entranced listener gave first a literal, and later on a spiritual, application; words which followed him persistently from that moment onwards. *Ab illa hora vulneratum et liquefactum est cor ejus ad memoriam Dominicæ passionis.*

[1] Sabatier, p. 55.

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But his first essay at obedience to the Divine command brought him trouble that might have daunted the most stout-hearted. He had decided to quit his father's house and devote himself to the repair of St. Damian, and with this object in view he sold his horse and some bright-coloured pieces—they were all his earthly possessions—and carried the money to the priest in charge. For some days after this Francis lay in concealment, as he was conscious that his father's wrath at his desertion would indeed be terrible, and when at last, after a long mental struggle, he set out to make known his determination, his tattered dress and haggard features made him look like one distraught, and a crowd of children followed him with derisive shouts to his house, where a painful outburst of violence from his father greeted him. Threats and blows, entreaties and bad usage, all failed to shake his purpose, and at length, bound hand and foot, his father thrust him into a closet, and there left him during a brief but unavoidable absence. When he was gone his mother used every persuasion that her love could prompt, but, finding him immovable, she set him at liberty, and he went back to St. Damian.

The scene that followed Bernadone's return has rarely been paralleled as an example of blind human passion and lofty immutable resolve. Furious at his son's escape, Bernadone ordered him to leave the territory of Assisi, reproaching him with the large expenditure he had caused him and with his sorry requital; and when Francis alleged the Divine command as a reason for his refusal to obey, Bernadone appealed first to the civil, and ultimately to the ecclesiastical, tribunal. The day of hearing was duly fixed, and all Assisi was gathered in the Piazza of Santa Maria Maggiore to hear the Bishop pronounce sentence in this strange quarrel between father and a son who had clearly lost his reason. The Bishop advised Francis to give up all his property, whereupon he retired for a few moments and then reappeared stark naked, his clothes and the little money still remaining gathered into a bundle, which he laid down before the Bishop. 'Until now I have called Bernadone father. I now return everything I have to him. Henceforth I will only say, Our Father which art in heaven.' As the unabashed Bernadone gathered up the bundle without one touch of compassion, the Bishop cast the skirt of his own mantle over the shoulders of his shivering son. The trial over, clad in a worn-out mantle found for him by the Bishop's gardener, Francis sallied forth alone. The die was cast, and inexpressible joy

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filled his soul. He would go and bathe his spirit in its new-found ecstasy before betaking himself to St. Damian; but as he went his most irrepressible gladness burst forth in singing that made the woods resound and attracted the attention of a band of robbers. 'Who are you?' they asked. 'I am the herald of the great King,' was his reply. They seized him, stripped off his poor torn mantle, and threw him, all naked as he was, into a heap of snow. 'There is your place, poor herald of God,' they said. Stiff with cold he crawled out to the house of a friend, who gave him a mantle, a girdle, and a staff—the equipment of a hermit—and he then made his way back to St. Damian.

The first care of St. Francis was the restoration of the ruined chapel. In the public streets of Assisi he asked for stones to repair its walls, and presently, fearing that his maintenance was unfairly taxing the chaplain's resources, he begged for food. His inmost soul loathed the refuse that was offered him, and his limbs ached beneath the burdens with which he built up the chapel walls; but flesh and taste alike were sternly mortified; and so ready was the response to his entreaties that the restoration of St. Damian was completed, and that of another ruined sanctuary, at a little distance from the town, St. Mary of the Portiuncula, was begun.

'He soon became,' says M. Le Monnier, 'fonder of it even than of St. Damian. Its small size, the name and image of Mary, the silence which reigned about it, perhaps some presentiment of what God was then going to accomplish, all combined to make it dear to him. He built a cell beside it and became its constant inmate. There, during long months, he used to come by day and by night to pour out his soul in prayer. There, too, . . . he was to conceive of evangelical truth in all its fulness and perfection' (p. 74).

It was on February 24, 1209, the feast of St. Matthias, and in the Gospel occur the words: 'Provide neither gold nor silver nor money in your purses, nor scrip for your journey, neither have two coats, nor shoes, nor staff.' The words came home to him as a special revelation, and he at once obeyed them to the letter. Casting aside his stick, his shoes, his purse, he set out for Assisi and began to preach in its streets, calling men to peace, poverty, and love. After more than two years of spiritual conflict his definite call to the Apostolate had come.

The darkest period in the history of the Church had reached its climax at the season of the struggles and triumph of St. Francis. The corruption of the clergy was so appalling that Pope Innocent III. admitted it could only be extirpated

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by fire and sword; and without Francis of Assisi, it has been asserted, the Church would have foundered and the Cathari have won the day. Simony abounded unblushing and universal, and the traffic in ecclesiastical benefices had even included the sale and purchase of St. Peter's chair. The officers of the Roman Curia were said to be like 'stones for understanding, wood for justice, fire for wrath, iron for forgiveness, deceitful as foxes, proud as bulls, greedy and insatiate as the minotaur.'[1] Greed and avarice pervaded every rank of the priesthood, breaking out into violence amongst the more powerful of the bishops, and into every form of deceit and chicanery in their subordinates. Even the temporary protest made by the monastic orders against prevailing degradation of the Church had died away. Their name for sanctity and their success had brought them the wealth which wrought their ruin. In such excesses the most startling heresies found alike their origin and the secret of their rapid development: now in the form of a wild philosophy utterly antagonistic to Catholic truth, and which revived the extravagances of Manichæism; now in the cruder forms of a distorted or imperfect Christianity as propagated by the Albigenses and the Poor Men of Lyons. Especially had the plague of heresy invaded the towns of Northern and Central Italy, and for a single year it had placed a Catharist, Giraldo di Gilberto, in the seat of the podestà at Assisi.

If Italy were to be won back to the Church it must be through living examples which should make it plain to the eyes of all men that she held truth which can effectually sanctify and strengthen the soul. With M. Sabatier's assertion, sustained by the concurrent testimony of so many Church historians, that to St. Francis the recovery of Italy to Catholicism is mainly due, we may fairly consent; but we must utter our emphatic protest against his sweeping denunciation of religious controversy as universally useless and of polemics as 'always more or less a form of spiritual pride which only deepens the chasm which it undertakes to fill up' (p. 45). Such unlimited assertions betray a hasty distaste for accurate definition of theological dogma, the necessity for which, has been too frequently felt in the history of the Church, and a curious blindness to the full bearing of the terms employed. M. Sabatier's dictum that 'truth needs not to be proved; it is its own witness,' would involve the condemnation of methods which our Divine Master sanctioned by His own example when he reasoned with the Jews. Each champion of Catholic

[1] Sabatier, p. 29.

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truth must exercise in the day of battle all the weapons with which God has entrusted him. To one it is given to refute error by power of reasoning, to another by the irresistible logic of a life that displays the Divine power which inspires it. To say that action is more convincing than mere words is an idle truism. To lament that controversy is too often ineffectual is not much better. That Francis won men over to truth by the sheer force of a life of absolute self-sacrifice and love, and that he did not attempt to enter the arena of controversy, for which he was by early training and acquirements singularly unfitted, is but another example of the ability which God gives to those who put implicit reliance on His help and of the manifold ways in which wisdom is justified of her children.

No wonder that his preaching proved effective, although St. Francis had no gifts of eloquence or learning. His mere presence was of itself a sermon. Always simple to the verge of baldness, sometimes unable to find any utterance for his thought, he yet touched the hearts of his listeners, and one by one followers were gathered in. We have no space to dwell separately on the characters and earlier career of his first companions, Bernard of Quintavalle, Egidio, Peter, and others. Well born and in easy circumstances, their conversion created no small stir in Assisi; and their after lives did not belie the bright promise of their noviciate. They had no thought of cloister life, as then practised, nor of confining their concern to working out their own salvation. Under the trees hard by Portiuncula, Francis gathered the little band from their huts and expounded their special mission. 'God has mercifully called us for the salvation of many others. He wills that we should go through the world, and, more by example than by words, call men to repentance and obedience to his commandments.' After a missionary tour through the province the number of the companions was soon doubled, and the prospect of further associates suggested anxious thought about the future fortunes of the young community.

It is not surprising that this band of ardent evangelists should have caused no small perplexity to the established authorities at Assisi. How long would their craze for absolute poverty hold out against the inconveniences it would inevitably involve? How would any community live without at least some property? Would it not be better to base the new association, if it were wise to sanction it at all, on some more reasonable principle, and to save the Church from the possible scandal of seeing these well-meaning but

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visionary enthusiasts left to starve because they insisted on a literal interpretation of the Saviour's counsel of perfection? Bishop Guido of Assisi poured his prudent maxims into the ear of Francis, and warned him against the unwisdom of making his rule too hard for human frailty to endure. His reasoning was all to no purpose, and Francis, with his whole company, now twelve in number, set forth to seek the Pope's approbation for his new order.

In the central nave of the upper Church at Assisi the pencil of Giotto has depicted the meeting of the two greatest men in the Western Church of that age, Francis and Innocent III. Notwithstanding the high recommendation of the Cardinal di San Paolo, it was not without serious misgiving that the Pontiff consented, and that only after a second interview, in which St. Francis related to his Holiness the striking parable of poverty, which is too long for repetition here. In the consistory held to discuss the question, the debate was arduous and protracted. It was held by some that it was dangerous to sanction an innovation—it was certainly in violation of the decision of a recent council, one too beyond human endurance to maintain. 'Are we not rather,' answered Giovanni di San Paolo, 'convicted of blasphemy against Christ, if we hold that to observe Gospel perfection is irrational and impossible?' On this the Pope yielded:

'Go, my brethren,' he said, 'and may God be with you! Preach penitence to everyone according as the Lord may deign to inspire you. Then when the All-powerful shall have made you multiply and go forward, you will refer to us; we will concede what you ask, and we may then, with greater security, accord you even more than you ask.'

As we read the account of the deep joy which possessed the hearts of these simple men on their return from the Eternal City, it seems to us serene and unsullied as the peace that passeth all understanding. No touch of worldliness, no taint of pride, no tinge of self-righteousness mingled with the blessedness that sprang from their complete and utter self-renunciation for the sake of their Lord. Approbation of their rule of absolute poverty was all that they had asked, and when advised to modify its severity they had firmly refused; the times did not admit of an example less austere, the peril of Church and of State alike lay in the worldliness which had pervaded all ranks, and nothing short of the sternest example of simplicity could recall men to Christian living. Even the influence of St. Bernard and the most

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finished image of the primitive Church established at Clairvaux had paled before prevailing lawlessness, and men were seeking amongst the adherents of Arnold of Brescia or of the Albigenses and the Poor Men of Lyons, for the ideal life which could no longer be found within the inclosure of the Catholic Church.

Never, probably, in the history of any community, was poverty so ardently wooed. Absolute renunciation of every personal possession save the coarse raiment of the brotherhood was enforced as the condition of admittance to the Order. Even the abandonment of property in favour of a postulant's relatives was held to be insufficient. A rich man in the Marshes of Ancona desired to dispose of his wealth in this way before joining the community. St. Francis would not hear of it. 'Go thy way, brother fly,' was his stern rejoinder; 'the foundation thou hast laid is too weak for the edifice thou hast dreamt of; thou art not worthy to become one of Jesus Christ's poor men.'[1] If any relaxation of this stringency were allowed, it was only to persons of very narrow means. The slightest departure from implicit obedience on this point brought down the severest reproof on the offender. Above all, money was to be held in utter detestation as the accursed thing; no brother should ever so much as touch it, it was to be looked upon as dung and trodden underfoot. A very simple feast prepared for Easter-day aroused his jealousy at the sight of its white table-cloth and glasses; disguised in borrowed rags, he came begging at the refectory, and when recognized by the astonished friars he insisted on eating from a little wooden bowl seated on the ground amongst the ashes. The least touch of complacency in any worldly possession, however indispensable or useful, alarmed him; he scrupled at the possession of even a few religious books, and had a genuine suspicion of learning which would have been sorely distressed at the pre-eminence of some of his later followers. If he marked any disposition to take pleasure in any small possession he regarded it as an infallible sign that fervour was cooling in the soul. 'They only seek sensual delights,' he said, 'who no longer relish spiritual ones.' Even the rudest dwelling appeared a departure from the great Exemplar, of whom it is recorded, 'The foxes have holes and the birds of the air have nests; but the Son of Man hath not where to lay His head.'

M. Le Monnier gives an amusing description of the difficulty which this distaste for every earthly possession occa-

[1] Le Monnier, p. 132.

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sioned in providing for housing the friars and of the way in which it was overcome. As some kind of dwelling was needful, Francis had everything built at the least possible expense:

'Some beams put together, with earth or sand to fill up the interstices, and branches of trees or planks to close the openings—this was his ideal, and even then he requested that this shapeless mass should be the property of some one outside the community. "Only on this condition," he said, "can we be considered as strangers here below in accordance with the apostolic recommendation." As long as they inhabited the wretched huts they had erected with their own hands round the Portiuncula, he was contented . . . But as the numbers of the brethren increased, and especially when the Chapters were established, the insufficiency of these primitive shelters became more and more apparent, and their extension became a necessity. All secretly wished for this improvement, but no one would undertake to speak of it to Francis. The town at length came to their assistance. During one of the absences of the holy founder, at its own expense it had a building of good proportions quickly erected, commodious, but without any approach to luxury. Great was the surprise and grief of Francis on his return. Full of the indignant zeal that made Moses break the tables of the Law, he climbed upon the roof and began tearing off the tiles and loosening the beams; and, reproaching the brethren, he called on them to join him in demolishing this monument of vanity to its foundations. Fortunately, the town had foreseen this, and watched over its work. Soldiers were sent, who coolly told Francis that the building belonged to the commune, and he was forbidden to do it any injury. He yielded; for even in his excitement he was always most respectful to the rights of others, but he yielded with an effort, and it was a long time before he could reconcile himself to an innovation that he had not desired, and yet that he felt was imposed upon him by necessity.'[1]

It was characteristic of the deep-seated tenderness which underlay the devotion of St. Francis to absolute poverty that he never enforced asceticism as an end in itself or for its own sake. He only valued it as a means and a token of self-renunciation, which he would readily abandon to accomplish the higher purpose of strengthening himself or any of the brethren for needful toil or service. If a brother were sick he would encourage him to partake of better fare needful to his recovery, and, with the exquisite delicacy that was a special feature of his character, he would overcome the sick man's scruples by setting him the example and sharing any delicacy with him. The flesh was to be mortified and brought into subjection, but not to be incapacitated for its essential

[1] Le Monnier, pp. 134-5.

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duties as the handmaid of the spirit. 'Brother ass,' as he quaintly termed the body, 'is not,' he would say, 'altogether an evil beast.' Shrewd common sense and a winning *bonhomie* softened his insistence upon a rule that tried self-sacrifice to the uttermost, and ill-humour melted away before their irresistible fascination. Above all, with the unerring instinct of a great spiritual guide, St. Francis understood the necessity of transparent truthfulness for the soul's healthy growth. However slight or imperative the indulgence accorded under special circumstances, it should be free from all taint of concealment. 'Here is a glutton,' he cried aloud in the streets, when he had been ordered to eat meat during Lent; 'you think he is a saint, and all the while he has been feasting on chicken.' When his failing health made it necessary that he should wear a piece of warm cloth inside his mantle, he had a similar patch sown on the corresponding place *outside*, that his self-indulgence might be known to all men. The transparent honesty and the absolute self-renunciation of the man were indisputable, and they were enhanced by the intensity of a love which included the most repellent objects in its tender embrace.

On one section of the community the misery of existence pressed in the Middle Ages with its utmost cruelty, and so presented, to hearts which could bear the strain, exceptional claims for sympathy and pity. To the bodily sufferings inseparable from the leprosy, men had added the infliction of legal penalties, and these were further aggravated by the undisguised loathing and abhorrence of mankind. In the days of St. Francis this fell disease was of much greater frequency throughout Europe than it is now, and it is not too much to say that men stood aghast at the capricious suddenness with which it swooped down upon its victims. No remedy or precaution then in use in castle or cottage afforded protection against the destroyer, and, in the frantic efforts of society to stamp out so frightful a plague, excommunication, forfeiture of civil rights, and exclusion from association with their fellow-men were insisted upon as soon as the leprosy appeared. That the poor outcasts should have repaid their oppressors with 'the hate of hate and scorn of scorn' was only natural, and curses deep and bitter were often on their lips against both God and man. Yet, in a condition so utterly hopeless, St. Francis and his followers saw only a more vivid representative of the Man of Sorrows, and the despair of the leper recalled the assurance that charity done to one of these least was really done to Him. It

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is hard to realize the sickening antipathy which had to be overcome before a neophyte, but yesterday the petted darling of the young *noblesse*, could brace himself to personal association with the foul repulsiveness of mediæval leprosy. To some it is given on behalf of Christ, not only to believe on Him but also to suffer for His sake, and this χάρισμα was abundantly granted to St. Francis. All the natural abhorrence was there and had to be sternly repressed. His was not the iron nature which scarcely feels that which to others is intolerable, but the iron will which compelled a most sensitive organization to bear what to flesh and blood alone had been insupportable. How complete was the victory of love is seen in the tenderness that would take no refusal of service, and, like its Divine model, was patiently helpful to the unthankful and the evil.

Two examples will illustrate the spirit in which St. Francis ministered to these unfortunates. In a certain hospital served by the Brothers was a leper so cross-grained and impatient that he was held to be possessed by the devil. He heaped blows and insults on those who came to wait on him, and perpetually blasphemed Christ and His Virgin Mother. The brethren would have borne the blows, but they could not tolerate the blasphemy; yet, before dismissing him, they sent to tell St. Francis, who came to see the wicked leper. 'May God give thee peace, my dearest brother!' was his salutation. 'What peace,' asked the leper, 'can I have from God, who has taken my peace from me and made me a mass of stinking corruption?' 'Brother, be patient, God gives us diseases in this world for the salvation of our souls.' 'How can I be patient under pains which torture me day and night? besides, your friars are unendurable, and do not take care of me as they ought,' was the rejoinder. St. Francis betook himself for a while to prayer, and, returning, said to him, 'My son, since you are not satisfied with the others, I will wait on you myself.' 'And what can you do for me more than they?' 'I will do whatever you wish.' 'Well, then, wash me from head to foot, for I smell so horribly I cannot bear myself.' Forthwith a bath was heated, with many sweet-smelling herbs, a Brother poured out the water, and Francis bathed with it the noisome body. As his hands passed over the leprous limbs—so runs the legend—the incurable disease fled away before that loving touch, and the blaspheming lips poured forth words of deepest penitence and adoring gratitude. On another occasion a member of the community brought in a leper, to the manifest disgust of some of the brethren. Francis

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immediately had his own meal served with the leper, and even joined with him at the same dish, sprinkled though it was with the blood which was flowing from his tainted fingers. As the Order increased in numbers there were those whose spirits rebelled against such trying discipline, whilst others desired to place the Friars Minor, as Francis had named his associates, on the same footing as other monastic bodies. But no opposition could make Francis swerve from his path. A life of piety, he held, must be a life of active love, and to possess money in any shape was to be trammelled and tainted with the root of all evil.

Despite these under-currents of dissension, which in after years seriously distracted the Order, life at Portiuncula and Verna was sweet with all the charm of perfect mutual understanding. There were no idlers, for the Brethren continued to exercise their callings ; there were no jealousies, for all was shared in common ; there were no anxieties, for nothing earthly had any longer power to chafe their spirit. At certain seasons they set out two and two on apostolic journeys, and covered large districts of the surrounding country in their preaching tours ; sometimes meeting with insult or coldness, which they gradually overcame with their unwearied loving patience, and always insisting with affectionate simplicity upon the urgent need of repentance and pardon. And as they went the number of recruits continually increased. Every week brought fresh accessions to their ranks. To many of these Francis was, under God's loving guidance, inexpressibly dear, as the instrument of their salvation. His winning manner, his sympathetic voice, his transparent sincerity, his deep earnestness, were irresistible. No price was too great for the privilege of being united with him in the high and holy calling to which he so lovingly summoned them.

The success of the preaching of St. Francis, and the secret of its efficacy, are described by M. Sabatier in the following characteristic and striking terms :—

'His person, his example, were themselves a sermon, and he spoke only of that which he had himself experienced, proclaiming repentance, the shortness of life, a future retribution, the necessity of arriving at Gospel perfection. It is not easy to realize how many waiting souls there are in this world. The greater number of men pass through life with souls asleep. . . . Sometimes, alone in the wide plain at the hour of twilight, they fix their eyes on the fading lights of the horizon, and on the evening breeze comes to them another breath, more distant, fainter, and almost heavenly, awaking in them a nostalgia for the world beyond and for holiness. But the

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darkness falls, they must go back to their homes; they shake off their reverie; and it often happens that to the very end of life this is their only glimpse of the Divine; a few sighs, a few thrills, a few inarticulate murmurs—this sums up all our efforts to attain to the sovereign good. Yet the instinct for love and for the Divine is only slumbering. At the sight of beauty love awakes; at the appeal of holiness the Divine witness within us at once responds; and so we see streaming from all points of the horizon, to gather round those who preach in the name of the inward voice, long processions of souls athirst for the ideal. The human heart so naturally yearns to offer itself up, that we have only to meet along our pathway some one who, doubting neither himself nor us, demands it without reserve, and we yield it to him at once. Reason may understand a partial gift, a transient devotion; the heart knows only the entire sacrifice, and, like the lover to his beloved, it says to its vanquisher, "Thine alone and for ever." That which has caused the miserable failure of the efforts of natural religion is that its founders have not had the courage to lay hold upon the hearts of men consenting to no partition. They have not understood the imperious desire for immolation which lies in the depths of every soul, and souls have taken their revenge in not heeding these too lukewarm lovers.' [1]

In all ages this 'imperious desire for immolation' has burned most strongly in the breast of woman, and the thirteenth century was destined to afford a striking example of its sway. At the very first sermon preached by Francis in the cathedral of Assisi, his words reached the heart of a young girl of sixteen, belonging to the noble house of Sceffi. With all the energy of an enthusiastic nature, Clara determined to offer her young life with its bright prospects to the service of the poor, and with this purpose she sought out Francis and begged him to guide her in the royal path of poverty and love. The detailed account of what followed this interview supplies a startling illustration of the degree in which the writer's preconceptions will colour the simplest historical narrative. According to Le Monnier, Francis deemed the interposition of the bishop essential, and acted entirely in accordance with his directions. According to Sabatier, Francis arrogated to himself the right to receive Clara's vows, and defied, and in virtue of his overpowering influence escaped, ecclesiastical censure. The facts at least are undisputed. On the night of Palm Sunday, March 19, 1212, Clara secretly quitted her father's house with two companions and hurried to Portiuncula. She arrived as the friars were singing matins, and they went forth with lighted candles to meet the bride. Mass was said at the same altar whence

[1] Sabatier, pp. 72, 73.

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three years before Francis had heard the call of Jesus, and, kneeling there, Clara pronounced the irrevocable vows, and was conducted to a monastery of Benedictine nuns. The storm of parental anger which fell on her next day was terrible, but trifling compared with the violence of a fortnight later when a younger sister, Agnes, determined to cast in her lot with Clara. Then the wrath of outraged nature broke out in unrestrained fury. Her father, with a band of relatives, came to the convent, and when tears and supplications proved vain, they tried with brutal force and savage blows to force this child of fourteen away. Her hair torn out by the roots, half dead with beating, they were carrying her off, when lo! a miracle; the body became too heavy to be borne, and had to be left amidst the fields. The tenderest lifelong affection ever united the sisters thus early bound up together in the bonds of common suffering and self-sacrifice.

There is no sweeter nor purer idyll in mediæval Church history than the unbroken, unsullied mutual affection of Francis and Clara. No tinge of earthly passion, nothing that is of the earth, earthy, checked for an instant the charm and freedom of their intimacy. The second Order formed of the Poor Ladies (such was their eventual title), under the presidency of the Abbess Clara, was settled at St. Damian in huts constructed on the model of Portiuncula, and at first the intercourse between the two communities was singularly unrestrained; a Brother returning from a preaching tour would often bring with him a postulant for St. Damian. Such relations were, however, obviously impracticable as the numbers of each Order increased, and the friars' visits were gradually prescribed with the strictest limitations. Yet such services as each could render to the other were continued. The sisters worked at altar linen and nursed the sick; the Brothers begged meat for their support, and officiated in their convent chapels. To Francis himself a visit to St. Damian always brought refreshment of spirit, and in seasons of weariness and dejection it was from Clara's lips that words of counsel and encouragement invariably cheered him. One word from her gave him back all his courage.

From the very first Clara laid down the same rule of absolute poverty for her Poor Ladies as that of St. Francis for the Friars Minor, and she immediately solicited from Innocent III. a confirmation of this requirement. The Pope even wrote the opening lines of the patent with his own hands, saying that such a request had never been made before at the court of Rome. We cannot follow further the fortunes of

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Santa Clara, save to notice that in after years the chief sorrow of her life was caused by the pressure put on her by Pope Gregory IX. to accept endowments which he offered her, and to abandon the privilege of poverty. In vain the Pontiff represented that the times made life impossible to women who possessed nothing, and offered to release her from her vows. 'Holy Father,' was her reply, 'absolve me from my sins, but I have no desire for a dispensation from following Christ;' and the Pope before whom kings and princes quailed had to yield to the firmness of this gentlest of women.

The severity of the rule adopted by Santa Clara recalls to our memory her yet greater sister, Santa Theresa, on whose wonderful career we dwelt in a recent number of this Review. No one would dream of comparing the first abbess of the second Franciscan order, for force and intellect of character or for power of influence, with the patron Saint of Spain; yet an examination of the light in which they severally viewed and cultivated asceticism suggests a contrast which, we think, inclines in Santa Clara's favour. Both aimed at absolute self-sacrifice that the flesh might be subdued to the spirit, both were ready to renounce anything and everything earthly for the sake of the heavenly, both alike were prompted by unfeigned and boundless love of Christ to the most absolute self-surrender. But a distinction of no mean importance may be drawn between their methods and the principles which guided them. Santa Theresa specially set her face against any form of enjoyment, however innocent or natural: Santa Clara against the possession of anything, however trivial, which a sister could call her own. The former held everything pleasurable in such suspicion that if she observed one sister displaying any special affection for another she at once took means to separate them: the latter did not check the full enjoyment of such an attachment or of that which all could share in common. Santa Theresa would permit a member of the Discalced Carmelites to possess anything which could further her usefulness, but rigidly eradicated aught that could minister to the most harmless enjoyment. Santa Clara as rigidly forbade her Poor Ladies to have any separate property under any pretext whatever; but she did not discourage enjoyment derived from the cultivation of flowers in the little convent garden, from the sweet attachment which drew two sisters closer to one another, from the ties of natural or family affection; such pleasures she held to be legitimate and consistent with a life of poverty for the Saviour's sake. We hold that the gentle Italian had gauged

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the spirit of Christianity more accurately than the stern Spaniard, and that she had a truer intuition of the inner mind of Christ. A closer correspondence may be traced in the conflict which each of these high-born women had to maintain for the honour of unsullied poverty. The struggle in which Santa Theresa was only partially successful had been waged three centuries before by Santa Clara, and Sabatier condemns in no measured terms the action of Ugolini in undermining the fundamental principle of St. Francis whilst professing unbounded admiration for his memory.

The astounding growth of the Friars Minor was manifest at the Chapter-General held at Assisi at Whitsuntide, A.D. 1219.[1] It was just ten years since the first associates had been enrolled, yet when Cardinal Ugolini, their patron, reached their encampment he found five thousand of the brethren assembled and housed in booths of straw and rushes awaiting his arrival. The perfect order, the extreme simplicity of living, delighted the aged cardinal. 'But, my brother,' he said, 'this is the Lord's camp indeed.' From all the neighbouring cities multitudes came to view so wondrous a spectacle, and unsolicited brought ample supplies for the brethren. A greater man than the future Pope Gregory IX. was equally impressed at this assembly. Amongst the spectators was St. Dominic, who, casting himself at the feet of Francis, confessed that hitherto he had been culpably distrustful of God's providence. 'Truly God takes special care of His holy poor, and I knew it not. Henceforth I promise to observe evangelical poverty in all its perfection.' A year later, at Bologna, poverty was made a definite law of the Dominican Order.

A hasty glance at a visit paid by Francis next year to Bologna affords too vivid a picture to be passed over. As he drew near the city his jealousy was kindled by someone speaking of the brethren's dwelling there as the Friars' house. Instantly he sent forward his commands that all the Friars should leave it. He was at once obeyed, even the sick being taken from their beds and laid in the street. Nor was he pacified until Ugolini assured him that the house was his and did not in any way belong to the Franciscans. As he approached its walls almost the whole city came out to meet and accompany him to the market-place, where he was about to preach, and we have from an eye-witness the following account of the sermon:

[1] This is the date given by Le Monnier; Sabatier fixes the assembly in 1216.

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'I, Thomas, citizen of Spalatro and archdeacon of the cathedral church of that same city, studying at Bologna in the year 1220 on the day of the Assumption of the Mother of God, saw St. Francis preach on the square before the little palace, where nearly the whole town was assembled. He spoke first of angels, of men, and of devils. He explained the spiritual natures with such exactitude and eloquence that his hearers were astonished that such words could come from the mouth of so simple a man. Nor did he follow the usual course of preachers. His discourse resembled rather one of those harangues that are made by popular orators. At the conclusion he spoke only of the extinction of hatred and the urgency of concluding treaties of peace and compact of union. His garment was soiled and torn, his person mean, his face pale, but God gave his words unheard-of power. He even converted noblemen, whose unrestrained fury and cruelty had bathed the country in blood; many of them were reconciled. Love and veneration for the Saint were universal; men and women thronged around him; and happy were those who could so much as touch the hem of his habit.'[1]

We have no space to dwell upon the effort of Francis to convert the Saracens; nor on his mourning over the failure of the mission so gloriously sealed by the blood of the Martyrs of Morocco; nor on the several stages of development which were reached during the six too brief years for which his life was spared to direct the gigantic machinery which he had set in motion. Outward success involving increased responsibility only brought out into stronger relief the ineradicable simplicity and humility of his nature. Far more solicitous for the attainment of a lofty ideal than for the multiplication of his followers, he sometimes complained 'There are too many friars.' No thought of pride sullied his self-abasement. When engaged in evangelizing work he was as single-minded and childlike as ever. Charmed with every beauty of nature, full of love for all animated creation, now preaching to his sisters the birds, and now taming with magnetic gentleness the fiercer animals, brother wolf and his congeners, stern in his insistence on obedience, keen in his detection of pretence, most tender in his sympathy with sorrow—a holier, a more lovable man where could we find? And in his inner life, so far as we may penetrate the veil that conceals it, what unremitting perseverance in meditation and prayer! Truly Francis lived as seeing Him who is invisible, gathered in His presence his pervading conviction of the vanity of all things earthly, and was inspired with the persuasion that nothing is impossible to them that are strong in the Lord and in the power of His might.

[1] Le Monnier, pp. 255-6.

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We would fain have lingered over details of St. Francis's closing years, which bring out into the strongest prominence his indomitable patience, his unfailing faith, his unflinching fortitude, and his inexhaustible love. All these qualities were tested in no ordinary degree as the numbers of the Friars Minor were rapidly augmented; and, under the guidance of Elias, the Minister-General of the Order, a spirit of rivalry with other fraternities was fostered, which was diametrically opposed to that of the humble founder. We must pass over the institution of the third Order, designed by Francis to enrol as associates in Christian living those who did not feel it their vocation to relinquish their worldly occupations, and yet were anxious to live as becometh saints. How unweariedly his soul yearned for the salvation of the brethren, and in what spirit he desired himself and those who came after him to strive for this end, is strikingly illustrated in a letter written in the last year of his life to the generals of the Order, in the following words:—

'To the Reverend Father in Christ N——, Minister-General of the entire Order of the Brothers Minor. May God bless thee and keep thee in His holy love.

'Patience in all things and everywhere, this, my Brother, is what I specially recommend. Even if they oppose thee, if they strike thee, thou shouldest be grateful to them and desire that it should be thus and not otherwise.

'In this will be manifest thy love for God and for me, His servant and thine: that there shall not be a single friar in the world who, having sinned as much as one can sin, and coming before thee, shall go away without having received thy pardon. And if he does not ask it, do thou ask it for him, whether he wills or not.

'And if he should return again a thousand times before thee, love him more than myself, in order to lead him to well-doing. Have pity always on these brothers.'[1]

There is one other subject so inseparably and exceptionally bound up with the history of St. Francis that, even in so rapid a review as the present, it cannot be entirely passed over. A veil of almost impenetrable mystery enshrouds the well-known story of the Stigmata. In its circumstantial details the legend is briefly as follows: St. Francis had retired for a season from the active labours of the apostolate into retreat at Verna, a remote hermitage high above the Arno, which one of his friends, Orlando, had given him. It was in early August that he resorted thither, accompanied by a few of the brethren; and, leaving these in their huts, he withdrew

[1] Sabatier, pp. 318–9.

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into perfect solitude, and passed long days and nights in fasting and such rapt meditation that he frequently forgot the services. The subject of his meditation was the story of the Passion, which he read again and again, until he became 'quite transformed into Jesus by love and compassion'; his one earnest desire to be partaker of Christ's sufferings, and to fill up on his part that which was lacking of the afflictions of Christ in his flesh for His body's sake, which is the Church.[1] On the eve of the Festival of the Elevation of the Holy Cross he had spent the whole night in prayer, and in the morning he had a vision. A seraph nailed to a cross flew towards him and bathed his soul in unutterable rapture. As the vision faded he felt intense pain mingled with his ecstasy, and he then saw on his body the stigmata of the Crucified. How far the veneration of after years has coloured the narrative it is hard to say. All the accounts agree in affirming that St. Francis sedulously concealed the marks, and sternly suppressed all inquiry about them; yet the testimony of their reality is so strong, that not only Le Monnier, but the Protestant Sabatier, who rejects the miraculous, admits it, after careful investigation. In the exceptional power which the mind, under special conditions, exercises over the body, and in the realized sense of the invisible vouchsafed to one whose whole body, soul, and spirit were absorbed with contemplation of the Crucified—is it in these that we may find the explanation of an event so mysterious and unique?

We must refer the reader to the biographies before us for the final scenes—some of them of radiant beauty, others of startling unexpectedness—that marked the death, the burial, and the canonization of St. Francis. We turn for a moment from the picturesqueness of the drama to dwell upon the spirit which animated it throughout. Of the long catalogue of saints whose names adorn the Western Church not one is more worthy of love than St. Francis of Assisi. Without great natural abilities, with no command of learning, with very limited powers of oratory, he won the hearts of men by the singleness of eye which was never diverted from its purpose, and by the ardour of a love which no opposition could quench. Never, we suppose, was more complete triumph of the soul over the body than in his case; never was living man severed by a more transparent veil from the world of spirits. This it was which led him to so supreme a contempt for all earthly things, which made him so unyielding in his

[1] Colossians i. 24.

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refusal of all possessions for his Order, which inspired in him the singular union of stern discipline and boundless tenderness with which he guided his followers. In his own inner life he repeated the experience of St. Paul—always bearing about in the body the dying of the Lord Jesus: in his outer life he strove to realize the conception which he delineated in a famous passage, with which we will conclude our review.

'One winter's day St. Francis was going with Brother Leo from Perugia to Santa Maria degli Angeli, and the cold, being intense, made them shiver; he called Brother Leo, who was walking a little in advance, and said, "O Brother Leo, may it please God that the Brothers Minor all over the world may give a great example of holiness and edification; write, however, and note with care, that not in this is the perfect joy."

'St. Francis, going on a little farther, called him a second time, "O Brother Leo, if the Brothers Minor gave sight to the blind, healed the infirm, cast out demons, gave hearing to the deaf, or even, what is much more, if they raised the four days dead, write that not in this is the perfect joy."

'Going on a little farther, he cried, "O Brother Leo, if the Brother Minor knew all languages, all science, and all scriptures, if he could prophesy and reveal not only future things, but even the secrets of consciences and of souls, write that not in this consists the perfect joy."

'Going a little farther, St. Francis called to him again, "O Brother Leo, little sheep of God, if the Brother Minor could speak the language of angels, if he knew the courses of the stars and the virtues of plants, if all the treasures of earth were revealed to him and he knew the qualities of birds, fishes, and all animals, of men, trees, rocks, roots, and waters, write that not in these is the perfect joy."

'And advancing still a little farther, St. Francis called loudly to him, "O Brother Leo, if the Brother Minor could preach so well as to convert all infidels to the faith of Christ, write that not in this is the perfect joy."

'While speaking thus they had already gone more than two miles, and Brother Leo, full of surprise, said to him, "Father, I pray you in God's name tell me in what consists the perfect joy."

'And St. Francis replied, "When we arrive at Santa Maria degli Angeli, soaked with rain, frozen with cold, covered with mud, dying with hunger, and we knock and the porter comes in a rage saying, 'Who are you?' and we answer, 'We are two of your brethren,' and he says, 'You lie, you are two lewd fellows who go up and down corrupting the world and stealing the alms of the poor. Go away from here!' and he does not open to us, but leaves us outside shivering in the snow and rain, frozen, starved, till night; then, if thus maltreated and turned away, we patiently endure all without murmuring against him, if we think with humility and charity that this porter really knows us truly, and that God makes him speak thus

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to us, then, O Brother Leo, write that in this is the perfect joy. . . . Above all the graces and all the gifts which the Holy Spirit gives to His friends is the grace to conquer self and willingly to suffer pain, outrage, disgrace, and evil treatment for the love of Christ!"'[1]

ART. VIII.—THE EARLY HISTORY OF ENGLISH POETRY.

1. *A History of English Poetry.* By W. J. COURTHOPE, M.A. Vol. I. (London, 1895.)
2. *A Literary History of the English People from the Origins to the Renaissance.* By J. J. JUSSERAND. (London, 1895.)

IT is a curious coincidence that two distinguished men of letters should simultaneously have undertaken the task of writing the literary history of this country on a large and comprehensive scale. The coincidence is the more curious and interesting from the fact that they are of different nationalities; while one is an Englishman, the other is a friend from across the Channel. The first volumes of their respective works cover practically the same ground, beginning with the earliest origins of English literature, and stopping just before the great outburst which marks the reign of Elizabeth. They are independent treatments of substantially, though not identically, the same subjects; and their independence lends them additional interest. Neither has been influenced by the other; for though Mr. Courthope is able to refer to M. Jusserand in his preface and in a few notes, the body of his work must have been written before the appearance of his rival's book, even in its French form. Neither, we may add, renders the other superfluous; and their simultaneous appearance makes the critic's task easier, since comparison brings out the salient features of each.

The difference is, in the first place, one of subject. Mr. Courthope confines himself to the history of English poetry, while M. Jusserand not only includes English prose writings, but also all literature, whether prose or verse, written by or for the English people in other languages than English—that is, practically, in French or Latin. This latter difference of sphere will not affect the subsequent volumes of their works; but in those now before us it is of great importance, seeing that, for a considerable portion of the period covered by them, many

[1] Sabatier, *Life* &c. pp. 138–9.

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more books were written in Latin or French than in English. On the other hand, the disappearance of French and Latin literature will be counterbalanced by the increasing importance of English prose, and, by the time he reaches the eighteenth century, M. Jusserand will have to use a good deal of skill in compression if he is to give an adequate account of all the writers who press forward for his notice.

The contrast in treatment is, however, at least as noticeable as the difference in subject and scope. There are two main aims which must lie before the writer who undertakes a literary history on an extended scale. He cannot hope to rival, either in quantity of antiquarian detail or in elaborateness of literary criticism, the specialist who confines himself to a single period, or a single author, or a single work. The justification of his labour must rest upon something different. On the one hand he may aim at arousing the reader's interest in the authors and the works described, acting as his guide into the flowery fields of literature, helping his judgment, and kindling his enthusiasm; and on the other he may seek to explain the forces which shaped the history of literature, the circumstances outside the poet which gave him his subjects, his vocabulary, his literary form, the relations in which the great writer, whom all know, stood to the lesser men of his own and neighbouring times. Every history of literature combines these aims to some extent, but one or the other is likely to form its most prominent feature; and it so happens that the two writers of whom we are now speaking have chosen opposite alternatives. M. Jusserand writes with the air of the enthusiast. He has revelled in the little-known delights of early literature, and he is anxious that others should learn to feel the same pleasure. He has written his history, as the apologue in his preface assures us, because he likes it; and, unlike some books which their authors have written 'to please themselves,' it is likely also to please others. Mr. Courthope, on the other hand, has aimed at a philosophical history of English poetry; and he has written it because such a history has never yet been accomplished. He has taken up the project which Pope and Gray (and, he might have added, Coleridge) contemplated and planned, and which Warton tried to execute; and his main object is to examine the forces and the surroundings which, at each period, made English poetry what it was. He tells us that he will not deprive himself of the interest arising from biographical detail, but he does not seek for it to enliven his narrative, as M. Jusserand does. His main object is to exhibit, in their

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breadth and depth, the foundations upon which the great fabric of English literature has gradually been built up.

It is, we hope, doing no injustice to either of two admirable scholars and men of letters, to both of whom we gladly acknowledge ourselves deeply indebted, to say that, in the present instalments of their works, Mr. Courthope is probably seen at his weakest, and M. Jusserand at his best. By this we do not mean either that Mr. Courthope's present volume is a failure, or that we expect M. Jusserand's future volumes to be so; but simply that M. Jusserand has special advantages in dealing with this period which Mr. Courthope will have in the later stages of their course. A foreign critic is always at a disadvantage in discussing our modern literature. Taine's studies of English literature, able and interesting as they are, often seem to an English reader to miss the true characteristics of the authors with whom he deals, and we do not yet know whether M. Jusserand will be able so far to disentangle himself from his nationality as fully to appreciate some of our more characteristic and, so to speak, esoteric modern writers. What will he say of Browning? How will he rank Wordsworth and Byron? What does he think of Herbert and the Elizabethan song-writers? These things remain uncertain; but it is certain that his nationality is no bar to his appreciation of the early stages of our literature. The Anglo-Saxon dialect is not less strange to the ordinary Englishman than to the foreigner; and, from the Norman Conquest to Chaucer, French influences are of decisive importance to English literature. Much of the literature of that period is actually French; all is deeply influenced by French; language, metre, thought, the fashions and conventions of literary style, can only be understood by one who is fully acquainted with the French writings of the same period. M. Jusserand unites the thoroughness of the scholar with the enthusiasm of the lover of literature; and he moves with the command of a master over the beginnings of our national literature.

On the other hand, it is hardly unfair to Mr. Courthope to say that his sympathies are far more warmly interested in the later fortunes of English poetry. He has trained himself long and deeply in the school of Pope. His heart is in the eighteenth century, and the atmosphere of the eighth is uncongenial to him. He has studied the early periods thoroughly and effectively; but his own judgments may be expected to ring out sounder and fuller as he reaches the poets to whom his devotion has been more fully and spontaneously given. It is, however, only by comparison that we would say so much, and because our

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expectations of Mr. Courthope's later volumes are set very high. It would be ungracious and misleading not to acknowledge that, regarded simply by itself, his present volume, though lacking the enthusiasm of M. Jusserand's, is a worthy beginning to a great history of English poetry.

For while the path along which M. Jusserand leads us is the more flowery, the goal at which Mr. Courthope aims is the higher. The historian of a literature, as has been said above, may make it his chief task to arouse enthusiasm in the reader, or to investigate the forces and principles which have shaped its destiny; but it can hardly be questioned that the latter is his highest and most proper function. The specialist, if he be not merely a Dryasdust, may be counted on to arouse the interest of such readers as are at all thereto disposed; but only the general historian can take the wide survey of periods and tendencies necessary for a philosophy of literature. This is the task undertaken by Mr. Courthope, and, whatever be the ultimate fate of his work, it is at least greatly planned, and upon the right lines. Indeed, it is only upon such lines as these that a history of literature can hope to attain to permanent value. For information about individual writers the student will turn more naturally to the specialist, and to the specialist of latest date, who may be trusted to know the latest views on the subject in question; but for an investigation of the causes and circumstances which shaped the development of whole literary periods, it will be necessary to look to the general historian, whose views, if they are ever true, will remain equally true after any lapse of time. This is the plan adopted by Mr. Courthope. His criticism of individual writers is subordinated to his examination of the tastes and tendencies which formed the general background to them all. It is true that at times the account of these underlying forces seems to wander rather far from the literature of England, so that, in the language of Private Ortheris, there is 'too much bloomin' background in front;' but these are faults of detail, not of plan. The plan of Mr. Courthope's work seems to us the only right one for a history on so extended a scale.

One feature, indeed, we wish he had borrowed from M. Jusserand—namely, the excellent bibliographical notes which the latter attaches to his description of all notable authors. The reader who wishes for full information about any given writer should be able to look in his general literary history, and thence be referred to the treatises in which he will find all that is known about the writer in question. No

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obstacle is then interposed to prevent the satisfaction of the thirst for knowledge which it is part of the historian's duty to excite. M. Jusserand supplies the necessary information in footnotes which add greatly to the usefulness of his work, while they do not notably increase its bulk; but Mr. Courthope's references are few and incomplete. It may be added that such references are only a fitting acknowledgment of the debt which every literary historian must owe to the minuter specialists, the laborious coral insects on the fruits of whose toil his own more imposing structures are built up.

The early history of English poetry may be divided into four main sections. The first is the Anglo-Saxon period, which has its roots back in the times when our Teutonic ancestors first settled in Britain, and ends with the Norman Conquest. The second runs from the Conquest to the middle of the fourteenth century, when Saxon literature, like Saxon nationality, at first lay prostrate before its French masters, but ended in absorbing them into itself, emerging from the process with a personality combining characteristics from both sources. The third is the consummation of this process in Chaucer and the group of his contemporaries during the reigns of Edward III. and Richard II. The fourth is the stage of exhaustion and decay, which occupied the whole of the fifteenth and most of the sixteenth century, until the great revival of literary and national life in 'the spacious days of great Elizabeth.'

One common characteristic runs through the whole period, and distinguishes it from all the later periods of English literature. At no other time in our history has there been so intimate a connexion between our literature and that of the Continent. At no other time has the influence of foreign models and foreign thought been so great and so continuous. The truth is that, throughout the whole of what we commonly know as the Middle Ages, all Western Europe formed a single intellectual commonwealth. One language—Latin—was known by all educated persons from the Mediterranean to the North Sea. One Church spread its organization over the whole space, wielding a uniform system of education, and supplying writers with a uniform assortment of ideas, of images, and of aims. A scholar might go from Oxford to Paris, and from Paris to Padua, and find the same instruction being given in the same language wherever he went. A monk might journey from Naples to Lindisfarne, and find the houses of his own and kindred orders scattered over every land, giving him a home amid

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familiar surroundings through all his travels. And, in the latter part of the period, the feudal noble would find the same organization of society, the same conventions of thought and conduct, firmly established in all the countries in which he travelled or fought. In spite of inferior material aids to travelling, intellectual intercourse in Western Europe was probably fuller and more intimate in the Middle Ages, especially from the eleventh century to the fifteenth, than it has ever been in modern times.

The result is seen in a community of tone which characterizes much of the literature of France, Italy, and England, the three countries in which literature flourished most, and producing its richest fruit in our greatest poet of the period, Geoffrey Chaucer. It is only the very earliest specimens of Saxon literature, the poem of *Beowulf* and a few battle-songs, which really escape this influence; and to these we have consequently been accustomed to look with somewhat special pride as a possession peculiarly our own. Hence it is with some consternation that we find Mr. Courthope stating, at the very outset of his work, that there is absolutely no link of connexion between the poetry produced in England before the Norman Conquest and the poetry of Chaucer.[1] In the context in which the phrase stands Chaucer appears to be mentioned as the father and representative of modern English poetry; but with this interpretation the dictum is surely misleading. It may be true that there is not much in common between *Beowulf* and the *Canterbury Tales;* but there is surely a 'link of connexion' between *Beowulf* and *Piers Plowman*, and the spirit of the Saxon poem may be recognized in not a little of the most characteristic English poetry of modern times. We should be surprised if Mr. William Morris, for example, disowned a pedigree which connected him with the author or authors of *Beowulf.*

The earliest Anglo-Saxon poetry, in fact, has two characteristics which have survived all the intermixture with Dane and Norman: a melancholy cast of thought, and an eye for picturesque and striking scenery. The language has no doubt altered so much that Anglo-Saxon is simply a foreign tongue to the ordinary Englishman; but the continuity of consciousness, which philosophers tell us is the essence of individuality, has never been broken, and our historians are consequently in the right when they find the beginnings of English literature in the epic which is the earliest literary memorial of our Saxon forefathers. Indeed, to the modern

[1] *History of English Poetry*, p. 4.

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reader this poem (the only copy of which came within an ace of destruction in the fire among Sir Robert Cotton's manuscripts at Ashburnham House in 1731) is more interesting than any other relic of Anglo-Saxon literature. Its principal rival is the poem of Cædmon, which is a metrical paraphrase of parts of the Bible narrative. These two compositions represent the two main classes into which Anglo-Saxon poetry may be divided. On the one hand is the poetry of battle and adventure, the praise of 'famous men and our fathers that begat us;' on the other is the religious verse introduced by Christianity, and consisting, at this period, largely of paraphrases of the Bible. It is the former which is especially Teutonic; the latter is common to all the nations of Western Christendom. The latter is historically of considerable importance, since it was through the medium of these Biblical poems that the knowledge of the Scriptures was first made available to the common people in their own tongue; but now that this element of value has ceased, it is natural that we should feel a greater interest in the poems which reflect more fully the characteristics of the race from which we are descended. The tone of *Beowulf* is gloomy and severe. Its landscapes are those of the north—cold, waste, and dark. Destruction and death are very familiar to the poet; and to the more light-hearted peoples of a southern country the narrative may appear dreary and forbidding. But the English imagination has always had a background of seriousness. It takes a pleasure in tales of pathos; it has a strong under-current of melancholy; and descriptions of stubborn endurance, of difficulties overcome, not lightly and easily, but with labour and strong endeavour, have always been congenial to its taste. These qualities, combined with that sense of natural scenery of which we spoke above, are amply found in *Beowulf;* and, if M. Jusserand dwells with a certain horror upon this Teutonic sternness, and turns with obvious relief from it to the Celtic element in our literary pedigree, we must remember that his hereditary tastes are cast in a different mould.

In the competition, however, between the poetry of adventure and the poetry of religion, all the advantages were, for the moment, on the side of the latter. Literature inevitably found its chief home in the monasteries, which were the centres of education and the principal owners of libraries; and the literature of monks was sure to be predominantly religious. The natural home of the adventure-poetry was in the courts of kings, to whom min-

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strels chanted the great deeds of their ancestors; but as the courts became christianized, this refuge of secular poetry was removed. The Saxon temperament, moreover, when once it had adopted Christianity, took very kindly to religion; and the literature of the later Saxon period is predominantly religious and didactic. In the poems of Cynewulf, the chief representative of this later literature, and of the various writers of the same school, moral instruction is the almost universal aim. Their subjects are homilies or lives of saints, or books of natural history in which a moral lesson is attached to the description of each animal. And with this moralization of literature goes also its decline. The didactic impulse is invariably fatal to poetry, and the later Anglo-Saxon poetry was no exception to the rule. Indeed, the whole spirit of the race was declining, and the way was being prepared long beforehand for the Norman Conquest. The historian, William of Malmesbury, sets before us the early religious enthusiasm of the English, and their subsequent degeneracy, in vigorous language:

'In the first years of their arrival they had the appearance and bearing of barbarians; they were practised in war, their worship was savage: but afterwards, when they had adopted the Christian faith, the peace which they enjoyed led them gradually to regard the exercise of arms as of but secondary importance and to devote themselves entirely to religion. . . . What shall I say of the great army of bishops, hermits, abbots? Does not the whole island so shine with these relics of the old inhabitants that you can scarcely pass a single village of any size without hearing the name of a new saint? And how many more are lost to memory for want of chroniclers? But as time went on the study of letters and of religion decayed, shortly before the coming of the Normans. The clergy, content with a smattering of literary knowledge, could scarcely stammer the words of the sacraments; one who knew grammar was a prodigy and marvel to the rest.'

Add to this immorality, drunkenness, and extravagance, and the chronicler thinks it is easy to understand why one victory laid the kingdom at the feet of the Norman invader.

An infusion of fresh blood was necessary in order to revive the fading energies of the Anglo-Saxon race; and this was effected by the Norman Conquest. The remedy was, however, a desperate one, and for a long time it seemed as if it must end in the death of the patient. English nationality and English literature alike disappeared for a time beneath the flood of the French invasion. Only slowly and with difficulty does it reappear, after about a century of

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silence, and then chiefly in devotional verse. Several metrical versions of the Psalms were current in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries; the story of Genesis and Exodus was put into verse; and many metrical lives of the saints were written about the same time. Prominent among these religious compositions are the *Ormulum*, a series of metrical homilies, written about 1200; the *Cursor Mundi*, a religious history of the world, written in Northumbria about a century later; and the *Handlyng Sinne* of Robert Mannyng, a collection of moral stories, written shortly before 1340. Secular poetry is represented during the same period by the *Brut* of Layamon, an expanded paraphrase of the similarly named French poem of Wace, about 1205; *The Owl and the Nightingale* (scarcely noticed by M. Jusserand, but described at length by Mr. Courthope) of the thirteenth century; and the *Chronicles* of Robert of Gloucester and Robert Mannyng. It is not a great harvest for three centuries to have brought forth; we can hardly pride ourselves on having produced the *Cursor Mundi* at an age when Italy had produced the *Divina Commedia*; and yet the period was one of great importance for English literature. It is not the actual achievements of the time that render it notable, but the general development of thought and taste, out of which grew, in the next generation, poets who were poets indeed.

Feudalism and ecclesiasticism are the two forces which mainly shape the course of literature in Western Europe in the fourteenth century. Feudalism contributed the spirit of chivalry and the cult of Love, which gave birth to the lays of the troubadours and the machinery of the Courts of Love. Ecclesiasticism added a wide and encyclopædic education, which supplied the poet with much of the material of his compositions, and gave a moral tone and purpose to the whole. The two influences combined to produce the allegory, that very favourite form of composition in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, with all its machinery of dreams and visions, Venus and Cupid, the lover's education and probation amid a crowd of personified abstractions. These are the stock-in-trade of the versifier throughout this latter part of the Middle Ages; only here and there does the individual genius of a poet break through the conventions, or transform them into a real and living mode of expression.

Most famous of all these allegorical poems was that known as the *Roman de la Rose*; and it is of special interest to us, not only by reason of its widespread popularity and lasting influence, but because it introduces us to the first

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English poet whose genius was really of the highest rank. It was begun by Guillaume de Lorris about the year 1237; but after composing about four thousand lines he broke off, leaving it incomplete. Forty years later the unfinished story was taken up by Jehan de Meung, and carried on for nearly eighteen thousand lines to some sort of a conclusion. But while Guillaume had set about his allegory in all seriousness, Jehan's continuation was in a spirit of mocking and satire. Guillaume enters in a dream into the garden of the Palace of Love, where he sees the beautiful lady, Bel Accueil, or Fair Reception; and he is filled with a passionate desire to possess a certain lovely rosebud growing in the neighbourhood of this lady. But when he proceeds to ask leave at once to gather this rose, Fair Reception retires in confusion, giving place to Shame, Fear, and Jealousy, and the lover is ignominiously shut out of the garden. Hereupon a friend appears, and delivers a long homily on the duties and bearing of a lover, which illustrates most admirably the artificial code of manners enjoined by mediæval chivalry. With this assistance the lover obtains a second interview with his mistress, which, however, ends even more disastrously than before. He is once more summarily ejected from the garden, while the lady is shut up in a fortress guarded by four castles, held respectively by Slander, Shame, Jealousy, and Danger. Here Jehan de Meung takes up the tale, and the rest of the poem is occupied by the siege of the fortress; but the story is very far from running evenly on its course. It is diversified by digressions and discussions of most long-winded verbosity. Reason discourses for some two thousand lines on the nature of love, in a somewhat realistic and unromantic vein; and the friend who had formerly instructed the lover in his duties after the straitest sect of chivalry, now advises him, like Iago, to 'put money in his purse.' The siege is assisted by the 'barons' of Love, named Leisure, Nobility-of-Heart, Liberality, Patience, and the like. False-Seeming plays a powerful part in the assault; but it is not until the reader has suffered many things at the hands of mediæval science and philosophy, and has wandered over a wide range of classical literature, that Genius is sent by Nature to bring the siege, and therewith the poem, to a triumphant termination.

We have summarized at some length Mr. Courthope's detailed account of this romantic allegory,[1] because it is the best representative of the style which dominated mediæval poetry down to the Renaissance. Like many other mediæval

[1] *History of English Poetry*, pp. 176–84.

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compositions—allegorical, narrative, and theological—it is absolutely unbearable now. But it enjoyed an enormous popularity among the public for whom it was written, and for many generations afterwards. To us at the present day, unless we are studying the peculiarities of the mediæval mind, it is chiefly of importance as introducing us to the poetry of Chaucer; for one of the first works of his youth was a complete translation of the *Roman de la Rose.* The greater part of this is lost; for of the imperfect version now extant it is generally held that, at most, only the first 1705 lines are by Chaucer's hand. But the spirit and style of the popular allegory still remain in many of the undisputed works of our great poet.

It would be impossible here to attempt even an outline of Chaucer's career and genius, and it ought to be unnecessary. Many people shrink from reading him because, at first sight, his language appears strange and his metre unintelligible. There is really no ground for such an apprehension. It would indeed be useless to offer the *Canterbury Tales* to those whose reading is confined to authors of their own day, and who find Tennyson the only great poet whom they really enjoy; but the reader with an ordinary knowledge of English literature, who can appreciate Spenser and Shakespeare, need not be afraid of finding Chaucer unintelligible. It is necessary to pick up a few simple rules of prosody and pronunciation, which a moderate ear for metre will easily recognize, and now and again it may be advisable to refer to a glossary; but after a very slight experience no difficulty will be found in reading Chaucer with ease and fluency. And now, at least, everything is made easy for the reader. The serious student has Professor Skeat's monumental edition to consult;[1] but the ordinary reader will be still more grateful for the same editor's single-volume edition,[2] in which the complete works of the poet are printed in a handy and convenient form, and furnished with an admirable glossary and concordance. To this may be added Mr. Pollard's little primer,[3] which gives all the latest information on the history and contents of the poems, and the reader will then have no excuse for declining the acquaintance of the first great poet in the history of English literature.

But it is not with the contents of Chaucer's poems that

[1] *The Complete Works of Geoffrey Chaucer*, in 6 vols. (Oxford, 1894–1895).

[2] *The Student's Chaucer* (Oxford, 1895).

[3] 'Chaucer,' in *English Literature Primers* (Macmillan, 1893).

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we are here concerned so much as with his position in English literature. We may read his works from cover to cover, and yet remain in perfect ignorance as to the full nature of his genius and the importance of his work. It is the function of such a volume as Mr. Courthope's to supply this knowledge. In his earlier poems Chaucer is the child of his age. He translates the *Roman de la Rose*, he writes allegories, he sees visions, and he dreams dreams. In his *Troilus and Criseyde* he strikes out into narrative poetry, and may here have first learnt his own strength; but, although Chaucer's shaping genius is seen throughout the story, a great part of it is translated, and more imitated, from Boccaccio's *Filostrato*. In the *Canterbury Tales*, on the other hand, he produces a poem which, however much it was indebted to other writers (for Chaucer thought no more than Shakespeare of inventing his own stories), is yet original in conception and in execution, and is a work of a creative imagination of the first order. Chaucer had read widely, had travelled much, had made acquaintance with the first writers of his time, Petrarch and Boccaccio, knew French and Italian, and could adapt their measures and rhythms, had a perfect command over his own language and its metrical capabilities; but, beyond all this, he had what gave life to all this intellectual equipment—a real original genius. Nothing convinces us of this fact so much as an acquaintance with mediæval literature in general; for it shows how much Chaucer took from the common stock of the writers of his day, and how much he contributes of himself. We judge of the colossus better if we are able to place a man of common stature by its side.

Chaucer stands, not merely a head and shoulders, but by half his height, above the best of his contemporaries, and is one of the immortals; but he is also one in a group of poets which marks the reign of Richard II. as the period of consummation in the long development of early English poetry. By his side stands a writer of very different character. There is no more striking contrast in the history of literature than the juxtaposition of Chaucer and William Langland. If Chaucer is the first of the moderns, the first in the great train of English poets which runs down to Tennyson and Browning, Langland is the last of the ancients, the last of the succession of Anglo-Saxon poets which reaches back to *Beowulf*. Chaucer can be read with the feet on the fender; Langland only at the study-table, with dictionary and grammar, and with a sound knowledge of the intricacies of Saxon metre and pronunciation. Yet even for the general

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reader, who has no time for such studies and gets his knowledge at second-hand, Langland is a picturesque and striking figure. His poetry is uncouth, the scheme of his poem formless; but he rises above the crowd of mediæval writers because he has something definite to say, and says it with deadly seriousness. He employs the familiar machinery of a dream, and his characters are abstractions; but his abstractions have a life within them unknown to the mediæval versifier in general. When he describes Gluttony and Envy, he describes a real glutton, a living envious man; the vices in his poem are not the ornamental evil qualities which play their conventional parts in the lover's allegories, but the evils which disturbed the political and social state of England in the latter half of the fourteenth century. In the view of history which looks past the splendour of Creçy and Poitiers and sees the shadow of the Black Death, the Statute of Labourers, the rising of John Ball, and the preaching of John Wycliffe, the *Vision of Piers the Plowman* holds an important place, and is no less valuable as a reflection of English life than the immortal pictures of that strange crowd of pilgrims which rode one April season from Southwark to Canterbury with Geoffrey Chaucer as their chronicler.

No other poet after Chaucer interests us so much to-day as Langland; but in his own lifetime John Gower appears to have held a more prominent place, at least in the literary world, than Langland, and to have ranked almost with Chaucer. He illustrates in a curious way the tri-lingual character of English literature in the fourteenth century; for, of his three longest poems, one was written in Latin, another in French, and the third in English. It is just worth noticing by the way that the second of these, the *Speculum Amantis*, which has hitherto been supposed to be lost, has quite recently been identified with an anonymous poem contained in a manuscript at Cambridge. His English verse is smooth and simple, and he is more noticeable for an easy flow of narrative than for any of the higher gifts of imagination or characterization that go to make up the great poet. There is no reason to suppose that he will ever be read again, except for his antiquarian interest, or by very omnivorous consumers of literature.

But if Gower is to our modern taste flat and tedious, what shall be said of the writers of the generation that followed? The fifteenth century is indeed a barren waste in English literary history. Periods of ebb naturally succeed periods of flow, as we are ourselves experiencing to-day; and it was

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perfectly natural that the writers who followed Chaucer, such as Lydgate and Occleve, should look back to him as their master, and should try to reproduce his manner instead of pressing on to conquer new worlds. But the period of ebb was unnaturally prolonged for a century and a half after Chaucer had been laid to rest in Westminster Abbey—the first inhabitant of Poet's Corner. The failure of the French war, the break-up of the feudal régime in the Wars of the Roses, the destruction of the old noble families, combined to produce an environment quite unsuited to poetry. Nor was poetry the only sufferer. English art, which has left us some brilliant specimens of its work in illuminated manuscripts of the early fifteenth century, is suddenly blighted, and withers away. English political spirit, which had steadily won fresh triumphs for popular government under the Edwards, seems worn out under the Henrys, and is glad to submit at last to the masterful government of the Tudors. There is perhaps no more undistinguished period in English history than the latter half of the fifteenth century.

Literature shared to the full in this decay. After Lydgate, with his 130,000 unharmonious, uninspired verses, a *réchauffé* of all the familiar forms of mediæval composition—romances, fables, allegories, visions, lays, translations—and Occleve, a more human poet, in that he tells us much of his personal character in humorous, half-burlesque narratives, we come to a period of sheer blankness. Our historians have to cross the Scottish border to find names to carry on the tradition of English poetry; and in King James I., Robert Henryson, William Dunbar, and Gavin Douglas—especially, perhaps, the first and the last of these—we have the most attractive writers of the century, poets with some sense of beauty, simplicity of taste and expression, and love of natural scenery. But even with these additions the period remains one of barrenness and decline, and to our modern eyes there is no poet worthy of much consideration to fill the gap between Chaucer and Spenser. This is no doubt partly the reason why Chaucer is often regarded as a poet apart, to be read, no doubt, by antiquaries and students, but beyond the comprehension and the interest of the general reader. The reigns of Lancaster and York are a great gulf which he seldom tries to pass.

Here, then, both our historians bring their first volumes naturally and appropriately to a close. And looking back over the ground we have traversed under their guidance, what is the general impression which we carry away with us? In

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the eight hundred years, or more, which part Cædmon and *Beowulf* from Skelton and Barclay, the total harvest is not very great. One poet of the first rank, Chaucer; a handful of names, barely three or four to each century, of notable writers and poems of lesser rank, culminating in a period of considerable literary activity at the end of the fourteenth century, and then lapsing, except in a few Scottish minor poets, into inanities and repetitions. Can this be said to be a creditable record for the infant literature of a great nation; and is it, after all, of sufficient importance or interest to justify an appeal to the general reader, if not to read it, at least to read about it?

To the first of these questions an immediate answer may be given. It is of much importance to remember that during the whole of the period under notice English verse compositions are far from representing the entire imaginative literature of the nation. Not all the verse literature of the period is imaginative; not all the imaginative literature is in verse. The reader may learn this from either M. Jusserand or Mr. Courthope—from the former perhaps more fully and with greater detail. He may learn it still more fully from such a work as Dr. H. L. D. Ward's admirable *Catalogue of Romances in the British Museum* (frequently quoted by M. Jusserand, but never mentioned by Mr. Courthope), where the list of the manuscript copies of these works, the descriptions of their contents, and the discussion of the literary problems involved in them, present a striking picture of a most characteristic class of literature in the Middle Ages. Between romances in verse and romances in prose there is simply no essential difference. It is merely a question of the individual preference of each author, and the same narrative, with little variation, serves for both poetry and prose compositions at different times. And it so happens that many of the most noticeable works of imaginative literature during this period were written in prose. The legends of Troy and of Alexander, of King Arthur and King Charlemagne, the visions of heaven and hell, the miracles of the Virgin, the national traditions of a more or less historical character, furnish forth a mass of literature extremely popular during many generations, and intimately connected with the history of English poetry.

Story-telling and moral instruction form, indeed, the basis of nearly all our early literature, whether in verse or prose, whether in English, French, or Latin; and the most marked characteristic of the whole is the increasing range of the former. In the guise of allegory, fable, or illustrative anec-

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dote, it becomes the chief vehicle of instruction, just as, in other allegories and in semi-historical *chansons de geste* and romances, it is the chief vehicle for the sentiments of chivalry. Guillaume de Lorris and his successors put the code of the Courts of Love into the form of an allegorical narrative; Gower impresses upon his confessing lover the heinousness of the Seven Deadly Sins by a series of stories which illustrate them. And the richest fruit of all the centuries with which we are dealing is a poet who excelled above all in narrative. In the long story of *Troilus and Criseyde* Chaucer first found his own genius; in the *Canterbury Tales* he reached a pitch of excellence which, in respect of mere narrative skill, has never been surpassed. Full of dramatic power as he is, his genius does not take shape in drama. As yet the drama exists only in the form of mysteries and moralities; we must wait until the next age for its true development into a distinct species of literature. Lyric poetry, also, is practically unknown, or represented only by sentimental balades; the sonnet, though well known in Italy, has not yet penetrated into England. It is an age of story-telling, and its greatest poet is the chief story-teller of all.

But, when all is said and done, what is the value of this early literature to us now? Admitting that Chaucer is a great poet, may it not be urged that at the present day all except the professed students of literature may neglect the rest? The earlier poems, from *Beowulf* to *Piers Plowman*, are unintelligible; the later writers, from Gower to Skelton, are dull. Time has winnowed away this chaff with its fan; why should we turn back to these husks from the better food which the later centuries offer to us? Their interest now is historical, antiquarian, not literary; let them be left to the historian and the antiquary.

So it may be argued, even by those who have a real taste for literature, and with a fair show of reason. Not everyone has time, even if he has the will, to study the minor poets of these half-forgotten ages. A reader may fairly be satisfied if he is acquainted with all the poets of the first rank, and with the minor poets of periods nearer to his own time, who may be better expected to suit his tastes and to express his feelings. And yet we think that no one who is really interested in the literature of his own country will regret spending a little time in making acquaintance, even at second hand, with the founders of that literature. Such histories as those of Mr. Courthope and M. Jusserand render the task easy to him; and he will find that the study is not only

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interesting in itself, but also increases his comprehension, and consequently his appreciation, of the greater poets whom he knows at first hand. Every poet is in great measure the child of his own age, and it is impossible to judge of the extent and character of his individual genius until allowance is made for the qualities which are the common inheritance of all his contemporaries. The study of the Elizabethan dramatists is not only interesting in itself; it helps us to understand Shakespeare better. We make new friends when we embark on those enchanted seas with Charles Lamb as our first pilot; we learn to admire the strength and beauty and scholarship and tragic intensity of Marlowe and Beaumont, Jonson and Webster, to say nothing of the lesser, but still admirable, gifts of Middleton and Dekker and Ford. But, above all, we learn to worship Shakespeare more than ever. We see the truth of Lamb's remark, that the writers of the Elizabethan and Jacobean period all speak nearly the same language, and have a set of moral feelings and notions in common; and we see, also, how Shakespeare, using this same common store, yet rose far above all that it could give, in an inspiration which becomes, the more we realize it, more and more miraculous. So it is with Chaucer. Not only is a knowledge of the literary history of England since the Norman Conquest necessary if we are to understand the medley of influences—French, Italian, English—which meet and are reconciled in his work, but we are in danger of missing a full appreciation of his genius if we do not know a little of the writers by whom he was surrounded. It may be too severe a regimen to prescribe a course of the *Confessio Amantis* of Gower, or the thirty thousand lines of Lydgate's *Troy Book*; but any good history of the period will go far to supply the want of this training. Mr. Courthope shuns enthusiasm, and devotes comparatively little space to the criticism of individual writers; but we venture to say that no one can fairly read the volume before us without feeling at the end that he both admires Chaucer more and understands him better.

Add to this the natural interest which the intelligent Englishman must feel in the early history of his nation, and the justification of the study which we are recommending, even to the general reader, is greatly increased. We read the histories which tell of the primitive laws and battles of our forefathers, of their cities and houses, of their food and clothing: why not also read that which tells us of their thoughts and aspirations? The whole structure of mediæval

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thought, strangely as it differs from our modern tastes and ideals, has a perennial interest for those who like to understand how men in other days looked upon the world and the society in which they lived. The key to this knowledge is to be found in the songs of religion and adventure of our Saxon forefathers, in the lays and *chansons de geste* of the French troubadours and *trouvères*, in the allegories, fables, romances, visions, satires, which for centuries formed the universal literary nurture of Western Europe. And it is with gratitude that we acknowledge the labours of M. Jusserand and Mr. Courthope in providing us with a clue to guide us through this somewhat bewildering labyrinth.

In October next the University of Oxford will be called upon to elect a Professor of Poetry to fill the post which will then be vacated by the retirement of Professor Palgrave; and we believe that Mr. Courthope has already been asked to allow himself to be nominated as a candidate. We do not know what other names will be submitted to the electors, and in any case we should not adopt the attitude of a partizan in such a matter. It may confidently be hoped that there will never be wanting a due supply of persons qualified to sit in the chair of Doyle and Arnold, Shairp and Palgrave. But, if the choice of the University should fall on Mr. Courthope, the volume which we have noticed in the preceding pages is ample warrant that he possesses many of the qualifications necessary for the post. As an original poet he is known to many, and should be known to more, through his delightful *Paradise of Birds*. His edition of Pope and many detached essays testify to his sympathetic knowledge of the later periods of English poetry, especially the eighteenth century; and his present volume is evidence that his studies have ranged back to the days of small things, and that he can survey in a comprehensive and philosophic spirit the entire range of a literature which we confidently believe to have no equal in the whole history of modern civilisation.

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ART. IX.—DENNY'S 'STUDIES IN THEOLOGY.'

Studies in Theology. Lectures delivered in Chicago Theological Seminary. By the Rev. JAMES DENNY, D.D. (London, 1894.)

DR. DENNY is to be congratulated on having published a book of real power. His *Studies in Theology* contain much which in itself is of interest and value, and much which calls for remark in consideration of the ecclesiastical standpoint of the writer.

The lectures of which the volume is composed were 'delivered in April 1894 to the Chicago Theological Seminary,' and have been 'published at the request of the Faculty of that Institution.' One lecture, that on Holy Scripture, 'has been rewritten;' the others are 'printed as they were delivered.' In the opinion of their author, 'they do not amount to a system of theology,' though, as 'consistent' with one another, they 'would find their place in a system.' At the end of the volume there are nearly fifteen pages of notes, which 'have been added partly to justify the statements made in the lectures as to the opinions of various theologians and schools, partly to acknowledge the writer's obligations to others.'[1]

Without by any means accepting every statement in them, we have been struck by the admirable treatment of the subjects to which the first three lectures are devoted. Beginning in the first lecture with the idea of Christian theology, Dr. Denny points out that it is necessarily a system which possesses scientific form, and has definitions of truth. It is, moreover, necessarily correlated to other departments of knowledge, and he shows in some thoughtful paragraphs on the Being of God, and on miracles and on the Deity of Christ, that it would be disastrous to attempt to make such a division in human thought as would leave a possibility of entertaining the 'idea that religion and science can never come into conflict because each has a sphere of its own' (p. 3).

Both these points appear to us to need emphasizing in the present day. If there have been times in the history of the Church when too much stress was laid on the scientific character of the Christian system and on the need of logical exactness, it cannot be thought that either in England or in America there is such a time now. The schoolmen, perhaps,

[1] Preface, p. v.

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provoked a reaction by the very perfection to which they developed their instruments. The forms in which the arguments of Albert the Great or St. Thomas Aquinas were presented, in spite of their admirable clearness and methodical force, sometimes tended to obscure the real strength of the position they were used to maintain. The later dogmatic theologians may, perhaps, in some instances be rightly charged with having sacrificed deeper considerations to the accuracy of mere logic. But the faults which our own experience can detect in Aquinas or De Lugo are not those to which our generation is prone; and a due recognition of the worth of scholastic methods and the really systematic character of true theology, joined with a genuine historical criticism and a sound and Christian treatment of Holy Scripture, is not among the least of the needs of our time.

It is well, too, that we should be reminded of the second of the two points to which we have referred, that we cannot 'arrange the world or the activities of the mind in compartments' which have 'no communication with each other' (p. 4). It is a fatal error in Christians to suppose that there are no scientific or philosophical theories the acceptance of which would necessarily imperil the reception of the truths of faith, and a scarcely less hurtful mistake to try and dispense with those subordinate arguments from human reasoning which, if they can never altogether establish such a truth as that of the existence of God, may powerfully assist and sustain the mind in receiving and holding fast the verities which are revealed. There is need to remember, on the one side, that 'All things must speak of God, refer to God, or they are atheistic,'[1] and, on the other side, that 'nothing is gained in the long run for religion by anything which casts doubt on the true functions of sense.'[2]

We do not suppose that in either of these matters we could be in complete agreement with Dr. Denny. As regards the first of them, indeed, his use of the word 'scholastic' on page 45, coupled with the following statement that 'the theology of the Greek Church became scholastic in the fifth century' (pp. 45-6), shows how widely on some subjects we should necessarily be separated from him. None the less we may thank him for his emphasis on general points of view to which we attach high value.

[1] Pusey, *Collegiate and Professorial Teaching and Discipline*, p. 215 (quoted, with much of the context, in the *Life of E. B. Pusey*, iii. 389).

[2] Liddon, *The Recovery of St. Thomas* (a sermon preached in St. Paul's Cathedral on April 23, 1882), p. 24.

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The second and third lectures, which are on the 'witness of Jesus to Himself' and the 'Apostolic Doctrine of Christ,' are less original than the first lecture. But they contain well worked-out and valuable expositions of their subjects. The theological inferences about our Lord which are rightly deduced from the history of His life in the Gospels, and the further inferences which follow with regard to the nature of God, are well explained. And, when we remember that Dr. Denny is an eminent Presbyterian, it is not a little significant that several times over in reading these two lectures our thoughts have naturally turned to well-known passages in the writings of Père Lacordaire, Dr. Liddon, and Père Didon. We shall have occasion later on to express our dissent from some parts of these lectures; how deep is our agreement with their main position may be gathered from the following quotations:—

'To John, then, as to Paul, the pre-existence of Christ is an essential element in Christianity. His eternal relation to God is the only way of conceiving Him which answers to His real greatness. It is the only way of conceiving Him which puts the final and perfect relation made in *Him* in proper relation to inferior and preparatory revelations.[1] It is the only way of conceiving Him, the Absolute Revealer of the Father, which gives coherence and intelligibility to God's general manifestation of Himself to men. . . . It is a solution directed and authorized by Christ Himself' (pp. 61–2).

'If the doctrines of the pre-existence and of the incarnation of the Word are true, *some* matters of fact are involved which the mind cannot but seek to apprehend.

'The only light which Scripture throws on this subject is contained in the narratives of the miraculous birth of Christ. This, we are to understand, is the point and the mode of transition between the heavenly and the earthly life: "He was conceived of the Holy Ghost in the womb of the Virgin Mary." At the present moment a violent controversy is raging in Germany over these words of the Apostles' Creed. Professor Harnack heads the assault on this venerable symbol, treats the narratives in the early chapters of Matthew and Luke as discredited by criticism, and maintains that the conception of the virgin birth has no real authority, and no value for the Christian religion. . . . Opinion on this question will turn, I feel sure, not on the results of unchristian criticism of the Gospel of the infancy, but on the conception previously formed of the Person, power, and claims of Christ. Those who are not compelled to recognize anything transcendent *in* Him—who reject the idea that He came from God in a sense in which others do not—who ignore the

[1] We may take this opportunity of protesting against the use of the word 'revelation' to denote processes of thought such as those called 'obscurer revelations' on page 6. To extend its use beyond Judaism and Christianity is to endanger the preservation of important distinctions.

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Resurrection, exclude from their world all Christ's eschatological revelations, and deny the pre-existence—they, of course, find these stories incredible. They have a man to deal with, like other men, who is only God in the sense that He is as full of grace and truth as God could be in His place; but they do not really put Him in a *solitary* place; His eminence—and it is nothing but eminence—is, so far as one can see, purely accidental. He might *not* have been what He was, or some other might have filled His place and done His work. We feel how inconsistent with the New Testament conception of Christ such ideas are. . . . When we accept that view of the necessary, eternal, incomparable significance of Christ which is the only view represented in the New Testament, we approach this account with a different bias, and are prepared to find it more than a childish attempt to utter the greatness of Jesus. It supplies a real link in the chain of Christian thought, and when we take it, not alone, but in its place in the chain, its inherent credibility is greatly increased' (pp. 64–7).

We have been much interested in Dr. Denny's treatment of the doctrine of the Atonement. As a preliminary to it, he states in modern language what we recognize as the main line of objection urged by St. Thomas Aquinas against the Scotist theory of the Incarnation. He lays emphatic stress on the connexion between the actual death of Christ and the forgiveness of man. He rightly calls attention to the 'significance' which 'the story of the agony' shows that 'death' had 'to Christ Himself,' and to the inferences which may be drawn from 'the space filled in all the Gospels by the story of the passion' (p. 122). In his strong phrase, the 'vocation' of Christ 'was not only ethical, but unique' (p. 135), and he points out that theories which obscure or annihilate the sacrificial aspect of the atoning death of Christ really involve 'an inadequate conception of Christ's Person' and 'vocation,' and fail to 'treat sin with the seriousness with which it is treated in the New Testament' (pp. 141–3). On all these points we welcome the teaching of the lectures as opposed to very dangerous tendencies in present-day thought, and we have marked especially the emphatic rejection of the attempts which have been made to empty of meaning St. Paul's statement that Christ became 'a curse for us.'[1] Whether Dr. Denny quite understands what is meant by some who refuse to formulate a theory of the Atonement, we may be permitted to doubt. Some, certainly, who use such language, do so as failing to accept the Scriptural doctrine of the sacrificial efficacy and objective value of the death of Christ, and therefore come rightly under the lecturer's

[1] Gal. iii. 13.

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censure. There are others, among whom Bishop Butler[1] may be mentioned, who, while possessing a very firm hold on the doctrine itself, shrink from any approach to detail in explanations of it.

Closely connected with the treatment of the Atonement are two admirable passages on 'heredity' and on the relation between sin and death. On the former of these subjects, after a statement that through 'the Darwinian theory of the origin of species' the 'law of heredity' 'has taken possession of the common mind as it had never done before' (p. 87), and an implied protest against the altogether false position in which it is placed in much popular literature, Dr. Denny remarks that

'the moral problems connected with heredity are not made a bit easier, or a bit harder, by going further back, or not so far. . . . The conditions under which we are born into the world are what they are, and labour under the moral difficulties under which they do labour, all the same, whether the traditional or the Darwinian account of man's origin be accepted' (p. 88);

and that

'the fact that there is such a thing as heredity does not destroy the moral consciousness. . . . That which would be merely physical in the lower animals is *not* merely physical in' man; 'it is not a bare, ultimate, uninterpreted fact; it presents him with moral problems; it becomes the means of moral probation, of moral education; in contact with it his freedom asserts itself, or is defeated; but in either case the moral consciousness maintains itself, and no man ever with a clear conscience put down his sin to his father's account' (pp. 88–9);

and goes on to observe:

'Though the physical conditions of heredity have been more minutely studied in modern times, the moral perplexities of it were keenly felt long ago, and are expressly noticed in Scripture. . . . When the Jews in Babylonia commented on their condition in the cynical sceptical proverb, "The fathers have eaten sour grapes, and the children's teeth are set on edge," they had the spiritual riddles of heredity as clearly before their minds as any Darwinian or Ibsenite of the present day. They put the same sinister interpretation, also, on the apparent facts as many of our pessimistic writers do. Man's antecedents, they say, constitute his fate; the past of his family and of his race holds him in its relentless grasp; he has no hope; freedom is an illusion; God is unjust.

'The message of Ezekiel is addressed directly to this despairing unbelief, and the prevalence of similar intellectual and moral condi-

[1] Butler, *Analogy of Religion*, pt. ii. chap. 5.

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tions in our own time renders it specially important and interesting to us. . . . Every individual soul alike, the last in the descent as well as any other, has an immediate relation to God. . . . Man is not constituted simply by what he inherits ; he is not an incorporated piece of nature merely ; he is connected as truly with God as with his natural ancestry, and that connexion with God prevents his relation to the past from becoming a mere bondage. . . . It is immoral, it is the sign of a cowardly, unbelieving, willingly sceptical spirit, to say the fathers have eaten sour grapes, and the children's teeth are set on edge. It is immoral because it is a way of evading that direct relation of the soul to God which raises human life to its highest intensity, which makes us feel responsibility in all its strength, and bids us fight the good fight in His name to the last. . . . The sins of fathers are only ruinous when sons make them their own. The inherited bias may be strong, but it is not everything that is in any man's nature, and it is only when he ignores or renounces the relation to God, and freely makes the evil inheritance his own, that he makes it into a condemnation and puts it between himself and life. What we inherit, strictly speaking, may be said to fix our trial, but not our fate. Every man is to be put to the proof somehow, and to a certain extent his natural ancestry determines the mode of it. . . . But it does not depend on them what the issue of this trial is to be. It depends on the man himself, and, above all, on his faith in God. All souls are His ; even the soul of the man who seems most heavily weighted by the past ; and *He* is able to make him stand. The facts on which physicists lay such stress are not to be denied, but they are not to be allowed to claim the whole field. Side by side with them we must maintain the spiritual facts—that an evil nature only condemns us when we make it our own ; and that man is always accessible to God Almighty as well as to the influence of the past' (pp. 89–92).

And from much that is valuable on the relation of sin and death we may extract the following passages :

'The whole ground on which the Bible doctrine is based is that man is *not* simply a natural being, with nothing but the destiny which awaits all nature awaiting him. He is a being invested by his very constitution with a primacy over nature ; he is related to God in a way which makes him specifically distinct from every merely natural being, in a way which those who understand it regard as containing at least the promise and the possibility of immortality. To say that he *must* die because he is a natural being ignores all this : it amounts to a proof of man's mortality only in the sense that it is a disproof of his immortality. . . . What might have been the line in which man's destiny would have been fulfilled had sin not entered into the world, and death by sin, no one can tell ; but the fact that man is constituted for immortality and has the promise of it in his being from the first forbids us to ascribe to death a natural and inevitable place in his career. It is an intrusion, and it is to be finally abolished' (pp. 98–9).

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In connexion with the doctrine of the Atonement we may also notice the lecturer's treatment of the question whether our Lord may be regarded as a Priest before His Ascension. The subject of the Priesthood of Christ is indeed very inadequately handled; but it is satisfactory, in view of theories now very frequently met with, to find the following statement on the teaching of the Epistle to the Hebrews:

'When he' (*i.e.* the author of the Epistle to the Hebrews) 'figures Christ appearing in the presence of God on our behalf, he figures Him, of course, as a Priest, but it is not in separation from what has before taken place on earth. Christ appears in God's presence with the virtue of His death in Him; He appears there offering to God, as our representative, a life that has passed through that tremendous experience, in order to put away sin. If Christ is a Priest in one part of these transactions, He is a Priest in them all; for they are all one, and derive their meaning and efficacy from each other' (p. 165).

And, still regarding the work from the same standpoint, there is much for which we may well be thankful in the lecture on Eschatology, from which we may quote the lecturer's thoughtful expression of his belief with regard to the theories of conditional immortality and of the existence of a future probation.

'The immortality of man,' he says, 'cannot be something accidental, something appended to his nature, after he believes in Christ; it must be something, at the very lowest, for which his nature is constituted, even if apart from Christ it can never realize itself as it ought. The doctrine' (*i.e.* of conditional immortality) 'will always attract new minds from time to time, because of the truth embodied in its watchword; it has done good service in helping to restore attention to, and to concentrate it on, the blessed consummation to be attained in Christ; but it is, I fear, one of those half-way houses in which neither human intelligence nor Christian faith can consent permanently to dwell' (p. 256).

'The real argument against it' (*i.e.* the hypothesis of a future probation) 'is that it depreciates the present life, and denies the infinite significance that under *all* conditions, essentially and inevitably, belongs to the actions of a self-conscious moral being. . . . Christ tells us there is a principle on which even the heathen can be judged *by Him*, judged according to the deeds done in the body; and we cannot afford to have life, even at its lowest, robbed of the awfulness, the grandeur, the absolute moral worth which it thus obtains. The life of humanity is really of a piece, from the lowest level to the highest, and it is only in some such way as this that its unity can be maintained. We feel, indeed, the limits of our knowledge at every turn; but, while cherishing the largest faith in the goodness and mercy of God, what we need to have developed in us is an intense feeling that if God is anywhere, He is here; if He is near to the Soul at any

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time, it is now; if a decision of eternal consequence can be taken under any circumstances, it can be taken in this world' (pp. 243–5).

We noted down, in reading the book, a large number of passages in which the lecturer is in direct opposition to the school of thought of which he himself repeatedly mentions the late Professor Ritschl as a prominent and able representative, and, in afterwards looking through these, we have been struck by observing how uniformly our sympathies and agreement have been with Dr. Denny.

We are of opinion, then, that in very many respects students of theology may learn much from these lectures. Yet, besides their omissions, among which, as might be anticipated, one of the most marked and of the most serious is the absence of teaching on the subject of the Sacraments, there are weak points to which it is our duty to direct attention.

One of the most fundamental of these weak points is in connexion with the doctrine of original righteousness. Dr. Denny is of opinion that no such doctrine ought to exist. 'Adam,' he says, 'is not within our reach at all;' 'sin is' not 'to be defined in relation to original righteousness;' 'original righteousness is a perfectly obscure and unknown thing' (pp. 78, 80). Now we desire to point out that, even on far looser views of the early chapters of Genesis than we ourselves are able to accept, it cannot rightly be said that 'Adam is not within our reach.' Even if it were granted that the first three chapters are of the nature of myth—a position which, as we have indicated, is for ourselves impossible—it would still be the case that, if the spiritual meaning of the myths should be true, original righteousness is depicted as the condition of the first man, and the existence of sin is first mentioned in relation to it. Unless the Book of Genesis should be not only unhistorical in its mythical character, but also misleading in the theology which its fables imply, the doctrine of original righteousness stands in the forefront of the teaching of God. A similar argument may be used with reference to the teaching of St. Paul. We ourselves are satisfied that, to the mind of St. Paul, Adam was the historical figure of 'one man.'[1] But, whatever view is taken on this point, it is still the case that the first sin of man was evidently regarded by St. Paul as an offence against a positive goodness that was possessed. And, indeed, unless the sin of our first parents was committed in a very high degree of knowledge of God and positive righteousness and spiritual union with the Creator, the terrible and far-

[1] Rom. v. 12–21.

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reaching character of its effects would be altogether inexplicable. It is the fact that the Fall had some features unlike to those of any other human sin that makes it possible to understand in any measure why the results of it should be the distortion which marks mankind.

We do not wish in our present article to urge at length that the denial of the historical character of the early chapters of Genesis may be a stepping-stone to the denial that any spiritual meaning is contained in them. Our point is rather that so long as they are allowed to be in any sense whatever teachers of theological and moral truth, so long they assert the doctrine of the Catholic Church that the original condition of man was one of positive righteousness; and so long as the arguments of St. Paul are thought to have any logical character at all, and so long as a rational explanation of the moral state of man is looked for, the doctrine must be recognized in the teaching of the Apostle and seen to be implied in the present condition of the human race. And the starting-point which makes all the rest of Christian theology consistent is the truth that man was created by God positively righteous, and from his original righteousness fell.

It is unsatisfactory to observe Dr. Denny's leaning towards the Kenotic theories of the Incarnation. He does not only say that our Lord 'once confessed ignorance' (p. 26), and that the Incarnation was a 'renunciation' (p. 62). In spite of his statement that the 'attempts' of 'the Kenotic Christologies to interpret' the famous passage in the Epistle to the Philippians[1] 'metaphysically hardly take us much further on' (p. 57), he speaks of our Lord coming to the 'knowledge of Himself,' of the 'growth of' His 'filial consciousness,' of His attaining 'to complete serenity and certainty by the time He entered on His public ministry' (p. 32). On what kind of view of the Incarnation, short of Nestorianism, it can be consistently held that our Lord in His childhood was ignorant that He was the Son of God, or that before His public ministry began He was not perfectly 'serene' and 'certain,' we are at a loss to know. If we are to look at the Gospels, the Child of twelve years old knew who His Father was,[2] and the Messiah was acquainted with His mission before He was baptized by St. John the Baptist.[3] If we are to think of Christian tradition, we should search in vain in the orthodox Fathers for a Christ who at any period of His life

[1] Phil. ii. 5–8. [2] St. Luke ii. 49.
[3] St. Matt. iii. 15.

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did not know His own Nature. If we are to have care for the moral beauty and value of our Lord's life, we must beware of supposing there was any time at which He was not 'serene.'[1]

The lecture on Holy Scripture may be regarded as a very deliberate statement of belief, because, as we have already mentioned, it has been 're-written' since it was delivered. The cause of its revision is stated in the preface to have been the fact that it 'excited considerable discussion in the circles to which it was first addressed,' and the object of re-writing it was not to retract or qualify anything, 'but in order, as far as possible, to obviate misconception and secure a readier acceptance for what the writer thinks true ideas on the authority of Scripture' (Preface, p. v). It is interesting to observe the lecturer's opinion as to the right place of Holy Scripture in a doctrinal system. He mentions the 'distinction' in different 'confessions' by which some 'confessions,' such as 'the Westminster Confession, make Holy Scripture the subject of their first chapter, and treat it as fundamental to everything else;' while other 'confessions,' such as 'the old Scottish one and the new English Presbyterian one,' 'introduce what they have to say of Scripture under the rubric of means of grace and in subordination to the doctrine of the Church' (p. 202). Dr. Denny has no doubt that the latter of these two methods is the right course.

Before we proceed to comment upon the view of Holy Scripture itself which is propounded in the lecture, we must notice this question of the true position of Scripture in systematic theology. It is clear to us that Dr. Denny is right in holding the opinion we have mentioned; but we must point out how extremely unsatisfactory it makes the authority of the Bible to be if some other parts of his theology should also be accepted. On his view, the inspiration of Scripture can be established only by the use of it, and as the man who reads it realizes that 'God actually speaks' through it, 'and that man hears the voice and knows it to be God's;' and he quotes as 'not only true, but self-evident and unassailable,' the statement of Professor Robertson Smith:

'If I am asked why I receive Scripture as the word of God and as the only perfect rule of faith and life, I answer, with all the Fathers of the Protestant Church, Because the Bible is the only record of the redeeming love of God; because in the Bible alone I

[1] We cannot think the treatment of the union of the two natures in the one Person of Christ on pp. 68–70 satisfactory.

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find God drawing near to man in Christ Jesus, and declaring to us in Him His will for our salvation. And this record I know to be true by the witness of His Spirit in my heart, whereby I am assured that none other than God Himself is able to speak such words to my soul' (pp. 204–5).

We do not, we hope, value less than either Professor Robertson Smith or Dr. Denny the voice of the conscience of man or the human capacity of responding to the words of God; but there are criticisms which may be used by those who are respecting both the conscience and the power of response even against this 'self-evident and unassailable' position. It may be pointed out that the test referred to is, after all, wholly subjective, and affords no opportunity for any verification of the human judgment by any Divinely appointed means. It may be asked whether, on such a theory, it is as easy to believe that the books of Samuel are Divinely inspired as it is to regard the Psalms or St. John's Gospel as containing the word of God. It may be urged—and this is the point on which we would lay the greatest stress—that such a view is wholly unhistorical, and does not bear the remotest resemblance to the process by which, so far as history supplies evidence, Christians accepted the canon of the Bible.

Dr. Denny appears to have some appreciation of the line of thought which is involved in the criticisms we have made, for at the end of his lecture the following passage occurs:

'The precise limits of the canon are, of course, no matter of faith. Some confessions define them, but none of the great creeds. But it is not too much to say that they are entitled to profound deference, and that though one may, as Luther did, employ the authority of the Word of God, attested by the Spirit, to criticize the limits of the canon, as merely part of a human tradition, it is at least as likely that the individual should be insensible to the Divine message in a book as that the Church should have judged it to contain such a message if it did not do so' (pp. 226–7).

It is for the lecturer to consider how far this last sentence, if the thought comprised in it should be more fully worked out, might not make havoc of the 'self-evident and unassailable' opinion of Professor Robertson Smith. What we desire to call attention to is that, if the doctrine of Holy Scripture is to be rightly put in the place in a theological system which Dr. Denny assigns to it, a very different doctrine of the Church than that which he presents to us will have to be affirmed.

There is much in the lecture on the Church with which we

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are in sympathy, and before we criticize the teaching on this subject we may indulge ourselves by quoting a passage we think valuable:

'The Kingdom of God is not a kingdom of this world; it is not a society which is in any sense the rival or the competitor of any other social organization which Providence has evolved in the history of man; it does not supplant the family, the nation, the State, the federation of States, the economic or industrial organization; it recognizes the Divine right which all these social forms possess, though it need not regard any of them as perfect; but it is too great—too profound in its principle—to come into collision with them on their own ground. It can render to Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's without being hindered, for that, from rendering to God the things that are God's. It is not destined, as a visible society, to absorb every other, or to assert its superiority over, and its right to interfere in, every other; but it is destined, by the free action of its members, to give a new character to all. It is destined to carry into all that law of love which Christ has revealed, and, as it does so, to transform, or rather to transfigure, them. The Kingdom of God becomes a conquering and transfiguring power—the leaven exerts its virtue, the salt its savour—in proportion as the citizens of the Kingdom are intensely conscious of their new relation to God, and of the new obligations it imposes' (pp. 176–7).

But while there are passages, such as that which we have quoted, which appeal to us forcibly, the general conception of the Church is, we are very confident, both unscriptural and unhistorical. When Dr. Denny puts aside as 'paltry' the 'Papal interpretation' (p. 178) of our Lord's words to St. Peter,[1] he does not seem to see that, quite apart from any question about the particular position of St. Peter or the claims of the bishops of Rome, the whole imagery of the passage points to the Christian Church being intended to be a visible society, and that the promise is one which at the least must mean a supernatural guidance and protection for which he does not at all allow. And when the consideration of the place of the Sacraments in the teaching of Christ,[2] and

[1] St. Matt. xvi. 17–19.

[2] See Gore, *The Ministry of the Christian Church*, p. 40: 'The intention of Christ to found a social organization is apparent in the solemn ceremonies which He instituted as tokens of discipleship as well as channels of grace. The Sacraments are *social* ceremonies. Baptism had been in Jewish tradition the ceremony of initiation into the ancient Church. As used by John the Baptist it had been used in distinct relation to the coming of "the kingdom." As adopted by Christ it was no doubt meant to admit into His society, the kingdom which had come, the Church of the new Covenant. And whatever possible ambiguity attends the conception of Baptism in this respect is removed by the other Sacrament. The Eucharist is nothing if not social. Its whole natural

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of the general method in which St. Paul speaks of the Church, is added,[1] there is enough, we think, to make good our contention that any view of the Church which regards it as spiritual only is unscriptural. Nor is it any more in accordance with history to speak slightingly of the 'corporate, legislative, compulsory action of the Christian community' (p. 177); or to say that 'in the original Christian community' no 'kind of organization' 'seems to have been prescribed' (p. 187); that the unity of the Church 'is not in the fellowship of a priestly or episcopal order' (p. 189); and that 'it was no legally formulated belief, it was no Divinely prescribed organization which legitimated the congregations or guaranteed the Christianity of the Church' (p. 192). To say that

'by the middle of the third century the Church had got worlds away from the ideals of the New Testament, and once embarked on the wrong course it had to pursue it to the end' (p. 197),

does not account for 'the organized hierarchy, with its apostolic and sacerdotal powers' (p. 197), and for 'corrupted' 'Sacraments' (p. 198) forming parts of the teaching of Tertullian[2] in North Africa and Irenæus[3] in Gaul at the end of the second century, and of Ignatius[4] in Asia Minor at its beginning, no less than in writers of later date. And, to return for a moment to Holy Scripture, we cannot conceive of the St. Paul who exercised Church discipline[5] and wrote the Pastoral Epistles despising the 'corporate, legislative, compulsory action of the Christian community,' or assenting that no 'kind of organization' was 'prescribed.'

If for the vague notion of the Church which is presented in this volume there be substituted the actual historical Church of Irenæus and Cyprian, Athanasius and Augustine, there will then be good reason for making the doctrine of Holy Scripture dependent upon the doctrine of the Church, and thus assenting to the order of theological thought which is found in the lectures.

Dr. Denny clearly states that—

basis as a common meal implies a community. Christ, then, in making Baptism and the Eucharist the Sacraments of His kingdom, just as in making love of the brethren *the* characteristic of His disciples, emphasized His intention to attach men to Himself, not as individuals, but as members of a brotherhood.'

[1] Gore, *The Ministry of the Christian Church*, pp. 46–9.

[2] Tertullian, *De præs. hæret.* 32, *De Bapt.*, *De Idol.* 7.

[3] Irenæus, *C. Hær.* I. xxi. 1, 2, III. xvii. 1, 2, IV. xviii. 5, xxvi. 2, 5, xxxiii. 2, V. ii. 3.

[4] St. Ignatius, *Ad Eph.* 5, 20; *Ad Philad.* 3, 4; *Ad Smyrn.* 8.

[5] 1 Cor. v. 3–5; 2 Cor. ii. 7; 1 Ep. to Tim. i. 20.

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'The witness of the Spirit, by and with the word in the soul . . . does guarantee the presence of a supernatural element in the history recorded' (*i.e.* in the Old Testament). 'It bars out a criticism which denies the supernatural on principle, and refuses to recognize a unique work of God as in process along this line' (p. 212);

and that in the New Testament

'the word of God, the revelation of God to the soul in Christ, attested by the Spirit, lives and abides' (p. 209).

Side by side with this belief he is willing to allow a somewhat free hand to the criticism of the day. Not only 'mistakes in dates' and 'in the order of events' are thought to be possible, but also 'mistakes' 'in reporting the occasion of a word of Jesus' and 'possibly in the application of a parable' are contemplated, as is the assertion of the 'incipient formalism of the second generation' 'here and there, as in Luke' (p. 208). With some teaching of value about the prophets he intermingles statements that the 'coming' and 'work' of Christ are rather 'prefigured' than 'predicted,' that 'the mechanical correspondences that have been sought out between the Old Testament and the New' are 'as worthless as they are often absurd' (pp. 210-11). Neither in the Old Testament nor in the New Testament does he think that the 'historicity of miraculous details' (p. 212) is guaranteed, and the 'early chapters of Genesis,' in his opinion, consist of 'myths' (p. 218).

We have written too often, of late, on this subject to make it needful for us, in the present article, to do more than renew our earnest protest against a method of treating Holy Scripture which, beginning by exalting its spiritual value, is calculated eventually to undermine the foundations on which the spiritual value rests, and to point out that in connexion with the statement that 'from the very beginning' 'the Old Testament was in some sort a problem to the Church' (p. 211) Dr. Denny strangely confuses the attitude of orthodox Christians with that of heretical bodies, and is even driven to cite the views of Marcion as a sample of early Christian belief.

We have already mentioned our gratitude to the lecturer for some parts of his eschatological teaching. We regret that he should have found it possible to say that 'the whole conception of an intermediate state in which our interposition can be real and effective' 'is foreign to the New Testament' (p. 250), and that 'intercessions' 'for the dead' 'virtually deny the absolute moral significance of this life,' and, since

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'we do not truly intercede for a man when he is living unless we put ourselves at God's disposal for that man's service,' 'would introduce an unreal idea of intercession itself' (p. 252). Surely, intercession includes not only the devoting of ourselves, but also the calling out of the power of God; and, if there are possibilities of purification from sin and growth in knowledge and holiness for those whose probation is finished and eternal destiny of salvation determined, there is nothing inconsistent either with the 'absolute moral significance of this life' or with the teaching of the New Testament in the use of those prayers for the souls of the faithful departed which the Church has always loved.

The importance of the matters on which we have commented is greater even than the separate value of the doctrines with which they are concerned. On Dr. Denny's own showing, Christian theology is necessarily a system. It follows that it is an organic whole. In the great tradition of the Catholic Church harmony is found. So far as that tradition is departed from, there is not only the loss of that which is surrendered, there is also danger to that which is for the time retained.

But we do not wish to part from Dr. Denny as critics. We have, we hope, shown in the earlier part of this article the interest and appreciation with which we have read his book. We have not hitherto mentioned the high moral tone and spiritual earnestness which, no less than intellectual capacity, may be observed in it. If there is much in which we differ from him, there is much more in which we agree and from which we may add some support to the hope which no sincere Christian ought ever to abandon of a Christendom in which our present divisions have had an end.

SHORT NOTICES.

Notes on Epistles of St. Paul from unpublished Commentaries. By the late J. B. Lightfoot, D.D., D.C.L., LL.D., Lord Bishop of Durham. Published by the Trustees of the Lightfoot Fund. (London: Macmillan and Co., 1895.)

This volume, we are told in the prefatory note, 'aims at reproducing, wherever possible, the courses of lectures delivered at Cambridge by Dr. Lightfoot upon those Pauline Epistles which he did not live to edit in the form of complete commentaries' (Introductory Note, p. v). The materials found in the Bishop's note books have been supplemented by the notes taken by some who heard the lectures,

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and 'the editor feels confident that the result may be accepted as representing with fair accuracy the Bishop's actual words' (*ibid.* p. vi). The portions of the New Testament on which comments have thus been prepared for publication are the two Epistles to the Thessalonians, the first seven chapters of the First Epistle to the Corinthians, and the same number of chapters of the Epistle to the Romans. To these is added a series of notes on the first fourteen verses of the Epistle to the Ephesians, which was found to be 'written out fully' in 'the Bishop's manuscript,' 'just as he had intended it for publication in his contemplated edition of that Epistle,' and which therefore 'represents his final judgment on these verses' (*ibid.*). In the case of the four Epistles mentioned first an analysis of the complete Epistle is prefixed. Of the Epistle to the Ephesians there is no analysis at all.

Students of Bishop Lightfoot's commentaries have long been familiar with the tantalizing feeling of being referred to volumes which do not exist. Just before the publication of the *Notes* we had occasion to consult some of the comments on the Epistle to the Galatians, and experienced this result. We had the curiosity to note down the references, that we might see whether the new volume should on its appearance supply what was needed, and it has been with no little satisfaction that we have found in the notes on 1 Thessalonians ii. 7 and v. 4 a fuller treatment of peculiarities in St. Paul's use of metaphor than is given on Galatians iv. 19, and in those on 1 Thessalonians ii. 14 a useful statement supplementary to that on the phrase ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις τῆς Ἰουδαίας ταῖς ἐν Χριστῷ in Galatians i. 22.

The volume is not free from inequalities, which are probably largely the result of its contents, with the exception already noticed, not having been prepared for publication by their author. Here and there a phrase occurs which Bishop Lightfoot would probably have made clearer on a further revision. Some of the notes, among which we may instance that on τὸν ἀδελφὸν ἡμῶν in 1 Thessalonians iii. 2, are inferior to similar notes in the commentaries previously published (see on Colossians i. 1). Others do not really make any addition of value to what the Bishop has written elsewhere. An illustration of this may be found by comparing the note on ἐν πάσῃ ἐπιστολῇ in 2 Thessalonians iii. 17 with the notes on Galatians vi. 11 and Colossians iv. 18 and the disquisition on pp. 138–140 in the commentary on the Epistle to the Philippians. And while there are in some cases substantial additions to the treatment of the same subjects in other volumes, as in the notes on the 'epistolary plural' in connexion with 1 Thessalonians ii. 4 (compare on Galatians i. 8) and on the phrases εἰς κενὸν in 1 Thessalonians iii. 5 (compare on Galatians ii. 2 and Philippians ii. 16), and πάντοτε χαίρετε in 1 Thessalonians v. 16 (compare on Philippians ii. 18, iii. 1, iv. 4), there are also striking omissions on points of importance, among which we may instance the absence of any comment on the words οὐ δεδούλωται in 1 Corinthians vii. 15.

We have said enough to show how greatly the notes which Bishop

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Lightfoot had not prepared for publication have lost through the want of his further work at them. But, though we feel that our criticisms are just, and that thoughtful students of the Bishop's other commentaries will already in reading these Epistles have made for themselves notes which substantially correspond with many of the smaller notes which have never been published, and though it is to a certain extent unsatisfactory to have materials which have not been made ready for the press by their author, we cannot regret the publication of any part of the book. A more rigorous selection on the part of the editor might have rejected much which may be helpful to many, though not to all, readers; and we hope that the rest of this notice will give some idea how much there is which no student can afford to despise.

There are so many words and phrases the treatment of which is full of the Bishop's well-known power that it is a difficult task to select examples. The notes on *παράκλησις* (on 1 Thessalonians ii. 3), on the use of *μὴ* with a participle (*ibid.* iii. 1), on *σαίνεσθαι* (*ibid.* iii. 3), *τὸ ἑαυτοῦ σκεῦος κτᾶσθαι* (*ibid.* iv. 4), *ὀψώνια* (on Romans vi. 23), *εὐλογητὸς ὁ Θεὸς* (on Ephesians i. 3), *οἰκονομία* (*ibid.* i. 10), *ἀνακεφαλαιώσασθαι* (*ibid.*), and *ἁρραβὼν* (*ibid.* i. 14) have struck us as specially admirable. On points of a different kind, the note on Silas (on 1 Thessalonians i. 1), the brief comment on the 'unloving and illiberal spirit' of the Jews (*ibid.* ii. 15), the notice of 'the delicacy evinced by St. Paul' in his references to Apollos and Cephas (on 1 Corinthians i. 12), the reasons given for rejecting the very common view that St. Paul had been a married man (*ibid.* vii. 7), exhibit features of Bishop Lightfoot's best work. On still more important matters there are brief statements which call for much consideration, as when it is said that

'the interpretation' (*i.e.* of *ἐπότισεν* in 1 Corinthians iii. 6 by some of the Fathers) 'is instructive, as showing a general fault of patristic exegesis, the endeavour to attach a technical sense to words in the New Testament which had not yet acquired this meaning' (p. 188);

and that

'*Χάρις* is the watchword of St. Paul. It is the objective element, the divine counterpart, corresponding to the subjective element, the human correlative *πίστις*. . . . It is opposed to *νόμος* (Rom. vi. 14), as *πίστις* is to *ἔργα*' (p. 189);

and that

'the idea of the resurrection of the body is in reality not a philosophical difficulty but a philosophical necessity to us' (p. 215).

And, if we cannot agree with quite all that is said about the anticipations by the Apostles of the second coming of Christ (pp. 65–67), we may call attention to the care and caution with which this subject is handled. Nor must we fail to notice the high value of some comments which bear directly on central truth, as the note—

'It is worthy of notice that this ascription to our Lord of a divine power in ordering the doings of men occurs in the earliest of St. Paul's Epistles, and indeed probably the earliest of the New Testament writ-

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ings: thus showing that there was no time, however early, so far as we are aware, when He was not so regarded, and confirming the language of the Acts of the Apostles, which represents the first converts appealing to Him as to one possessed of divine power' (p. 48);

or the illustrations of

'the contrast between the gloomy despair of the heathen and the triumphant hope of the Christian mourner' (p. 63);

or the note—

'This verse' (*i.e.* 1 Thessalonians v. 10) 'is remarkable as enunciating the great Christian doctrine of the Redemption, to which elsewhere there is no allusion in the Epistles to the Thessalonians, though it forms the main subject of St. Paul's teaching in the second chronological group of his Epistles. . . . Here the mention of it is important as showing that in his earliest writings this doctrine was present to St. Paul's mind, though he has busied himself generally in these Epistles with other matters. It was not therefore, as has been maintained, an aftergrowth of his maturer reflections' (p. 77);

or the statement that

'it is unsafe to infer . . . that the formula of Baptism in the name of the Trinity . . . was dispensed with, and the name of Jesus alone pronounced. Baptism in or into the name of Jesus is to be regarded as an abridged expression to signify Christian Baptism, retaining the characteristic element in the formula' (p. 155).

And, to pass by much on which we might well dwell at length, we have observed with interest on two very different matters that Bishop Lightfoot regards the well-known rough drawing which was found in the Pædagogium on the Palatine as a caricature of the crucifixion of our Lord[1] (p. 163), and accepts the interpretation of St. Paul's words οὐκ ἐγὼ ἀλλὰ ὁ Κύριος (1 Corinthians vii. 10) which we have on several occasions found it necessary to maintain in the pages of this Review.

'The common conception of this phrase,' he says, 'is quite wrong. It is generally thought that the distinction on which St. Paul insists is the distinction between Paul inspired and Paul speaking of himself, between an utterance *ex cathedrâ* and a private opinion. The real difference is between the words of Paul the inspired Apostle and the express command of Christ Himself' (p. 225).

It is our pleasant duty to add that the volume bears the marks of the skilled and careful editing which are characteristic of Dr. Harmer's work, and to express our hope that, as Bishop Lightfoot himself passed from his study to become one of the greatest of the Bishops of this century, so the Episcopate of the new Bishop of Adelaide may be not unworthy of his repute as a scholar.

[1] An excellent description of this drawing is quoted from Garrucci's 'Deux Monuments des premiers Siècles de l'Église expliqués,' in Liddon's *Bampton Lectures*, p. 404, note m. Dr. Liddon, who gives a number of useful references on the point, explained the drawing in the same way that it is understood by Bishop Lightfoot, as a caricature of the Crucifixion. A different view of it is given in King, *The Gnostics and their Remains*, pp. 230, 279, 433 (second edition), where the drawing is reproduced.

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Persecution and Tolerance. Being the Hulsean Lectures preached before the University of Cambridge in 1893–4. By M. CREIGHTON, D.D., Oxon. and Cam., Lord Bishop of Peterborough; late Dixie Professor of Ecclesiastical History in the University of Cambridge; Hon. Fellow of Merton College, Oxford, and Emmanuel College, Cambridge; LL.D. of Glasgow and Harvard; D.C.L. of Durham; Litt.D. of Dublin; Fellow of the Società Romana di Storia Patria. (London: Longmans, Green, and Co., 1895.)

THIS interesting series of lectures is marked by the knowledge and depth we expect to find in any work by the Bishop of Peterborough. It contains a theory of the causes of persecution by Christians which differs very considerably from opinions on the subject that are common. The Bishop himself points out that 'the origin of persecution is commonly found in the overwhelming claim which Christianity makes on its adherents' (p. 3), and states in sharp contrast to this opinion his own main conclusions in the following clear summary:—

'These are (1) that persecution, or the infliction of punishment for erroneous opinions, was contrary to the express teaching of Christ, and was alien to the spirit of Christianity; (2) was adopted by the Church from the system of the world, when the Church accepted the responsibility of maintaining order in the community; (3) was really exercised for political rather than religious ends; (4) was always condemned by the Christian conscience; (5) was felt by those who used it to land them in contradictions; (6) neither originated in any misunderstanding of the Scriptures nor was removed by the progress of intellectual enlightenment, but (7) disappeared because the State became conscious that there was an adequate basis for the maintenance of political society in those principles of right and wrong which were universally recognized by its citizens, apart from their position or beliefs as members of any religious organization' (pp. 2–3).

This position is obviously founded on very careful investigation of a large amount of evidence besides that which is referred to in the lectures. That this is the case would be the natural inference which would be drawn by any thoughtful reader who should observe the positive way in which conclusions are expressed, together with the clear indications of a balanced mind that is accustomed to weigh facts; and such an opinion is confirmed by the writer's high reputation as an historian, and established by his own half apology in the preface.

'No one,' he says, 'can feel more strongly than myself the triviality of this book as a contribution to the investigation of a large subject. It is only published in the hope that it may inspire some one to enter upon that subject with the thoroughness that it deserves. I have merely put together some conclusions which, in the course of my reading, came before my mind. They are fragmentary and incomplete; but I found that any serious attempt at expansion would entirely alter the form of the book' (Preface, p. v).

It is, to a certain extent, unsatisfactory that conclusions which are based upon exceptional learning should be published without a

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systematized statement of the facts upon which they rest. And we perhaps feel this the more strongly because we are prepared to go a very long way in the direction of the conclusions which the Bishop of Peterborough expresses. Indeed, so far as he affirms the great influence of political causes of persecution by Christians we are at one with him. What we doubt is whether he allows sufficient weight to the possibility of the sense of the exclusive claim of the Christian religion and the immense religious importance of promoting its interests being a genuinely felt motive for persecution, existing side by side with other reasons. In a passage of great power (pp. 16–21) the Bishop shows how St. James and St. John may have formed in their minds what would seem to them good reasons for the wish to call down fire from heaven on the Samaritan village, which was really the desire of personal feeling. And he takes this to be an illustration of the way in which the Church, while really allowing persecution for political reasons, imagined that there were good reasons of a different kind.

'Popes and prelates,' he says, 'with their minds made up on purely worldly grounds, sought for precedents and rejoiced to find them. They perverted God's message, with which they were entrusted, to the level of the world's maxims. They stifled conscience, they drowned the voice of understanding, they went far to quench the shining of the Light of the world, they certainly obscured its power to illuminate the dark places of politics and society' (pp. 27–8).

Recognizing to the full that persecution by Christians has very frequently been due to 'purely worldly grounds,' we nevertheless are not prepared, without evidence with which we have not ourselves met, and of which it would be outside the scope of the plan of Bishop Creighton's lectures to treat, to abandon the opinion that, when St. Augustine sanctioned persecution, he was led to do so by genuinely religious motives, and that, to take the sixteenth century as an illustration, there were some at that time who honestly believed that the religious good of mankind required the forcible suppression of ideas they held to be mischievous.

The interest of this work is not confined to the particular point on which we have dwelt. The claim that it is unjust to charge Christianity with the persecuting spirit and the explanation of the true nature of tolerance receive valuable treatment. The allusions to little-known writings indicate the learning which the Bishop has at his command. The whole book is full of sentences that are provocative of trains of thought. While here and there on subordinate points,[1] in addition to the main question we have already noticed, we have not been able altogether to agree, the reading of the volume has been to us a real intellectual treat, and it has, as a rule, commanded our assent as well as our admiration. Not the least of its valuable qualities is the moral insight which distinguishes between the 'intellectual

[1] *E.g.* in the account of the growth of the penitential system on pp. 79-81 the Bishop does not, we think, sufficiently recognize that it was a means of actually conveying forgiveness as well as a discipline protective of the purity of the Church.

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error' that causes 'moral confusion' and the 'moral error' that welcomes 'intellectual confusion as an ally' (p. 25), which observes 'that the sphere of human error in matters of morality is smaller than is generally supposed, and the sphere of sin is greater' (p. 29), which advocates the opinion that 'the standard of ethical judgment in dealing with secular history needs raising' (p. 33), and which points out that if the 'existing knowledge' of our Lord's time 'had been held in its purity, His extension of it would' have seemed 'natural and obvious' (p. 49).

Edward Harold Browne, D.D., Lord Bishop of Winchester and Prelate of the Most Noble Order of the Garter. A Memoir. By G. W. KITCHIN, D.D., Dean of Durham. (London: John Murray, 1895.)

IT is by no means an easy task to write (without some danger of being misunderstood) our candid estimate of Dr. Kitchin's Memoir. It is no fault of the writer's that the interest of large sections of his work has been anticipated in the 'Lives' of Archbishop Tait and Dr. Pusey, and other recent publications; or that in the rapidity and urgency of modern Church life questions of importance in Bishop Harold Browne's days have been long since settled or superseded. Possibly we ought not to grumble at the proportions of over five hundred octavo pages, to which the work extends, but of which a very large part in the earlier years of its subject might well have been spared us, the career of the future prelate up to his appointment as Norrisian Professor presenting nothing of public interest. It is, we think, a more serious blot that Dr. Kitchin perpetually intrudes his own political opinions upon the reader, and apparently regards his biography of an eminently Conservative bishop as the most fitting opportunity for ventilating his own views as a Radical dean.[1] The result is that the onward flow of the narrative is disagreeably interrupted by assertions calculated in some cases to arouse antagonism, and with no claim to command even general assent. It is the more singular that Dean Kitchin should have been betrayed into such a course because he refers in his Preface to the peculiarity of his position, and this should, we think, have kept him from the wanton introduction of burning questions into the text of his Memoir.

There is no space within the limits of a Short Notice for even a slight sketch of Harold Browne's career. He enjoyed the priceless blessing of a judicious and religious early home training, and passed from Eton to Cambridge with all the charm of a bright, eager conversationalist, and so high a moral character as to influence his college friends in a very marked degree. Despite considerable abilities and acquirements, he did not take a high place in either the Classical or Mathematical Tripos; but he obtained University distinction as Crosse and Tyrrwhitt's Hebrew Scholar, and won the Norrisian prize by an essay of such unusual excellence as to attract the attention of Dr. Whewell. So that he was regarded as a man of high ability and no mean acquirements when he resigned his fellow-

[1] See pages 195, 280, 287, 295, 321, 376, 378, 399.

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ship at Emmanuel to become a parish priest in the diocese of Exeter. Here speedy promotion awaited him from Bishop Phillpotts, both before and after his residence as Vice-Principal at Lampeter; and the publication of his *Exposition of the Thirty-Nine Articles*, with his high reputation as Norrisian Professor at Cambridge, marked him out as destined for the place on the bench which, at Ely and Winchester successively, he so admirably filled.

The life of Bishop Harold Browne was distinguished by singular uniformity of purpose. 'Qualis ab incepto' might serve as its motto throughout. Firmly persuaded as he was of the Scriptural position of the Anglican Communion, and of its agreement in all essential particulars with the Primitive Church, he laboured unweariedly to uphold it against the assaults of aggressive Nonconformity on the one hand and of that newest form of error, modern Romanism, on the other. Such a position was naturally exposed to the enmity of extreme partizans on either side. His steadfast maintenance of Baptismal Regeneration and of Episcopacy made him the object of much misrepresentation in the *Record*, whilst those who openly advocated union with Rome felt that his opposition was one of the sternest barriers in their path. Possibly the Bishop's loving spirit was unduly tried by hostile and ofttimes unfair criticism; but he always maintained a winning sweetness and charm that were all his own. On the effort to remedy the Church's deficiency of organization he spent both time and energy, whose fruits, although hardly acknowledged in his lifetime, the Church is reaping at the present hour. He held very strongly and justly that the Church suffered from lack of adequate organization, and he endeavoured, through a variety of means, to quicken Churchmen to united action. He may fairly claim to have been the father of ruridecanal and diocesan conferences—a movement which is destined possibly to exercise an important influence in the future. He was a warm supporter of Church Congresses before they had secured the general recognition which they now enjoy. He was amongst the first to advocate the revival of Convocation, and to turn its deliberations to good account. He felt the indifference of the laity and their abstention from active participation in Church affairs to be a special cause of weakness; and he laboured, with only partial success, to move them to a truer understanding of their responsibility and privileges as Churchmen.

Amongst the salient points brought out in Dr. Kitchin's Memoir we must not overlook Harold Browne's strong convictions upon the necessity and independence of the episcopate, nor his earnest yearning for the reunion of Christendom. He held episcopacy to be of the essence and not of the accidents—of the *esse*, not merely of the *bene esse*—of the Church, and his fidelity in asserting this caused him no little odium. In like manner his clear persuasion of a bishop's independent and inherent authority led him to regard with some jealousy the action of Bishop Gray and of the Pan-Anglican Synod in their dealing with the heresies of Bishop Colenso—not that he had any sympathy with Colenso's errors, but because he was anxious to safeguard the position of a suffragan bishop from encroachment

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by his metropolitan. A bishop he deemed to be of Divine, an archbishop of human, institution. The reunion of Christendom he held to be hopeless on the basis of submission to the Roman Pontiff, and he turned with keen interest to the Eastern Church and to the Old Catholic Movement under the guidance of Döllinger. In these matters, very near to his heart and at which he laboured unweariedly amidst pressing duties, Harold Browne was content to be a pioneer, and to illustrate in his own person the adage, 'He that believeth will not make haste.'

There is but little of incident to record in the Bishop's long and singularly useful career. As years went on he acquired an increasing reputation for wisdom guided by learning and purity of purpose; and on the death of Archbishop Tait it was due exclusively to his advanced age that he was not appointed to succeed him as Primate of all England. The Memoir reveals a greater timidity of character than outsiders would have perhaps supposed; but the inner glimpses afforded us deepen our regard for his saintliness, his generosity, and his unwearied diligence. In many ways he was a model Anglican prelate, and represented in his own person the type of a communion which he held to be the highest and truest earthly example of Christ's teaching and institution—large-minded, tolerant, and, in his own words, a 'bishop of the Church, and not the bishop of a party.' Nor can we sum up his character more appropriately than in the thoughtful words in which the present Bishop of London described him.

'He always gave me the impression of a man who was full to overflowing of gentleness and love, ready to accept all, and ready to bestow on all the tenderness of his own nature. And to that should be added the impression that he constantly made on all who held converse with him, that his was a spirit more than ordinarily devout, that he was one who lived in prayer, one to whom the thought of his Saviour and his God was ever present, one who to me seemed more nearly to approach the character of a great saint than almost any other man' (p. 490).

The Manliness of Christ. By THOMAS HUGHES, Q.C. (London: Macmillan and Co., 1894.)

THIS is a new edition of a book published in 1879 and reprinted in 1880, to which have been now added a Dedicatory Preface and a Conclusion, comprising four addresses delivered to public school boys, viz. one at Clifton in 1879, and three at Rugby, 'Tom Brown's' old school, in 1891, 1892, and 1894. These addresses are illustrative of the title of the book, being concerned with Christian manliness. The Preface suggests that Rugby boys who settle in London may interest themselves in the educational work of the Working Men's College, to whose students the original series of lectures, which give the title to the book, was delivered on Sunday afternoons. But the Preface also presumes to disagree with the Bishop of Oxford's *Second Charge* (1893) on the subject of Christ's omniscience. Mr. Hughes is somewhat loose in his theological views respecting the Person of our Lord, and his inaccuracy in doctrine considerably impairs the practical value of his remarks upon Christ's character and example.

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He has not grasped the truth that our Lord's Personality is Divine, not 'human' (Preface, p. x), nor that His likeness to us men is wholly exclusive of sin; and he maintains that Christ on becoming man divested Himself of 'His almightiness or all-knowledge' (pp. x, xi). Consequently, the views put forward in this volume respecting our Lord's temptation are most misleading, for it is regarded as almost wholly subjective, and the consciousness of the Divine Sonship is ignored, and the miracles are said to be not 'supernatural' (p. 71). Besides which the chronology of our Lord's ministry is greatly confused (*e.g.* p. 144), and the divisions made in the treatment of it, in order to suit the particular argument, are altogether arbitrary (*e.g.* p. 118). This latter point is of small consequence compared to the erroneous views put forward in the following passages selected from the chapters entitled 'Christ's Boyhood' and 'The Call of Christ,' viz.:—

'And, as He was in all things tempted like as we are, again and again must His human nature have shrunk back, and tried every way of escape from this task, the call to which was haunting Him; while every succeeding month and year of life must have disclosed to Him more and more of its peril and its hopelessness, as well as of its majesty' (p. 51).

'And the mysterious story of the crisis immediately following His baptism, in which He wrestled, as it were, face to face with the tempter and betrayer of mankind, indicates to us the nature of the daily battle which He must have been waging, from His earliest infancy, or at any rate ever since His first visit to Jerusalem' (p. 54).

The whole passage regards the temptation as subjective, as also does the imaginary conversation of the Christ with Himself in the wilderness (pp. 59–61). The following passage implies that Christ had no consciousness as the Son of God:

'He had only the same means as the rest of us of becoming conscious of His relationship to God. For, if this were not so, He is no example for us, He was not "tempted like as we are"' (p. 64).

So, again, this is to deny His Divine power.

'It seems to me to be going quite beyond what can be proved, or even fairly assumed, to speak of His miracles as supernatural, in the sense that no man has ever done, or can ever do, the like' (p. 71).

It is maintained that if we could come up to the standard of moral excellence to which Christ attained, we could do similar miracles (pp. 71–2). We cannot believe that at the Jordan, and in the interview with the Baptist, 'He now thoroughly realized the fact [of His Messiahship] for the first time' (p. 79), nor that 'for forty days the struggle lasted before He could finally realize and accept His mission with all that it implied' (p. 87); we feel that to say so is to deny the Divine consciousness of the Incarnate Son.

And yet, in spite of much that we dislike in this book, because of its faulty theological standpoint, we have found thoughts and sentences which are well worth emphasizing in our times, because 'manliness' is apt to be confused with mere animal courage or wilfulness. Mr. Hughes insists upon 'self-restraint' and 'loyalty to

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truth' as essential features of true manliness, and illustrates them from the example of Christ Himself; and it is well that men should be taught such lessons as these, viz. :—

'Athleticism is a good thing if kept in its place, but it has come to be very much over-praised and over-valued amongst us' (pp. 24, 25).

'May we not say that in the face of danger, self-restraint is after all the highest form of self-assertion, and a characteristic of manliness as distinguished from courage?' (p. 33).

'The last requisite for a good fight, the last proof and test of our courage and manfulness, must be loyalty to truth—the most rare and difficult of all human qualities' (p. 35).

'Tenacity of will, or wilfulness, lies at the root of all courage, but courage can only rise into true manliness when the will is surrendered' (p. 40).

The main characteristic of Christ's life up to the commencement of His ministry is shown to be 'patience—a resolute waiting on God's mind' (p. 88), and in His dealings with men His intense 'loyalty to truth,' at whatever cost, is admirably illustrated by His conversation with Nicodemus. 'There is no severer test of manliness than our behaviour to powerful persons' (p. 108). Then there is no paring down of the truth for the benefit of the Samaritans, and no accommodation of His message at Nazareth, even at the risk of alienating His own kindred (pp. 108–111). Unlike Mohammed,

'He never for one moment accommodates His life or teaching to any standard but the highest: never lowers or relaxes that standard by a shade or a hair's breadth, to make the road easy to rich or powerful questioners, or to uphold the spirit of His poorer followers' (p. 116).

'This unbending truthfulness' is one of the chief characteristics of Christ's ministry, especially in His long conflict with the Jewish rulers; 'the perfect truthfulness, and therefore the perfect courage,' 'marks Christ's conduct of it' (p. 148). All this is thoroughly well said, and so is the answer suggested to the charge of weakness and failure brought against Christ in Gethsemane (pp. 151–4), viz. that Christ had not the support of human sympathy and enthusiasm, as other heroes have had, but was weighed down with the 'sense of utter loneliness,' and yet 'the passion of human weakness' is succeeded by a 'sublime courage.' 'It is His action when the danger comes, not when He is in solitary preparation for it, which marks the man of courage' (pp. 154–5).

We doubt whether the address at Clifton really attracted the boys. The subject was Idealism, and the treatment was somewhat subtle; there are excellent things in the address, but they are presented in an abstract form. On the other hand the addresses at Rugby are just what was wanted from 'an old boy.' Arnold's mastership is an inexhaustible theme, and Bishop Moberly's estimate of Arnold's pupils (p. 195)—'thoughtful, manly-minded, conscious of duty and obligation'—is the best possible testimony to the thoroughness of the public school system. Perhaps the second address (June 12, 1892), which deals with Arnold's influence upon the outer world, as an historian and leader of political thought, and as a churchman, is less

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successful. Arnold was not in sympathy with the Tractarian movement, nor is Mr. Hughes; both are strongly anti-sacerdotal; they cannot endure the thought of priesthood and sacrifice in the Church on earth (p. 228); and yet Arnold himself would have liked various practices and customs, which have become possible only under the influence of the Oxford revival (p. 229). The sketch of William Cotton Oswell's life is full of interest for boys, and the summary of his character is delightful, viz. 'manliness without coarseness, polish without complacency, nobility without caste' (p. 252). It would be advisable for every public school boy, not to say members of our Universities, to read what Mr. Hughes says of the modern 'tendency to careless expense' and the manliness of those who will say, 'I can't afford it' (pp. 205–6).

The Universities and the Social Problem: an Account of the University Settlements in East London. Edited by JOHN M. KNAPP, The Oxford House, Bethnal Green. (London: Rivington, Percival, and Co., 1895.)

'THE object of this volume is to give some account of the work which has already been accomplished, and which it is hoped to accomplish, towards the solution of the ever-present Social Problem by means of "Settlements," at which the young men—and young women—of the great Universities and Schools are enabled to live in the heart of the East End, and to endeavour in various ways to brighten the lives of their less fortunate fellow-creatures' (Preface).

Accordingly, papers are contributed by representatives of all the chief agencies now at work in East London, both Church and Nonconformist and undenominational. By way of introduction Sir John Gorst's address as rector to the University of Glasgow (1894) is prefixed, which deals with 'Settlements' in England and America, and contains a great deal of interesting and suggestive information respecting the work that can be done by this means for the social amelioration of the poor, *e.g.* as giving a stimulus to education (pp. 17, 18), constituting club life (pp. 18–20), affording legal advice and organizing labour (pp. 21, 22), promoting co-operation (pp. 22, 23), seeing that sanitary and other laws are not left in abeyance (pp. 23–27). This address covers a great deal of the ground that is afterwards occupied by the several representatives of the East London 'Settlements;' but, as we shall hope to show, these social agencies are apt to be regarded as a substitute for genuine Church work, and occupy the attention of the clergy, we fear, to the exclusion of their proper function, viz. the salvation of souls. The tendency of the present day is to attempt to influence the masses wholesale rather than to leaven society by carefully training individual souls. Young men are so impatient of slow and regular work; they desire to see large results achieved in a short time; and therefore they do everything on a large scale. And because they find that social efforts are easier than individual training of souls, the clergy are very prone to mistake the effect of the one for the other, and trust to being able to seize the opportunity by-and-by of influ-

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encing this or that particular person. It is not for us to disparage social efforts; we only wish to point out the danger of them, and we wish to remind the younger clergy that, if they spend so much time in clubs and institutes, their reading must suffer, and their preaching will become less powerful in expounding the great doctrines of the faith. We would that we had less of the social and more of the spiritual and doctrinal in the sermons of our younger clergy. We thoroughly believe in the advantage of boys' clubs and athletic contests, and in a great many other methods of work which are advocated in this volume; but we do not think that the clergy are best occupied in organizing such things. These are the opportunities of the laymen, and it is a notorious fact that the younger clergy keep the laymen out of such work by their great enthusiasm. However necessary such things as 'Shelters' may be in London, we cannot regard them as the ministerial work to which Mr. Jay, of the Magdalen College Mission, was called; and we feel that no amount of philanthropy, however charitable in its intention, can compensate for the loss of spiritual ministrations. Philanthropy is no substitute for religion; certainly there can be no justification for the ministry 'leaving the word of God' to 'serve tables.'[1] We are much better satisfied with the lines of work adopted by Mayfield House and St. Margaret's than those taken up by Toynbee Hall and the Repton Club. We think that Mrs. Mace has laid her finger upon a great blot in the 'Settlements' movement when she says—

'Some rely upon men's clubs; but the very success of these sometimes defeats their own ends, the men swarming round the billiard and whist tables in such vast numbers that anything like personal friendship between them and the club promoters becomes well-nigh impossible. The same applies to girls' and boys' clubs, useful and indeed necessary as they are, as a preliminary step, if we are to get any hold upon the bright young lives' (p. 195).

We are very sorry to see that the largest item in the receipts of the University Club is 'from billiards and bagatelle 326*l.*' out of '851*l.* received and expended' (p. 42); the same thing is shown in another paper (p. 225), where the receipts from one billiard table have enabled a club in Shadwell to repay a loan of 40*l.* for one table, and to pay for half the cost of another, in three years. This form of amusement, when paid for by the members, is apt to encourage gambling outside the club, although playing for money is strictly forbidden inside it. In nearly every paper contributed to this volume the same defect appears, viz. that the recreative side swamps nearly everything, and the educational is very much confined. There is this great difference between the clubs of the Club and Institute Union and the Federation of Working Men's Clubs attached to the Oxford House, that the former allow and provide intoxicants, the latter forbids alcoholic drinks. We think that the whole constitution of the Oxford House clubs is far better than that of the others; we cannot see where the spiritual influence comes in in the case of those which are associated

[1] Acts vi. 2.

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with Toynbee Hall. Churchmen, who are asked to support these movements, ought to have some guarantee that these agencies are kept definitely in touch with the Church's system; otherwise they may be contributing unconsciously not merely to undenominationalism, but also to secularism. Philanthropy which does not spring out of a right faith in the great Christian verities soon becomes purely secular. Those who quote St. James as teaching that 'pure religion' consists chiefly in eleemosynary work must remember that he teaches us to do these things in the sight of 'God and the Father,'[1] which involves a right faith in the Triune nature of God. In spite of what we have said on the general question of the 'settlements' and social work, we strongly advise our readers to study this book. Some of the papers are specially good, *e.g.* 'Working Men's Clubs,' by Mr. Ingram; 'Mayfield House,' by Miss M. Corbett; 'St. Margaret's House,' by Miss M. Talbot; and the 'Federation of Working Men's Social Clubs,' by Mr. Fiennes; and there are some points worthy of attention in Mr. Percy Alden's 'Local Administration,' especially his references to the late Professor T. H. Green, of Oxford (pp. 73–4), and in Mrs. Mace's 'Thrift and Social Intercourse,' especially on 'making friends' (pp. 194–6). Other papers do not add much to our knowledge, *e.g.* 'Hospitalities' (Canon Barnett), 'Children's Holiday Fund' (Cyril Jackson), 'Organization of Charity' (W. A. Bailward); this last paper looks like an essay on the subject written for some other occasion, with just an allusion to the Oxford House added at the beginning and end. The account of the Repton Club (Hugh Legge) is certainly amusing, but as an outcome of a School Mission it is disappointing, for it leads to nothing serious or elevating that we can discover. We like what Mr. Ingram writes upon the results of the Oxford House movement (pp. 45–50), and we think that these results afford distinct encouragement; but then all Mr. Ingram's work is directed to one great end, viz. the inculcation of true religion and Church principles. And the same is evident in both the 'settlements' of ladies: Miss Corbett speaks hopefully of the reflex effect of such work upon the workers themselves and of the spirit in which they are taught to work (pp. 116, 117); and Miss Talbot regards the movement as combining the exercise of a religious faith with intellectual powers, a combination for which Oxford itself has been conspicuous in times past (p. 124), and as a definite Church enterprise for raising the life of the people in all directions. She speaks encouragingly of the trustfulness and affection of the people in Bethnal Green (p. 125), and concludes her admirable paper with these words:—

'It is always difficult and often misleading to speak of the results of work; in the case of a settlement with an independent history of not quite two years [this alludes to the separation of St. Margaret's from Mayfield House in 1892], it would be ridiculous to do so; but in the principles and the short experience of St. Margaret's House there does seem to be much to justify great hopes for its future. Every year's experience, every resident's effort to enter into the needs of those whom

[1] St. James i. 27.

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she is trying to help, will add to the fitness of the House to be regarded as a centre for the religious and social work of women in East London, and a practical witness among its people to the Christianity which would care for all human needs, and believes that they can only be met by patient personal service' (p. 129).

Would that all workers, clerical and lay, were moved with such a spirit!

Lectures on Preaching. By W. Boyd Carpenter, D.D., D.C.L., Bishop of Ripon. (London: Macmillan and Co., 1895.)

These lectures, which were delivered in the Divinity School, Cambridge, in April and May 1894, have been delayed in publication owing to the illness of the Bishop. They have been printed from the shorthand report, because they were spoken, not written, and have been revised by two friends. The six lectures deal with (1) the preacher himself, (2) his training, (3) the sermon, (4) its structure, (5) the preacher and his age, (6) the preacher's aim. They are well worth reading and studying and laying to heart. We can strongly recommend them both to those who are seeking Holy Orders and to those who are already exercising the preacher's office. Many a parish priest, we feel sure, upon reading what this master of pulpit oratory has to say about preaching, would be constrained to reconsider his own methods and style, and to destroy, or at least to rewrite, a large number of his old sermons. We should be glad to find this excellent volume recommended by bishops' chaplains to those who are beginning to preach as deacons and preparing themselves for the priesthood. We hope a copy will be found in the library of every theological college. There is a vigour and an enthusiasm in these lectures which cannot fail to move the dullest and most stereotyped of preachers. There is a wealth of illustration, anecdote, humour, and stirring appeal; the chief points are kept clearly in view, and the analysis laid down is strictly adhered to and worked out, even when the subdivisions are multiplied and elaborated. This is particularly observable in Lectures III. and VI. All the lectures are models of order and unity of plan. They are not overlaid with technicalities, but are everywhere natural, the evident result of long and thoughtful experience. Perhaps the fourth lecture, on Sermon Structure, is less interesting and attractive than the others, but we are grateful for the excellent remarks upon the question of written or extempore sermons (pp. 151–7; compare pp. 89–93), which the advocates of either method will do well to read and consider. We are glad to note that the Bishop has a high regard for St. Chrysostom as a preacher—for 'his knowledge of the Bible and of men' (p. 144)—for his power of showing 'vice its own image' (p. 233)—and for his study of Aristophanes (p. 234); and we welcome this characteristic story of the late Master of Balliol, viz.:—

'A young man who was about to be ordained went to bid good-bye to the master of his college. "You are going to be a clergyman," said the master, "and no doubt you think that the essays you have composed here will be of use to you in preaching. Do not use them—preach living words to living men"' (pp. 29, 30).

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We shall not venture to summarize the argument of the lectures, as we hope our readers will study the book itself; but some extracts from passages which have struck us as particularly valuable will make them desire more of the same kind.

(1) As to the personality of the preacher the lecturer says—

'Think of the people to whom you are speaking. Think of their needs, of the spiritual want which perchance you can supply, of the heart-craving which you can satisfy, of the inward unspoken sorrow which you can console, and a new and better passion than self-consciousness will take possession of you. You will forget your pride, your timidity, in thinking of their wants. You will catch the spirit of your Master; you will hear His voice saying, "I have compassion on the multitudes." A joy and a zest of work will be yours, and the much-hindering self-consciousness will disappear. You will lose the thought of self in the thought of others' (p. 26). 'It is when his own personality is interpenetrated by the presence of One greater and higher than himself that his personality is really capable of expressing itself most fully and most truly among men' (p. 28).

(2) As to the importance of training, even when men have great natural gifts, he says—

'Now the object of training is not to suppress nature, but to enable nature to affirm itself in fitting form. True art is reached when nature can express itself nobly and well' (p. 49). 'Cultivation and training are designed to give freedom to the artist's hand of genius. By their means he is able to express his soul to the world: the material he uses becomes obedient to his mind and will. This is his creative power, for thus his spirit embodies itself in form. In this way the preacher should by cultivation become master of his material, and so capable of giving forth freely and simply his thought and message to men' (pp. 50, 51).

(3) Some remarks on the danger of a 'pet phrase' are too long to quote in full (pp. 106–10), but particularly valuable; we quote one passage which is full of humour, but, unfortunately, contains only too true an account of some sermons.

'There are preachers who are not at ease till they have brought out the magic word. Sermons of such men are like a rabbit hunt. The hunt begins: there is a scratching and a scrambling and a flinging up of dirt, then suddenly out comes the terrier with the wretched dead rabbit. So with the sermon in question. The preacher announces his text. We do not see how the phrase can well be brought in, the text hardly justifies it; but the preacher, like the dog, is equal to the occasion: he tears aside the difficulties, dives below the meaning, flings out some irrelevant generalities, and drags forth the expected phrase and pronounces it with unction. The smile of approval is forthcoming, then the contented folding of the hands, and the patronizing slumber of people at their ease in Zion' (p. 107).

(4) In the fourth lecture, on Sermon Structure, in insisting upon the preacher speaking in the language that the people understand, the Bishop says—

'A sermon should link together Divine truth and human experience, and from these should enforce its application as an irresistible conclusion. . . . Without the human experience, the sermon runs the risk of becoming

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hard and dogmatic. Without the Divine truth, it will only deal out flabby humanities' (pp. 142, 143–4).

(5) On the necessity of learning the language and studying the spirit of the age the advice given is—

'Cultivate a wide and healthy breadth in your studies. Be acquainted with the past; be alive to the present; and use all knowledge in its place and season. Do not take your science from the Fathers, nor your theology from some modern novel. . . . Gather knowledge from all sources and from writers of all ages; but remember that you cannot learn to speak the language of to-day by studying the theology of the past' (pp. 179, 180).

There is a very fine passage in this lecture on the permanence of the heavenly realities in contrast to the fashion of this world (pp. 202–5).

(6) We are glad to find the Bishop encouraging systematic teaching from the pulpit as demanded by the people themselves. We believe with him that

'it is not true in any wide sense that people are impatient of teaching. On the contrary, I meet constantly with the very opposite view. I find many saying, I wish that our clergymen would really teach us. We do not so much want vehement or earnest exhortations as clear and methodical teaching.'

And further he says—

'It is not teaching itself which is objected to; nor is it teaching which is clear and definite, and which sets forth distinct principles of faith and conduct. It is rather that form of teaching in which truth is treated as a thing apart from life. . . . It is the preaching of theological theories instead of living truths' (pp. 221–2).

We hope these extracts will induce many clergymen and students to procure the book.

St. Andrews and Elsewhere: Glimpses of Some Gone and of Things Left. By the Author of *Twenty-five Years of St. Andrews*, *The Recreations of a Country Parson*, &c. (London: Longmans, Green, and Co., 1894.)

Ecce iterum Crispinus. The unfortunate critic who has been condemned to read through the two volumes of long-drawn inanity entitled *Twenty-five Years of St. Andrews*, might justly hope that this section of his earthly purgatory was fully accomplished; but he is egregiously mistaken. The faculty to drawl and drivel is not easily exhausted, and here we have another portly octavo replete with all the ineptitudes of its predecessors, as well as the promise—which in pity might have been withheld until its inevitable fulfilment—of yet another instalment to tell the story, which shall be 'simple but pathetic' after the approved manner of A. K. H. B., of the next five years. Nor is there any limit, save that imposed by the purchasing public, upon the number of volumes which can be produced upon Dr. Boyd's system of authorship. No remark however pointless, no experience however universal, no criticism however

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bald and jejune, but must be worth printing if only it comes within the charmed atmosphere that encircles him. The hour at which people used to go, and still resort, to morning service at St. Andrews, the astounding fact that fewer people attend there in the afternoon, the exact numbers who came on certain days at the unpopular time when A. K. H. B. was preaching, the number of occasions on which the great man has been asked to officiate at church openings, organ openings, funerals, the astounding fact that at an exceptionally portentous function the writer, being the preacher of the day, walked in last, and, service over, walked out first, are all elaborately chronicled.

Those who have read the earlier volumes of *Twenty-five Years at St. Andrews* can at once forecast the author's stock-in-trade. The entire collection is not a weighty one, and all the goods are displayed in the window. Stanley, Pearson, Tait are the titles of chapters that skim over the surface of their deeply interesting memoirs; the remainder are of the type familiar to the author's admirers. Given a commonplace book—in the most literal sense of that ambiguous word—with daily entries which 'chronicle small beer,' add to them the tags of a few quotations and every reminiscence that can be raked up of anyone whose name commands interest, or any trifle which can pander to the writer's vanity, and crown all with half a score of essays such as may serve to while away a passing hour, and you have the full material for swelling out an octavo of nearly four hundred pages; and we can conceive no reason why the supply should not be extended to four hundred such volumes if the public is foolish enough to absorb them.

It is one of the special advantages of describing A. K. H. B.'s productions that any one page will serve nearly as well as another for purposes of quotation. Yet the reader's impatience at what is recorded is occasionally varied by annoyance at what is omitted. Thus we are told about Stanley that, while still a Professor, he and Hugh Pearson had a private interview with Pius IX. 'I would,' the writer adds, 'I had space to relate the details: they are most interesting and strange' (p. 139). Why on earth has he not space? Of the thousand utter trivialities in which *St. Andrews and Elsewhere* abounds, we would have gladly spared several scores to make room for 'interesting and strange details' of the conversation held by so remarkable a trio. Surely such details should have taken precedence of the remarkable fact, for which space is found, that a friend whose name is withheld did not think much of Froude, and that John Skelton did not in turn think much of *him*; or even of the singular fact, so important to be trumpeted forth *urbi et orbi*, that Froude signed his letters to the author 'Very affectionately yours.' But although we may not have the 'interesting and strange details' which Mr. Prothero has not given us in Stanley's *Life*, we may, and do, have over again Stanley's dream, which *is* already before the world, 'at greater length and in a varied version' (p. 107). It is, of course, invaluable to learn, a quarter of a century after their delivery, 'that Stanley's Lectures on the History of the Church of Scotland, delivered in Edinburgh, caused great diversity of opinion'

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(p. 137), and that he not only wore an ill-fitting dress coat, but in a fit of absence of mind seized and handed to Pearson a piece of oleaginous toast, which the latter, after some hesitation, consumed. As we wade through all these petty details, whose only effect, to our mind, is to belittle as far as it is in the writer's power to do it the men of whom they are recorded, and as we mark the author's transparent conceit at being able thus to mix himself up with them, the well-worn lines of Swift irresistibly occur to us—

> 'So naturalists observe, a flea
> Has smaller fleas that on him prey;
> And these have smaller still to bite 'em,
> And so proceed *ad infinitum*.'

And we fancy the ultimate point has been fairly reached in *St. Andrews and Elsewhere*.

There is much to be pardoned in the garrulity of age when, as time wears on, the chastened tenderness of years shines through and sanctifies the weakness of humanity, but the volume before us does not prompt to any such forbearance. The feeble trickery of a stilted style acquired many years ago is maintained with a nauseous self-consciousness that sets in a more odious light the irrepressible vanity which makes every acquaintance and event only pander to its self-exaltation. There are passages which lead us occasionally to hope that we are on the verge of better things, but there is only too speedy a reversion to type. It would, we suppose, be difficult to find any similar example of a man who had known so many people of importance in their day, and who—his own books being his judges—had known them to so little purpose. The matter of this volume is a farrago of stuff that is only worth forgetting; its manner is the apotheosis of the penny-a-liner.

The Repose of Faith in View of Present-Day Difficulties. By the Rev. ALEX. J. HARRISON, B.D. (London: Longmans, Green, and Co., 1894.)

A WELL-LAID plan has been thoughtfully worked out in Mr. Harrison's latest book. It is a more elaborate and serious piece of work than he has previously published, and entirely justifies the general opinion that Mr. Harrison must be placed in the front rank of apologetic workers. The introduction explains very clearly the position of the writer and the object which he has in view. Mr. Harrison looks upon himself as one whose work is to translate the deep arguments of our splendid evidential literature into popular language, so that the banquet may be spread in the houses of the hungry. He writes neither for the undisturbed Christian nor, in this case, for the man who feels a settled and established hostility to religion in all or any of its forms, although there is much in his book which appeals to both. He has 'anxious Christians, and doubters who have not yet broken away from Christianity,' in view. It should be remembered by any reader who approaches this book in any fastidious spirit of criticism that Mr. Harrison has himself passed from Scep-

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ticism to Christianity. This accounts for the large personal element in Mr. Harrison's style, and gives an evidential value to materials which are really quite free from what might under other circumstances be termed egotism. The title of the work epitomises its plan. It is divided into three books. In the first the Repose of Faith is treated under the headings of 'Repose,' 'Faith,' and 'Intuitions'—those 'foundation principles' according to which in all lands so many men strive 'to be and do the thing that is right according to their knowledge and power' (p. 54). The second book unfolds the Repose of Faith in relation to Science by considering the scientific method, the three main divisions into which the sciences may be divided, and a highly instructive chapter entitled Genesis (pp. 92–122). The third book is on the Repose of Faith in relation to theology, and is divided into chapters on the genesis of Religion, Theology, and an appeal to the clergy—this last being, to our mind, worthy of most careful reading on the part of those to whom it is addressed. With a good summary and some notes, including a weighty list of 'mistakes as to unbelievers' (p. 309), the volume concludes. There are many passages of very great value in the appeal to the clergy, and, as our space does not allow us to quote them at length, we must content ourselves with expressing a hope that that chapter will receive the attention which it deserves (pp. 215–280). There are two matters as to which Mr. Harrison's readers must be upon their guard. It would be a great mistake to suppose that every man can safely indulge in Mr. Harrison's fearless sympathy for the Higher Criticism and for Dissent. We may well believe that his own position is so clear that personally he can give this sympathy with perfect safety. But others may be eager to be as sympathetic while they are less sure of their own ground; and when we offer our sympathy and make our admissions it is not always to be taken for granted that they will be accepted and understood entirely upon the conditions which surround them in our own minds. Mr. Harrison thinks that the new criticism is sure to result in 'a profound deepening of our faith in the God of the Bible' (p. 186). In the present state of religious opinions there are many men who will lightly take up such a sentence as this, and not protect it by Mr. Harrison's pregnant remark lower down the page, 'I will not say (that the new critics) are too much taken up with the human side of the Bible, but they are too little taken up with the Divine side.' No doubt it is in part true that the secret of the Christian faith is not to be found in discussions on the composition of the Hexateuch and similar subjects (see p. 245), but it is hazardous to tell the earnest doubter that, 'whatever he may make of these things, the story of Christ remains' (p. 246), when the said story is full of passages which set a seal of Divine authority on many of 'these things' aforesaid. In regard to Dissent it is not given to everyone to be able to act faithfully upon Mr. Harrison's remark to a rural dean who attended a kind of valedictory service at a Baptist chapel, 'I do not think you were wrong in going, but you were surely wrong in not making your own position unmistakeably clear' (p. 221). The fact is that Mr. Harrison's sympathy can

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only be safely exercised in combination with Mr. Harrison's strongly held Catholic position. The book is enriched by a fine collection of personal experiences, and by some searching and pertinent inquiries. One of these should be seriously pondered by those Church dignitaries who are in the habit of invading the parishes or dioceses of their brethren to be present at undenominational, or, as we are now told is the more correct term, 'interdenominational,' gatherings. Why is it that bishops and other eminent Church officers 'who would not on any account be seen in a Baptist, or Methodist, or Congregational, or Presbyterian chapel will give their sanction to Young Men's Christian Associations?' This is as great a perplexity to us as to Mr. Harrison. To us, as to him, in his own pregnant phrase, undenominationalism seems to be 'the very antithesis of Catholicism.' Of the two places Mr. Harrison himself greatly prefers the denominational chapel.

'If I address a meeting of any one of the great denominations, I know what the people believe; I know how far they and I take common ground; I can tell them while I sincerely dissent from their peculiar views I just as sincerely respect them for conscientiously holding those views. But I do not know what an undenominationalist holds, or whether he holds anything that I can regard as definitely Christian' (pp. 222, 223).

We could trust Mr. Harrison and know that he would make his position clear and win respect in any chapel in the land. But unfortunately the eminent Churchmen who go on circuit to undenominational gatherings are not a class of men who are distinguished by any striking capacity for making their Catholic position clear, or who are generally respected for the tenacity with which they hold the Catholic faith, or for the combination which they exhibit between definite personal belief and sympathy with those who believe less. Such persons are likely to do the least harm when they stay in their own churches. There is no knowing what they may say or do when sympathy smothers their creed and becomes their master; and instead of recommending them to appear in a denominational chapel because they are already willing to grace the platform of an undenominational meeting, we should urge upon them, as being much more calculated to promote the best interests of the Kingdom of God, that they should reach consistency by avoiding both. Let them leave these delicate visits to men who really can be depended upon to be true to the Faith that overcometh—to men like to Mr. Harrison.

Questions of the Day. Social, National, and Religious. Being addresses delivered in St. Martin's Church, Leicester, on special occasions between the years 1870 and 1890. By DAVID JAMES VAUGHAN, M.A., Honorary Canon of Peterborough Cathedral; Master of Wyggeston's Hospital; late Vicar of St. Martin's, Leicester; and formerly Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge. (London and New York: Macmillan.)

THIS is a volume of weighty and instructive sermons, and there are several points of view from which it must be so regarded. They

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show the cordial relations which existed between the people of Leicester and a clergyman who told them very plain truths in unflinching tones. The dedication of the book 'To my fellow-townspeople and especially to the teachers and students of the Leicester Working Men's College and the members of the various friendly societies of the town the following pages are with warm interest and regard inscribed by the author' is an instance of these friendly feelings. And the secret which explains their existence is to be found, on Canon Vaughan's side, as we believe, in the fearless expression of the results of his experience, given with equal evidences of knowledge and kindliness in many of these sermons—for instance, in that upon 'The Religion of the Masses' (p. 134). Out of this fact, that the preacher and his hearers understood each other, there springs another important result. It is that the preacher knows what are the subjects in which his hearers are interested, and what are the arguments by which they carry on discussions about them. These sermons are far more than well-written essays on the subjects with which they deal. They are an epitome of the opinions of the working classes about them, with answers to objections to the truth and successful refutations of many current fallacies. Social subjects are represented by such titles as The Health of Towns; Co-operation; Social Life, or Men and Women; Domestic Life, or Parents and Children. Masters and men can learn their true duties and their proper relations to each other in fairly balanced discourses on Capital and Labour, Trade-unionism, the Morality of Business, and the True Unionism. National affairs are discussed in two sermons on Politics, and in others on the Secret of National Life and Freedom, Is England's Greatness on the Decline? War, Past and Present, and Signs of the Times. The sermons on religious questions touch, of course, also the social and national life of the people very closely. Christianity old and new, Modern Substitutes for Christianity, Secularism, the Temperance Movement, the policy of Disestablishment, Religious Equality, and the City of God are subjects which seriously affect in one way or another almost every department of an Englishman's life. It is not without significance that these subjects have been put before the people of Leicester for the past twenty-five years, for it disposes of the charge—if we may assume that Canon Vaughan has not been standing alone in this kind of work—that the Church of England has not concerned herself in the past with the true elements of socialism. It is again important to observe that Canon Vaughan has remembered that a clergyman of the Catholic Church is the pastor of all, master and man, the man who receives as well as the man who pays rent, the rich as well as the poor. This prevents him from being a partisan, and adds immensely to the moral weight of his discourses. These general remarks can be illustrated from every sermon in the volume, but we will only make a few short extracts to show what solid stuff may be found by Canon Vaughan's readers. One shall refer to disestablishment, written in 1885, in the sermon on religious equality:

'Is there, at this moment, any Society, other than that which you and I know as the Church of England . . . which could undertake to

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place in every parish of England a "spiritual" person, educated and qualified for the office, whose one work and duty it should be to look after the highest spiritual interests of the parishioners? Could the Baptist body, for instance, undertake it—or the Wesleyan—or the Independent? Could all the Nonconformist bodies unite to undertake it? But, if not, what becomes of the plea of "religious equality"?' (pp. 225-226).

Another is a short sentence which lifts the combinations of the Trades' unions altogether beyond class interests :

'Far above this complicated human organization of industry there is an infinitely grander Divine Organization of Labour, in which every one of us has his place. Let us cheerfully and religiously accept our place in it' (p. 87).

A third is a piece of advice given to parents in the course of a very wise sermon :

'I earnestly entreat parents not to be in too great a hurry to send their children to work, but to make almost any sacrifice sooner than let them enter life without the preparation of an adequate education' (p. 60).

When a book contains scores of these common-sense remarks, we can understand why the author was able to rivet the attention of hard-headed working men, who are shrewd in detecting sound arguments within their necessarily restricted intellectual area.

Counsels of Faith and Practice. Being Sermons preached on various occasions by the Rev. W. C. E. Newbolt, M.A., Canon and Chancellor of St. Paul's Cathedral. New and enlarged edition. (London and New York : Longmans, Green and Co., 1894.)

No one will be surprised that 'a certain demand for' these sermons, first published in 1883, has led to a second edition of them. They are issued without any alteration, except one or two trifling corrections, and the dedication to the late Earl Beauchamp is retained and forms one of those marks of the changes which fall upon the Church, and which are always noticeable in new editions, however rapidly they follow each other. Three new sermons are added in this second edition, all preached at St. Paul's. The first, entitled 'The Physician of the Body and the Physician of the Soul,' was preached in substance before the Guild of St. Luke in 1890. The remaining two are Advent sermons on the Valley of Decision and on the Enthusiasm of the City, preached in 1891 and 1893 respectively. The medical men who went to St. Paul's on October 17, 1890, heard a sermon which must have seemed to them to ennoble still further their already noble profession. 'To minister to the body which has been for ever honoured by the Incarnation' (pp. 285, 286), to tell men that sensual sin is not in the true sense 'natural' (p. 288), 'to pave the way for spiritual ministrations,' to be influenced 'by the constantly recurring mystery of death' (p. 289), is indeed a 'glorious,' a 'great' work (p. 290). The Advent sermons show that Advent is 'more than a yearly scare, a terror, and a time for uttering unpleasant things;' it is a time for eliminating 'some of the elements of surprise' in store for us at the Great Day (p. 304), by making this life

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our valley of decision, by 'learning to take our place' as 'citizens of the heavenly city' (p. 316) even in this present time. These are good counsels of faith and practice, recommended by persuasive oratory, and justly entitled to rank with the sermons of the earlier edition.

The Wisdom-Literature of the Old Testament. By W. T. DAVISON, M.A., D.D. (London: Charles H. Kelly, 1894.)

THE series of 'Books for Bible Students,' of which this work forms one volume, is by no means of uniform excellence, and while there are passages in Dr. Davison's treatment of the Wisdom-literature which are of as high merit as any books in the series, there are also other passages which prevent us from assigning more than a lowly place to the book. The main part of the work is devoted to the teaching of the books of Job, Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, and the Song of Songs, but the introductory chapter on the uses of the words *Chokmah*, *Mashal*, and *Torah*, alludes also to the two non-canonical books *Ecclesiasticus* and *The Wisdom of Solomon* (p. 14). Dr. Davison goes at considerable length into the contents, the age and authorship, the poetry and the problem of the book of *Job*. It is refreshing to find a modern writer on this theme who confesses that 'neither the category "drama" nor "tragedy" nor "parable" nor any other suggesting Greek or English compositions of later date, precisely fit the case,' and who is content to call the work a 'sublime book of God' (p. 29). Dr. Davison describes the subject of the book very concisely as 'the suffering of the righteous,' and the amplified descriptions of previous writers do not really add much to this. In discussing the structure and contents and the religious and ethical teaching of the book of Proverbs, Dr. Davison says that 'the composite structure of the book appears upon the surface' (p. 106), but he does not convince us that the sections which bear the name of Solomon employ the King's name in 'such a way as to make it almost certain that it was not used by the royal author of himself' (p. 107). The chapters on the authorship, design, contents, and scope of Ecclesiastes owe something to the late Dean Plumptre's 'ideal biography' of the supposed author (p. 223), and supply a useful paragraph on the contrast between Ecclesiastes and the Gospel. Yet, in several places, Dr. Davison has not allowed full weight to the reappearance of the thoughts of the Wisdom-literature in the teaching of St. Paul and more especially of St. John. We cannot admit that 'the allegorical method has indeed long been abandoned by sober students of Scripture' (p. 281), so long as certain passages remain in the Epistles of St. Paul.[1] But Dr. Davison

[1] 1 Cor. ix. 9, x. 1–11; 2 Cor. ix. 10; Gal. iv. 21; and see Lightfoot on Gal. iii. 16: 'The spiritual application here is only in accordance with the general analogy of New Testament interpretation.' Compare *ibid.*, verse 11, where the Bishop says that 'a spiritual meaning and general application are given to words referring primarily to special external incidents.' He refers also *in loc.* to a similar use of the Old Testament in Acts xiii. 41.

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confesses that the Song of Songs may have 'an ideal and typical significance' (p. 282), and he gives a rapid survey of the history of its interpretation (p. 292). It is a pleasure to hear him say that he has found a view of the universe in the inspired Wisdom-literature of 'immense superiority' (p. 151) to the views of other 'sacred books of the East.' We wish that he could have seen more deeply into the spiritual depths of patristic writings. He alludes (p. 106) to Clement of Rome, Irenæus, Gregory Nazianzene, and (p. 214) to Jerome, but he appears to think that the discussions on ἔκτισε (Prov. viii. 22) in the orations against the Arians are 'profitless' (p. 148), and he reserves his most laudatory epithets for 'the sober and accurate Theodore of Mopsuestia' (p. 295).

The Pilgrim of the Infinite. A Discourse addressed to advanced religious thinkers on Christian lines. By WILLIAM DAVIES. (London : Macmillan, 1894.)

IT is so old, so true, that simile of the pilgrim on the journey of life, and we were attracted by the title of this little book, if by chance we might find some thoughtful remarks 'on Christian lines' on the infinite possibilities which open before the eye of the traveller. We have found, indeed, many interesting quotations scattered about in the pages from William Law (p. vii), from Marcus Aurelius (p. 17), from Henry More (p. 25), and from Dante (p. 51). But we do not find anything of so very much worth for 'advanced religious thinkers' or even on what are commonly understood to be 'Christian lines.' The chapter on 'Christianity progressive' contains both a unitarian view of Christ's Person and, what is almost unavoidably involved in this, a mistaken idea of certain aspects of the Atoning Sacrifice of the Incarnate Son of God (pp. 110–112). We can only go so far as to say that this short discourse contains some soothing reflections on suffering, failure, prayer, death, and the destiny of the soul, often marred by verbosity.

St. Paul's Conception of Christianity. By ALEXANDER BALMAIN BRUCE, D.D., Professor of New Testament Exegesis in the Free Church College, Glagsow. (Edinburgh : T. and T. Clark, 1894.)

BY the publication of such books as *The Chief End of Revelation*, *The Kingdom of God*, and *The Humiliation of Christ*, Professor Bruce has proved himself to be a theological writer of a high order, and we may at once say that his latest volume will sustain his reputation, although there are a good many points which must be mentioned as qualifying our appreciation of his work. We are sorry that the Professor, for reasons which are by no means without their weight and which he frankly puts before his readers, has thought that the best course was to confine himself mainly to the four 'Epistles which command a general, if not quite universal, consensus of critical approval' (p. 3). The fact that the second group of St. Paul's writings is more or less controversial in its nature is, as the Professor owns, 'not advantageous in all respects' (*ibid.*). But this is not all.

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If a comprehensive view of St. Paul's conception of Christianity is to be gained, we must remember that the first, third, and fourth groups of his Epistles contribute copious materials upon points which may be even largely indicated in the second group, but which cannot be placed in their proper setting, and cannot be duly balanced against each other, without being compared with all St. Paul's extant writings. There are teachings on the last things in the first group, on the relation in which the Lord Jesus Christ stands to the Church and to the universe in the third group, on the organization of the Church in Apostolic times in the fourth group, and on the personal character of the Apostle in his official relations in all these groups which must necessarily leave any book incomplete which does not deal with them, and the omission of which impoverishes Professor Bruce's work more seriously than he appears to realize. In addition to this defective area within which the subject is confined, the reader who has fully grasped the principle of the Incarnation, by which God conveys grace to fallen man by material means, will have to cope with some very unsatisfactory passages. A short quotation from the chapter on the Church will both illustrate Professor Bruce's point of view under this head, and also show that he is aware of dangers to which the Presbyterian and similar societies may be exposed. He is declaring that his sympathies are very strongly with the advocates of a learned ministry,[1] and he adds: 'The bane of other Churches is sacramentarianism and priestcraft, under which prophetic *παρρησία* disappears and mystery takes its place. The bane to be dreaded by Churches not sacramentarian in tendency is a rabbinised pulpit, offering the people scholastic dogmas or philosophic ideas in place of the gospel' (p. 377). However, when we turn from the omissions and commissions which we regret, and examine what positive assistance Professor Bruce has given us for the purpose of understanding St. Paul, we are pleased to acknowledge the valuable grouping of subjects which is a characteristic mark of the book. The first two chapters are personal and introductory, dealing with the literary materials available for the enquiry and the religious history of the Apostle. They also contain a short summary of 'the elements of gospel truth' contained in 1 and 2 *Thess.*, which the Professor inadequately regards as a 'Christian primer' (pp. 17–25). After this the more elaborate discussion is approached in chapters on the Galatian, Corinthian, and Roman letters, and with chapter vii. begins what we regard as the most useful part of the book. St. Paul's teaching is considered under certain great heads, such as the doctrine of sin, the righteousness of God, the death of Christ, the Holy Spirit, adoption, the likeness of sinful flesh, the law, election, etc. It is not until he gets to chapter xviii. that Professor Bruce treats of St. Paul's conception of the Christ. He postponed it thus far because he wished to escape from 'the shadow of Judaistic antagonism' and raise the topic into 'the serener atmosphere of calm contemplation' (p. 327), and, what is

[1] See St. Gregory's *Pastoral Care*, ii. 11, and Church's *Human Life and its Conditions*, p. 165: 'A clergyman ought to be a *student*, a reader and a thinker, to the very end.'

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another important consideration, because 'St. Paul's conception of Christ's dignity was closely connected with his faith in Christ as the Redeemer' (p. 328). The subject is treated in a very able manner, but we think that the Professor does not make the most of his case when he says that 'there is nothing decisive in the Pauline Epistles concerning the miraculous birth of Christ' (p. 334, n.). It may be that 'made of a woman' 'fits into, but does not prove, birth from a virgin' (*ibid.*), but surely it is difficult to suppose that the Apostle would use this phrase gravely if he only meant to put the event on the same footing as millions of other births. And we regret the admission 'that the bearing of Rom. ix. 5 on the deity of Christ is by no means so certain' as at one time some scholars were disposed to think (p. 341). Chapters on the Christian life, the Church, and the last things conclude the work, except that there is a good supplementary note in which the teaching of St. Paul is compared with the teaching of our Lord in the synoptical Gospels. It is interesting on account of the summary which it contains of Wendt's 'somewhat elaborate study' *Die Lehre des Paulus verglichen mit der Lehre Jesu* (p. 398). As a parallel to this note the reader should compare the searching criticism of Professor Everett's 'new reading of the Apostle's doctrine as to the import and effect of Christ's passion' which is given on p. 184.

Daniel and St. John. Lectures Delivered at the Close, Winchester. By the Rev. EDWARD HUNTINGFORD, D.C.L. (London: Bickers and Son; Winchester: Warren and Son, 1895.)

MUCH of the four lectures on Daniel in this volume is based upon the conviction that 'of all the conceivable miracles there cannot well be a greater than the prediction by the inspired prophets of the events of the remote future' (p. 80). Canon Huntingford refers the visions of Daniel 'chiefly if not exclusively to the future of Daniel's own people, the Jews; to their persecution, from the fourth century to the present day, by the rulers and people of Christendom; to the long continuance of their dispersion; to the desolation of Jerusalem during the ages of Gentile dominion; and to their final deliverance at the end of the dispersion, and "when the times of the Gentiles are fulfilled"' (p. ix). The historical extracts in illustration of the persecutions of the Jews are made from the best writers and point the way to further information (pp. 34–43). This is just what is wanted in such lectures as Canon Huntingford delivered. The mysteries of the Apocalypse, which occupy the six lectures in the second part of the book, are expounded so as to suggest 'many thoughts of comfort and encouragement in these trying times' (p. 81). Canon Huntingford fearlessly applies St. John's symbolism to the history of the Church in the world; but his explanation of the enigmatical numbers, both in Daniel and St. John, is designed to show that the date of the Second Coming cannot be conjectured within very many centuries of time. His comments are full of practical suggestions (see pp. 83, 185).

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The Holy Catechism of Nicolas Bulgaris. Faithfully Translated from the Original Greek by the Rev. W. E. DANIEL, M.A., and Edited by the Rev. R. RAIKES BROMAGE, M.A. (London : J. Masters and Co. ; New York : J. Pott and Co., 1893.)

THERE are circumstances connected with this edition of a celebrated Catechism of the Greek branch of the Church which are calculated to promote the unity of Greek and Anglican Christians in a really practical manner. To begin with, the work is translated and edited by two Anglican clergymen. The book appears in its English garb 'at the special request of his Holiness Sophronius, Pope and Patriarch of Alexandria and of all Egypt,' and it is dedicated to 'his Grace the Archbishop of Canterbury, Primate of All England and Metropolitan,' the direct Apostolical successor, as the dedication observes, of Theodore of Tarsus. We have to add to this that there are letters of approval from the ex-Patriarch of Jerusalem, the Anglican Bishop in Jerusalem, the Bishop of Cairo in the United States, an Old Catholic bishop in Germany, and Professor Orloff of the Russian Embassy Chapel in London. There is a sentence in the letter of Professor Orloff which has an important bearing on the contents of the Catechism itself. He says (p. xii), 'Personally I should not have selected for translation this particular book, which was written over two centuries ago, and modernized recently only in its own language.' The Catechism gives an 'explanation of the Divine and holy Liturgy,' an introduction of the 'mysteries' of the Faith in the technical sense of that term, and a catechetical examination of candidates for examination. Abundant materials are supplied for learning particulars about the raiments of the priests (p. 36), the vessels of the sanctuary (p. 44), and the technical terms of the Liturgy of the Church (pp. 83, 99, 133, 140, 194, 216, 268, 293). The Creed and the Lord's Prayer are paraphrased (pp. 160, 224), and the notes are highly instructive on such diverse subjects as Roman additions to the Liturgy and the genuineness of the Areopagitica (pp. 54, 92 ; see also p. 197). The section on the exaltation of the Mother of God is important (p. 208), and the section which deals with 'things necessary to salvation' (p. 273) contains a great deal of the true basis of casuistry in a small compass. Indices of subjects, terms, and authors are supplied, and have been carefully compiled, being based in part on the alphabetical table published at the Patriarchal Press at Constantinople in 1861 (p. xxv). If English Churchmen will welcome such true pieces of Reunion work as this, and if they will remember that union is not promoted by slurring over admitted truth, or by betraying sacred trusts, or by exhibiting the farce of a platform amity with men who will accept admissions but will not make them, then the desired unity of St. John's seventeenth chapter and the Epistle to the Ephesians may be practically brought nearer.

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Incense: a Liturgical Study. By [the] Rev. MORRIS FULLER, B.D. (London: A. D. Innes and Co., 1894.)

A SOUND and accurate tract or paper on the use of incense in the Christian Church is very much wanted at the present moment; one that will look all the facts of history steadily in the face, not giving an enthusiastic welcome to one set, and neglecting the other, which does not so exactly fit in with the first. The authorities which speak of the use of incense in the early Church give somewhat contradictory evidence, and we should have been glad of help in an attempt to reconcile or weigh the conflicting statements. But this help, we fear, Mr. Morris Fuller does not give us.

The pamphlet bears all the marks of hasty composition. On the first page we have 'Justyn Martyr' for 'Justin Martyr'—in a quotation, it is true, but there is no mark (like *sic*) to show that it is an exact transcript from the works of Joseph Mede, and no indication in which of the several editions of this author we may find this spelling. There is also on p. 26 'Trypo' for Trypho or Tryphon, the Jew connected with St. Justin; on p. 43 there is 'accernite' for 'accendite;' on p. 45, 'Beza' for Bede. On p. 61 Cosin is said to have gone to 'Dublin' instead of to Durham. For these, no doubt, the printer is more or less responsible; but he can hardly be responsible for the statement that St. Vitalis at Ravenna is a great basilica (p. 32), whereas its ground-plan is polygonal; or that pseudo-Alcuinus, who wrote on the divine offices (p. 45), is the English Alcuin of York, who lived in the latter half of the eighth century, while the false Alcuin is of the eleventh or even twelfth. Consequently a quotation from him proves nothing of the customs of the Roman Church at the end of the eighth century; and of the quotation itself it may be noted that even the false and late Alcuin says that incense is placed on the altar at the offertory, not burnt at it. Indeed, Abbé Duchesne, who speaks on these matters with great authority, says that the portable censer was used at Rome up to the ninth century for processions only; and that there is no mention of the censings of the altar, of the church, or of the clergy and faithful.[1] We presume that is during the period of which he speaks—viz. the first eight centuries. It is rather hard on Cardinal Ximenes to say that he tampered with the Mozarabic Liturgy (p. 33). In all likelihood the Cardinal did no more than print the manuscripts which he found. The Mozarabic text may have been tampered with long before the time of Ximenes; but we owe so much to him for preserving in any form whatever the Mozarabic rite that we shall ask for good evidence when we are told that the Cardinal himself made the interpolations from the Romano-Toletan Use which it has been the fashion to discover in the Mozarabic books since the time of Le Brun. It is a little out of date, too, to talk about the Ephesine Liturgies (p. 38), and worse than out of date to say that the Gallican Liturgy is the immediate parent of the Anglican (p. 40).

[1] *Origines du Culte Chrétien* (Paris, 1889), p. 155, *n.*

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But a still more extraordinary statement is to be found in a note to p. 63. We are told that the sequence of colours allowed in the Westerton case was a sequence unknown to England before the reign of Queen Mary. If Mr. Fuller will turn to a paper on the English Liturgical Colours, by Mr. W. H. St. John Hope, in the second volume of the *Transactions of St. Paul's Ecclesiological Society*, he will find on p. 264, transcribed from the Exeter *Ordinale*, which was set forth in 1337 by the Bishop, with the consent of the chapter, a complete sequence of colours of the same kind as that which Mr. Fuller says is 'unknown to England.' A black frontal for Lent, 'a wholly novel use,' was prescribed at Westminster between 1258 and 1283 (p. 261 of Mr. Hope's paper). There are other points, too, in Mr. Hope's paper, which deal with the 'National sequence of colours,' which we may venture to recommend to Mr. Fuller's attention before he speaks again upon the subject, now pretty well exhausted, of the English liturgical colours.

Mr. Fuller takes the view that the *locus classicus* in the prophet Malachi is to be understood literally. Thus, in *every* place incense is to be offered. Yet on p. 52 there is a quotation from Dr. Littledale which tells us that 'incense in the West is the exception, not the rule,' and that 'there are probably many hundreds of poor churches scattered over Europe where it is scarcely known from one year's end to the other.' How does this quotation agree with the passage in Malachi, which certainly seems to indicate a perpetual offering of incense everywhere? How does the quotation agree with the daily celebration of High Mass, the ancient custom in every church with a good staff? Daily High Mass is still the custom in Spain, where the traveller to this day may see the old Church system of the Canonical hours recited in choir, followed by one or two High Masses, with incense, said daily after terce and after none, according as the day is a festival or a fast. It is quite a mistaken notion to think that High Mass is a sign of a festival. It is the ancient rule to celebrate the Eucharist with a decent pomp, with lights and incense, even on a week day in Lent, a vigil, or an Ember Day. In fact, the Eastern Church knows no other rule than celebration with deacon and incense.

This inconsistency may, perhaps, be due to Mr. Fuller's views on the purpose for which incense is used in the Church. He looks upon it as wholly mystical, and shows no sign of being aware that in the Church there are two schools of opinion about the use of incense: one, that to which Mr. Fuller belongs; the other, that which looks upon the burning of incense as mainly, if not altogether, utilitarian—a ridding of the air of any noxious vapours that may chance to have formed, whether from the nearness of cemeteries or from the crowding together of the faithful. To this latter school of opinion very great authorities belong. First of all, there is St. Thomas himself, and he would be a bold man who would venture to hold an opinion contrary to that of St. Thomas in a matter of this sort. The angelic doctor is answering an objection to the use of incense.

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'Ad secundum dicendum quod etiam thurificatione non utimur quasi cæremoniali præcepto legis, sed sicut Ecclesiæ statuto. . . . Pertinet autem ad duo: primo quidem ad reverentiam huius Sacramenti ut scilicet *per bonum odorem depellatur si quid corporaliter pravi odoris in loco fuerit quod posset provocare horrorem*; secundo pertinet ad repræsentandum effectum gratiæ qua sicut bono odore Christus plenus fuit secundum illud *Genes.* xxvii. 27,' &c.[1]

As might be expected, the opinions of St. Thomas are followed by many writers; and Cardinal Bellarmine gives the removal of a bad smell arising from a multitude of men in the church as one reason out of four others for the use of incense.[2] In very much the same way Gavantus, whose authority is supreme in a Roman sacristy, tells us that incense is used to show the reverence due to holy places by driving away the foul air that is caused by a great crowd. Afterwards he speaks of it as representing the good savour of Christ and of prayer; and, last of all, he tells us that it is used to drive away devils.[3] Claude de Vert brings forward a number of other authorities and references to show that incense is only intended to purify and perfume the places in which it is used.[4] For example, at Lyons and Vienne, churches where the ceremonies are very ancient, it is not the Blessed Sacrament which is censed when it is carried abroad, but the road along which it is to be taken. The censing of the church, the choir, the presbytery, the altar, is done to prepare these places for the service to be celebrated in or about them by cleansing and purifying the air of a building apt to become impure from the numbers of people who congregate in it, and from the dead, too often buried within its walls in the Middle Ages. We certainly understand better by this explanation the censing of the bier at a funeral, and, at the time of the offertory, of the tombs of kings, princes, and bishops that are near the altar. It would seem solely as a sign of respect due to holy places that incense was used in the Church of England in post-Reformation times: just as kings' and noblemen's houses were 'stuck and strawed with boughs and perfumed with incense,' part of the magnificence and honour accompanying their station in life. Of the use of incense in post-Reformation times in England, in parish churches, too, there is abundant evidence, far more convincing and important than the old quotations given by Mr. Fuller, which have done duty many times before. It would be well worth Mr. Fuller's while to collect all the post-Reformation instances of the use of incense for a second edition of his pamphlet, and if, in doing this, he would make a thorough examination afresh of the whole subject, not sparing the labour of looking up the references and of reading the original authors—and, above all, if he would begin the research without a prepossession in favour of one theory rather than another, but determined to go wherever the facts

[1] *Summa*, pars iii. quæst. 83, Artic. v. ad § 2.
[2] *De Sacramento Eucharistiæ*, lib. vi. cap. 15.
[3] *Thesaurus Sacrorum Rituum*, Aug. Vindel. 1763, t. i. p. 184, pars ii. tit. iv. *n.* 4.
[4] *Explication*, &c., Paris, 1713, t. iii. p. 72; iv. p. 49.

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go, but only as far as they go, and no further—he might produce a solid work that would be a very welcome addition to the history of the ceremonial of this Church and nation.

As Others saw Him. (London: W. Heinemann, 1895.)

THIS book is attracting some attention, and is evidently written with a purpose. It professes to have been written in the year 54 by Meshullam ben Zadok, a scribe of the Jews at Alexandria, and a member of the Sanhedrim that condemned our Lord to death, as is stated in a letter to a Greek friend at Corinth. This profession, it is needless to say, is obviously not based upon fact, the book showing unmistakable signs of having been recently written, and is apparently intended to meet charges against the Jews based upon the Gospel narrative, and is probably designed to stop a certain amount of leakage to Christianity that is said to be taking place amongst the Jews. The narrative is divided into chapters, and professes to recount what happened on certain occasions when the writer was brought into personal contact with our Lord. It admires much of His moral teaching, of which it says, 'This is the Catechism of the Two Ways, which I have had copied out for thee, for in it is the essence of the teaching of Jesus, as he himself recognized in speaking to me' (p. 49). It is needless to say that this assertion is far from being proved by the long quotation he gives. As a sample of the manner in which the writer deals with facts recorded in Scripture, so as to deprive them of the blame which they attach to the Jews, may be mentioned the account of the woman taken in adultery.

'It happened about this time that I was attending my place in the Sanhedrim of Israelites to judge of a case of adultery. But in this matter our Sages, and especially those of Pharisaic tradition, had made great changes in the Law as laid down for us by Moses; for he, as thou knowest, commands that a woman taken in adultery shall be stoned to death. Now, for a long time among us there has been an increasing horror of inflicting the death penalty. If a Sanhedrim inflicts capital punishment more than once in seven years, it is called a Sanhedrim of murderers. Yet the Law of Moses declared that whosoever was guilty of adultery should be put to death. What then was to be done? It is against the principle of justice that any should be punished for an offence of which he is ignorant. Hence, in capital punishment, our Sages, to mercy inclined, have laid it down, that a man must be assumed to be ignorant of the guilt of the offence, unless it be proved that he had been solemnly warned of its gravity; and in our Law proof can only be given by two simultaneous witnesses' (pp. 60, 61).

So an opportunity was taken to bring the question before our Lord, and after the facts had been stated, the writer says, 'a deep blush passed over his face, and he turned his eyes downwards,' and wrote upon the ground, the Writer feeling

'ashamed in his soul that such a question should be brought before this man of all men; for our Sages have said, "The greatest of sins is this—to bring a blush upon thy neighbour's face in public." Then without raising his voice Jesus said in a low tone, "Let him among you that is without sin cast the first stone." Then we saw that his shame had been

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for us, and for our want of feeling in putting such a question in the very presence of her who had sinned. So in very shame we turned, and left Jesus alone with the woman' (p. 64).

Then he represents that there was a great stir in Jerusalem, because, without a word of warning, a Roman officer had drawn his sword upon two young zealots—artisans that were popular with their fellows for their kindness of heart and good humour—who had fallen into an altercation with him, and he had killed one of them. Upon being remonstrated with by the young man's companions and the passers-by 'he gave a signal, and a multitude of soldiers poured forth from Antonia and struck without mercy among the crowd. Five were killed and many were wounded, and the whole city was in an uproar at this proof of Roman insolence' (p. 156). All were ready for an outbreak, and looked to Jesus to be their Leader. Then the question was put to Him, 'Is it lawful to give tribute to Cæsar or not? Shall we give or shall we not give?' (p. 158.) Upon hearing His answer the tide of popular opinion turned against Him, for if they were to give tribute to the Romans, for whatever cause, they were still to be under subjection to Rome; and then Jesus refused to be their Liberator; that had become clear to them of a sudden. And they drew still further from Him; 'and all the other men began to pass away from the court, leaving Jesus and his men alone with none to listen to him' (pp. 159, 160). 'For the word passed swiftly in the mouths of all the men of Jerusalem—He refuseth; he would have us be slaves of the Romans for ever' (p. 161).

It is unnecessary to point out the falsifications of history in this narrative, but in the account of the Crucifixion this is carried further. When our Lord was brought before Pilate,

'one of those who were waiting among the crowd came forward unto Pilate, and said unto him, "Master, it is a grace of our Lord the Emperor that at our Passover there be released unto us one of the prisoners, that are condemned to death." And Pilate answered and said, "That is so: whom will ye that I release?" and many of those in the crowd cried out, "Jesus." And Pilate stepped back, and summoned to him a lictor. And shortly after soldiers came forward in the portico, bearing with them Jesus the Nazarene. Upon him was a purple robe of royalty, and upon his brow had been placed the faded rose-wreath of some reveller, which had been put on in haste, and some of thorns had torn the flesh, and blood was trickling down. When the people saw him many cried out, "Not this Jesus, but Jesus Bar Abbas." Shortly afterwards there came forward the man Jesus Bar Abbas of Jerusalem, of whom I have spoken to thee before. Now he had been very popular among the folk, and had lost his liberty in a rising against the Romans, in which a Roman sentry had been slain. And there stood the two Jesuses—the one that had risen against the Romans, and the one that had told the people they should pay tribute to their Roman lords. Then Pilate called out to them, and said, "Whom will ye that I release unto you: Jesus, who is called Bar Abbas, or Jesus who is called Christ?" And almost all the multitude cried, "Jesus Bar Abbas! Jesus Bar Abbas!"' (pp. 193-5).

Then no reference whatever is made to our Lord's performing miracles; and if the writer can quote so largely as he evi-

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dently does from our Scriptures, it is strange that no mention is made of these. And in an epilogue, professedly written some years after the earlier part of the narrative, he says:—

'Why did he remain silent before us as to these ideas of his? If indeed these were his ideas; for even with the new light given by the Hebrew Memorabilia, I can see his thought but dimly. Why spake he not his own thought to the people in Jerusalem, and tell us no longer to hope for worldly dominion as the best means for spreading the Law of the Lord, but rather to be as servants of God, even as Esaias the prophet hath spoken? Was it that he wished to carry out the description of the prophet even to every iota of his text? For, behold, the prophet sayeth, "He let himself be humbled, and opened not his mouth." If so, then was the death of Jesus but a sublime suicide. For surely by this silence he has committed a grievous sin against us his people. For if we committed aught of sin and crime that handed him over to the Romans as a pretender to empire, he indeed shared our sin and crime by his silence' (pp. 212, 213).

Such statements as these could only have influence with persons entirely ignorant of the Gospels, and for the instruction of such persons they seem to have been made; for in them we read of the multitudes out of all the cities of Israel that followed Him, of the common people hearing Him gladly, of the thousands that He supernaturally fed, and of the great numbers that He must have supernaturally healed. If what is quoted from the New Testament may be relied upon, why may not the other parts of those Scriptures to which no reference is made? In days like these, when so many are eager to seize upon any interpretations or explanations that may help to weaken the authority of Holy Scripture, it seems desirable to call attention to inaccuracies that have in themselves little value, but which may be used to injure the faith of some. With respect to the book under review, there is no name attached as responsible for the real writing but nominal editing of it, and the absence of it diminishes any weight which it might otherwise have had.

1. *Elementary Education: Some Account of its Rise and Progress in England.* By ROBERT GREGORY, D.D., Dean of St. Paul's and Treasurer of the National Society. (London: National Society's Depository, 1895.)
2. *Religion in Elementary Schools: Proposals for Peace.* By GEORGE A. SPOTTISWOODE. (*Nineteenth Century*, July 1895.)

'IT really seems as though we were now standing at the parting of the ways with respect to this great question of education. One path leads to a fair adjustment of the question, and the providing so much pecuniary help by the State as is necessary to enable Denomination Schools of the country to keep up a vigorous and efficient existence. The other path leads to a system of secular education, by which the spiritual condition of England would be reduced to the miserable level to which it is fallen in France' (p. 164).

Such are the words in which the venerable Dean of St. Paul's fitly describes the crisis at which we have arrived in the Elementary Education of this country, of which he traces the 'rise and progress' in the admirable volume before us. The subject is one on which

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he has earned the right to speak with authority, and if any of our readers wishes to trace the successive stages by which we have reached 'the parting of the ways' he cannot have a better guide than Dean Gregory. In less than 200 pages he presents us with a succinct and clear account of the successive efforts to lay the foundation of a national provision for the education of all the children in the land. It would be beyond the scope of a Short Notice to attempt to follow in detail the noble efforts of the National Society (of which the Dean of St. Paul's is the Treasurer) to preserve the religious element in the National Education of the country from the encroachments of the Legislature and of bodies more distinctly hostile to the Church. The narrative is one of surpassing interest to every one who feels, and rightly feels, that in the religious training of the young lie all the hopes of the future of this country. We have now got to face a question of immense importance and of no small perplexity. Is it by Rate aid or by State aid that we must use our best efforts to secure that financial help for Church schools of which they so sorely stand in need? The Dean of St. Paul's, in the little volume before us, furnishes valuable materials for forming a judgment. He gives us, *in extenso*, the principal clauses of three most important legislative schemes on which the House of Commons will sooner or later have to decide. In the very able article in the July number of the *Nineteenth Century*, the title of which we have also placed at the head of this Notice, Mr. George Spottiswoode urges with much force and with great wisdom the urgency of endeavouring to merge the three schemes in some common action.

'If they all wish the same thing,' he says, 'why cannot the leaders of the Anglican and Roman Church and of such Protestant Dissenters as care for religious education, meet at a "Round Table," or in whatever way they think they may best consult together, agree upon a common platform, show a united front, and, at the first reasonable opportunity present a common Bill for the settlement of this long-standing grievance—a Bill which such a united force as is here suggested could carry triumphantly through Parliament?'

We earnestly commend this article to the attention of our readers.

Neoplatonism. By C. Bigg, D.D., Christ Church, Oxford. Published under the direction of the General Literature Committee. (London: Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, 1895.)

The 'Chief Ancient Philosophies' series of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge 'deals with the chief systems of ancient thought not merely as dry matters of history, but as having a bearing on modern speculation.' Dr. Bigg admirably fulfils this intention, and his mastery of the subject is such that he can handle his materials with freedom and accuracy combined. As he 'runs over the history' (p. 9) he brings out its salient points with vivacity and humour, and loses no opportunity of placing ancient and modern thought side by side. We have bright and brief accounts of the Stoics, the Pythagoreans, and the old Platonists (chaps. i.–v.) to prepare us for an intelligent study of Neoplatonism, and excellent chapters

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on Plotinus, Porphyry, and Proclus (chaps. xi.–xxiv.) to tell us how the new theories worked. The problem of the Platonists was how to moralize the old heathenism (p. 62), and this is the same as saying that the Platonism of the second century was neither more nor less than 'reformed Paganism' (p. 79). It had to find some explanation for the devil-worship which was the necessary effect of Polytheism and heathen notions of divine wrath (p. 80), and it had to work under the great defect of being 'æsthetic and intellectual rather than moral' (p. 87). It is not surprising that it 'divested God of all relation to the world' which it had to look upon (p. 92), or that it afforded a breach through which the great 'Christian apologists stormed irresistibly in' (p. 97). In fact, it issued 'in a dualism' (p. 197), and all the reforming efforts of the Neoplatonists left them with a morality which was purely intellectual, purely individual, without fear of God, and entirely unpractical (pp. 271–2). A few instances ought to be given of Dr. Bigg's vivid and sometimes amusing parallels. The 'rhetorician was . . . a curious cross between an University Extension lecturer and an operatic singer' (p. 68), and 'the ambition of the Sophist' was to get the compliment paid to the genius of Swift, who 'could have written finely about a broom-stick' (*ib.*) The 'educated men' of the day 'felt towards the vulgar religion in much the same way as Rudyard Kipling's Baboo towards the Hindoo orgies' (p. 62). To have recourse to the philosopher is, 'in our modern jargon,' to consult 'the higher criticism' (p. 78). Plutarch was 'a sort of Greek Kingsley' (p. 82). The style of Plotinus 'is remarkably like the style of Browning in its subtlety and lack of grammar. There is no difficult word, but the whole is infinitely hard' (p. 187). The squire-bishop Synesius of Cyrene resembled 'an educated Tory gentleman' (p. 338). There is a 'modern Neoplatonism which differs from the ancient by the assimilation of the scientific doctrine of evolution, and by the partial assimilation of the Christian doctrine of character' (p. 136). The reader who wishes to dip into interesting descriptions of persons and literature without really following the thread of the story can glance at the account of Celsus, that strange purveyor of objections to the Faith which have been so often served up afresh by succeeding generations of heretics (p. 98); the story of Cupid and Psyche, with Dr. Bigg's attractive interpretation of the allegory (pp. 128–33); the dialogue called 'Amatorius,' in which Plutarch handles the domestic affections with such insight as to win from Dr. Bigg the praise that it 'is worth all other heathen writings on morality put together' (p. 85); the well-drawn contrast between Clement and Origen (p. 162); the details in the lives of Plotinus (p. 182), Porphyry (p. 297), who has 'no one like him in the whole history of literature . . . at once so sane and so insane' (p. 300), Proclus (p. 317); and the writings of 'Dionysius the Areopagite' (p. 340). The only mistake which we have noticed is that Miss Gardner's biography of Synesius of Cyrene, in the S.P.C.K. series of 'The Fathers for English Readers,' is mentioned on p. 338 as belonging to the same series as Dr. Bigg's own book.

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